THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED



PRINTERS, HERTFORD

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JOURNAL

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Т

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS. OF IBN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY G. LE STRANGE

Introduction

IN the Journal for the year 1902 a summary was given of the description of Persia and Mesopotamia found in the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb, a geographical and cosmographical work written by Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi in 740 (1340).¹ In the course of next year I hope to publish (in the series of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund) the Persian text of the geographical chapters of this work, and this will be followed by a full translation, with notes to elucidate geographical questions. Ḥamd-Allah, who is our earliest systematic geographer writing in Persian, collected his materials from the works of the earlier Arab geographers, and from various Persian monographs which had been written each to describe a single province of the Moslem Empire; and it is found that the texts of

¹ Published also separately in the Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. v. The map drawn to accompany this paper will serve to illustrate Ibn al-Balkhī.

some of these monographs, thereto adding somewhat of his own knowledge, after much curtailment and a rearrangement of the order in the articles, he has transcribed almost verbatim, to form the various chapters of the Nuzhat. A good instance of this method of writing a new book is the chapter describing the provinces of Fārs and Shabānkārah, which in truth is little but a shortened transcript of the Fārs Nāmah, a work written two centuries before the time of Ḥamd-Allah, and of which the British Museum possesses an excellent MS.

The name of the author of this $F\bar{a}rs\ N\bar{a}mah$ is as yet unknown, but he states in his preface that his ancestor was a native of Balkh, and Ibn-al-Balkhī will serve as a convenient title by which to refer to him until his identity be better established. From the MS. all that appears is that the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhi (twice mentioned, fols. 2b and 63a) was Mustawfi, or Accountant for the Taxes, of Fars about the year (4)92 under the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagin, who had been sent to govern that province in the name of the Saljuq Sultan Bargiyāruq — 487-98 (1094-1104) — the son of Malik Shāh. Ibn-al-Balkhī, who accompanied his grandfather, was educated in Fars, and becoming well acquainted with the physical and political condition of the country, was in due course of time commissioned by the brother and successor of Bargiyāruq, namely, Sultān Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muhammad, 498-511 (1104-17), to compose the present work. No exact date for its completion is given, but since the book was dedicated to this Sultan, who died in 511, and further that the Atabeg Chāulī is frequently mentioned in the text as still living, who we know died in 510 (1116), it follows that this Fars Namah must have been completed during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth A.D.

Two MSS. only of the work appear to exist in Europe. One a very old copy in the British Museum (Or. 5983),

apparently undated,1 but by the writing and archaic spelling judged to be not later than the early fourteenth century (eighth A.H.). The other clearly a copy made of this MS., which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and came there from the Schéfer Collection (Blochet, Cat. MSS. Persans, i, p. 309, No. 503, and Supplément, 1052), and which was written in 1273 (1856). The Paris copy is indeed of little use except to show how a Persian of the present day read the older MS., and as occasionally giving us a word that has disappeared, partially or wholly, in the mending process to which the B.M. MS. was subjected when it came a few years ago, after presentation in loose leaves, to be bound for the Museum use. In some outstanding cases where lacunæ occur I have been able to fill these in by a reference to the Geography of Hāfiz Abrū, the Secretary of Timur—of which the India Office and the Museum (Or. 1577) both possess good copieswho has copied most of the Fars Namah into the work he composed in 820 (1417). Further, of course, the MSS. of the Nuzhat very often serve to emend a reading.

The Museum MS. is written for the most part in double columns, a complicated system, which has led to the modern (Paris) copy having the articles very often transcribed out of order, through the carelessness of the copyist, who thus has given many towns (under their separate headings) to the wrong District (Kūrah). In the longer articles, however, the scribe of the Museum MS. has written across the page (i.e. in single column), and the order of this copy will be best understood by a reference to the following footnote.² The Persian text is in the

¹ Faintly written, and much disfigured by the mending, there is a colophon on fol. 90b which may possibly read: "and the transcription thereof was completed in the year 671" (A.D. 1271).

² If R. and L. be taken to indicate the right and left hand columns respectively, a and b standing for recto and verso of the folios, the Istakhr District begins with the R. column fol. 65a, following on with the R. columns of fols. 65b, 66a and b, then back to L. column of fol. 65a, followed by fols. 65b L., 66a L. and b L. Next, on 66b

B.M. MS. somewhat archaic, and in the spelling retains the older forms of $k\bar{\imath}$ for kih, $\bar{a}nk$, and $chun\bar{a}nk$, for the modern $\bar{a}nkih$ and $chun\bar{a}nkih$. Further, we meet with a small number of words, mostly technical terms of revenue assessment, that are often wanting in the dictionaries, but the general meaning of which it is not difficult to come to from the context.

The Museum MS. at present consists of ninety folios. Fol. 1a begins with a short preface, followed by the dedication, fol. 2a, to "the Sultan-King of kings-whose glory shall never cease to increase, Ghiyath-ad-Dunya wa-d-Dīn Abū Shujā' Muḥammad son of Malik Shāh". who further is given the title of Qasīm-i-Amīr-al-Mūminīn, "the Associate (in the government) of the Caliph." The author then relates how his august master commissioned him to write the present work, "seeing that I had been brought up in Fars, although by lineage descended from a native of Balkh . . . and knowing that I was well acquainted with the present condition of the people of Fars . . . being well versed also in the events of their history, and exactly acquainted with the story of their kings and rulers, even from the days of Kayumarth down to this present time." Then on fol. 3a, after a summary description of the province, and citing a few of the chief Traditions about Fars ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad, we start with the long line of the early Persian kings, whose history, much in epitome, closes with the last of the Sassanians and the rise of Islam, on fol. 60a. part of the work is merely a Persian version of Hamzah Isfahānī, and contains, apparently, nothing new. Next very briefly the story of the Arab conquest of Fars is

below, the MS. reads across for Istakhr City, fols. 67a and b and the top of 68a being all in one column. After this, again, 68a below goes back to the double column, the next article beginning 68a R., followed by 68b R., then back to 68a L. and 68b L., which gives the last town of the district.

narrated, ending with the reign of the Caliph 'Ali. Here follows an interesting account, fol. 62a, of the Qādīs chief justices—of Fars, to which we shall return later, and then, fol. 63b, the Geographical Part (translated below) begins, concluding with the Itineraries, fol. 83b. author afterwards returns, fol. 87a, to the history of Fars, giving an account of the Shabānkārah tribes and the Kurds, and this narrating details of almost contemporary history is of importance, as facts and personages are mentioned not noted, apparently, elsewhere. A summary follows of the revenues of Fars down to the time of the writer, and some of this too is new matter, for the author, as already said, was of a family of accountants, and wrote from first - hand knowledge. And, finally, fol. 90b, the MS. closes with a short note describing the days of the last Buyid rulers of Fars, and the advent of the Saljuq Sultans.

In the following pages a complete translation will be given of the Geographical Part, but before coming to this it will be useful to summarize what our author has narrated about personages and events immediately preceding his own time, and more especially the account he gives of the Kurdish tribes and of the Shabankarah, who, at a later date, gave their name to the eastern part of the Fars province round Darabjird. The reader will recall to mind how about the middle of the fourth (tenth) century, namely, a century and a half before the time of our author, the Buyids, under 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, from 338-72 (949-82) had been at the height of greatness: by the middle of the following century, however, this dynasty had collapsed before the rising power of the Saljuqs. Tughrul Beg, the founder of the new dynasty, on his death in 455 (1063), had left as heir his nephew Alp Arslan, whose brother, Qāvurd, had already, during the lifetime of Tughrul Beg, been put in possession of the government of some of the Eastern provinces, he thus ruling the most part of Persia under his uncle and brother from 433 (1041) down to the date of his death in 465 (1072). Alp Arslan was succeeded as Great Saljūg by his son, Malik Shāh, 465-85 (1072-92), whose Wazir was the famous Nizām-al-Mulk. Four of the sons of Malik Shāh in succession came to the throne, of whom, however, two only concern us here, and these have both been mentioned before, namely, the eldest, Bargiyāruq, 487 - 98 (1094 - 1104), in whose reign the grandfather of our author served as Revenue Accountant in Fars; and Sultan Ghiyath - ad - Din Muhammad, his brother, 498-511 (1104-17), the patron of Ibn-al-Balkhi, and the prince to whom he dedicates his book. After the overthrow of the Buyids these Saljuq Sultans who ruled in their stead were wont to send their Atabegs, originally the Governors of their sons, to govern the outlying provinces, and the first of these, in Fars, was the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumartagin, under whom the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhi, as already stated, had served. The next Atabeg was Fakhr-ad-Din Chāulī (or Jauli in the Arab chronicles), who was still living when our author wrote.1 This Chāulī was famous for his many great buildings, and further, he had after much fighting succeeded in restoring order throughout Fars by curbing the power of the Shabankarah and subduing the various affiliated Kurdish tribes.

¹ The exact dates of appointment of these two Atabegs, who are specifically noticed by Hāfiz Abrū, are not given by our authorities. Ibn-al-Athīr, however, states that Chāulī died in 510 (1116), and he reports him in Fārs as early as the year 493 (1099). This must have been the year of, or the year following, his appointment, for Ibn-al-Balkhī mentions Khumārtagīn as in Fārs in 492 (1098), and this probably was the year of his death. Ibn-al-Athīr names Khumārtagīn more than once in his chronicle from the years 450 (1058) to 485 (1092), but never with the title of Rukn-ad-Dawlah. He is called Najm-ad-Dawlah, surnamed At-Tughrāyī, and Aṣḥ-Sharābī (the Cupbearer); then he is referred to under the name of Khumārtagīn an-Nāib (the Lieutenant), who was Police Magistrate (Shahnah) of Baghdād in 482 (1089). Further, at about the same time there is mentioned Khumārtagīn-at-Tutuṣhī, but possibly this is a different person.

This much of the general history of the fifth century (eleventh A.D.) being premised, we come to what Ibn-al-Balkhi himself relates, which is the more valuable as being the almost contemporary history of the author's own time. The last of the Buyids to exercise any real sovereignty in Fārs was (he says) Bākālijār or Bākālinjār (for the name is given under both forms in the B.M. MS. of the Fārs Nāmah), otherwise Abū Kālijār or Abū Kālinjār. In regard to the proper spelling of his name, it is to be remarked that in the Arab chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr it is given as Abū Kālījār, while in the MS. of the Zīj-as-Sanjarī in the British Museum 1 (likewise in Arabic) the name is clearly written as Abū Kālīzār. On the other hand, Hāfiz Abrū always writes Bā or Abū Kālinjār, and this is the modern spelling (e.g. in the Fars Namah Nasiri). The original meaning of the name is apparently unknown, but from its form it would seem to have been a nickname. The Fars Namah, unfortunately, does not state who was the father of Bākālījār. The Persian historians and Ibn-al-Athir, however, agree in the statement that he was the son of Sultanad-Dawlah, son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah, and hence the great grandson of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah.2 The Guzīdah (p. 432)

 2 On the other hand the Zij, which it will be remembered was written only a century after the death of Bākālīzār (Abū Kālīzār), gives a different account from that found in these later authorities. It is here stated that Abū Kālīzār al-Marzubān, surnamed 'Izz-al-Mulūk, was the

¹ Or. 6669, consisting of astronomical and chronological tables, written by Abū Manṣūr al-Khāzinī for Sulṭān Sanjar (son of Malik Shāh), who died 552 (1157). The B.M. MS. appears to be a copy of the Autograph, and was written in 620 (1223). The folios are loose, and have not yet been set in order or numbered, but the one giving a table of the Buyid dynasty will easily be recognized, for it bears the heading Jadwalu Mulūki āli Buwayhi min ad-Dayālamati bi-l-ʿIrāqī. Abū Kālinjār is the spelling in the Guzīdah (Gibb, Facsimile, p. 416) and in the Habīb-as-Siyār (Bombay Lithograph, ii, pt. 4, p. 55), both these histories being written in Persian. Among previous Buyid princes Ṣamṣām-ad-Dawlah (son of ʿAḍud) had also borne the name of Abū Kālīzār, and this spelling with the long ī in the second syllable is probably the one we should adopt. See also the note by Mr. Amedroz in JRAS., 1911, p. 672.

followed by the Habīb-as-Siyār (ii, pt. 4, p. 55) gives Bākālījār the titles of 'Izz-al-Mulūk and 'Imād-li-Dīn Allah, the latter authority also adding the third title of Hisāmad-Dawlah. Ibn-al-Balkhi, however, makes no mention of these honorary names (fol. 90b), and gives no dates. Our other authorities say this prince reigned from 415 to 440 (1024 to 1048), and at his death he left five The eldest, to whom our author gives the name of Abū Naṣr, died soon after his father, being succeeded by his brother, called Abū Mansūr, whose government was thrown into disorder by the meddling of his mother Khurāsūyah, a political busybody, who in the Zīi is referred to under the title of As-Sayyidah—"the Lady". Abū Mansūr at first had governed according to the advice of his Wazīr, called the Sāhib 'Adil (he had served Bākālījār, according to the Habīb, in the same capacity), a man of mark who, Ibn-al-Balkhi writes, had given a fine library to the town of Fīrūzābād; but instigated by his mother, Abū Manṣūr put this Wazīr and his son to death, after which confusion became worse confounded throughout Fars. Matters finally reached a crisis by the revolt of Fadluyah, the Shabankarah chief, who managed to get the Lady Khurāsūyah into his power, and then shutting her up in a waterless hot-bath, suffocated her. Next Abū Mansūr was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castle of Pahan Diz (near Shīrāz), where before long he too met his death, and Fars passed to the government of Fadluyah, and under the overlordship of the Saljuqs.1

son of Sultān-ad-Dawlah, and that he left no descendants. It was his uncle, Jalāl-ad-Dawlah Abū Ṭāhir Shīr Zayd (brother of Sultān-ad-Dawlah and son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah), who was the father of the five last Buyid princes.

¹ Of Bākālījār's five sons Ibn-al-Balkhī (fol. 90b) only gives the names of two, Abū Naṣr, the eldest, and Mālik Abū Manṣūr, the last of the Buyids. The Zīj, however, gives their names as follows. The eldest, Abū Naṣr of Ibn-al-Balkhī, is presumably the one the Zīj calls Amīr-al-Umrā Abū Shujā', and the last Buyid prince is named in the Zīj Al-Malik-al-'Azīz, Al-Malik-ar-Raḥīm, Abū Manṣūr Khusruh Fīrūz. The

The Guzīdah, however, adds that after the death of this Abū Manṣūr in 448 (1056) his brother, Al-Malik Abū 'Alī, was given, during nearly forty years, nominal rank by the Saljūq Sultans, being allowed the privileges of the Kettledrum and Banner (Tabl wa-'Alam) until the date of his death in 487 (1094) in the reign of Sultān Bargiyāruq.

Ibn-al-Balkhī gives at some length (fols. 87a to 88b) the history of Fadluyah and his Shabankarah tribesmen, with details of their descent and doings that apparently are not to be found in the accounts of other historians. The men of the Shabankarah tribe (he writes) had originally been herdsmen in Fars, until, with the progressive disorganization of the Buyid rule in the latter days, the Kurds had become a power in the land. At this time, according to our author, the Shabankarah were divided among five tribes, namely, the Ismā'īlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuvī, the Mas'ūdī, and the Shakāni. Of these, the Ismā'ili were the noblest in descent, but the most important tribe was that of the Rāmānī (or Rāhānī, as the MS. may be read), of which Fadlūvah 1 was chief. He inherited this dignity from his father 'Alī (ibn al-Hasan ibn Ayyūb), and had in early youth, when only a neatherd, taken service under the Sāhib 'Ādil, the Wazīr of the last Buyid prince, becoming a great warrior, and rising to command the army in Fars. The fate of this Wazīr, and the subsequent imprisonment and death of this Buyid prince and his mother, have been narrated above, the outcome of which events being that Fadluyah found himself before long the virtual master of Fars. Saljūqs, however, had now become the ruling power in the Caliphate, and Qavurd, brother of the reigning Sultan

three remaining sons were Al-Amīr Abū-l-Fawāris <u>Kh</u>urshāh, then Al-Amīr Abū Dāmah Rustam, and lastly Al-Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū names the last Buyid Malik-ar-Raḥīm Abū Naṣr, instead of Abū Manṣūr, as given by Ibn-al-Bal<u>kh</u>ī.

¹ Häfiz Abrü sometimes writes the name Fadlün, and this is the spelling given in Ibn-al-Athīr.

Alp Arslan, was sent into Fars to bring that province to due order. Fadlüvah, finding that matters were going against him, submitted, presented himself at the Court of Alp Arslan, and was thereupon re-established as deputygovernor of the province. He, however, had not yet learnt wisdom, for once more seeking to be independent, he revolted. The celebrated Nizām-al-Mulk, the Wazīr of Alp Arslan, thereupon besieged him, taking him prisoner in the Castle of Diz Khurshah, where he had sought refuge. From here he was sent to the castle of Istakhr, but managing in time to corrupt his guards, got this stronghold into his own hands. Sultan Alp Arslan on this lost patience, Fadluyah was hunted down and caught, and to avoid further trouble, after being put to death, his skin was stuffed with straw as a manifest warning to his neighbours.1 Fars, after the death of Fadluyah, was put under the rule of the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagin, the patron of our author's grandfather, as already narrated, but Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that in his day some of the Ramani still were to be found living under a chief called Ibrāhīm ibn Razmān, also under a certain Mahamat, son of Abū Nasr ibn Malāk, whose name was Shaybān.

According to Ibn-al-Balkhī, the noble tribe of the Ismā'īlī Shabānkārah were descended from Minūchahr, grandson of the celebrated Farīdūn, an ancient and mythical king of Persia, and the chiefs of the Ismā'īlī had aforetime been Ispahbads, or sub-kings, under the Sassanians. After the Arab conquest their tribe was settled in the Dasht Urd meadowlands, and in this neighbourhood remained, till the coming into those parts of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, some time between 421 and 432 (1030 and 1040). His general Nāsh Farrāsh,² finding the Ismā'īlī tribe in possession of

¹ See also Ibn-al-Athīr, x, 48. These events apparently took place in the year 464 (1071).

² Tāsh Farrāsh is probably the true reading of the name; see Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 267, 289.

Isfahan, expelled them, causing them to migrate south to the lands round Kamah and Farug. The Buyids having reason to object to their presence here, they next wandered westward and ultimately settled round Dārābjird, where, in the times of Bākālījār, they were ruled by two brothers, Muhammad and Namrad, the sons of Yahyā. descendants of these two brothers, of course, quarrelled as to who should be chief of the tribe. Muhammad had left two sons, Bayan and Salk, the latter again leaving a son called Hasuyah, while Namrad had a son called Mamā, who became the father of Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā. The first chief of the clan had been Muhammad, the elder brother of Namrad; and he, our author states, in sign of his rank "was wont to strike (the Kettledrum) five times, the same becoming a custom among these people almost down to the present time, but which has now been forbidden by the Atabeg Chāuli" (successor in Fārs of the Atabeg Khumārtagin). On the death of this Muhammad the elder son Bayan succeeded, but was put to death by his uncle Namrad, who seized on the chiefship of the tribe, establishing himself in Dārābjird. Salk, Bayān's younger brother, thereupon called in the aid of Fadluyah, at this time ruling supreme throughout Fars, as described above. Fadluyah re-established Salk in the chiefship, routed (and presumably killed) Namrad, and at the date when our author wrote, Hasuvah, son of Salk, was chief in his father's room, governing the towns of Ij, Fustajān, Istahbānāt, and Darakān, with other places of the Dārābjird district. But, as Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, between the cousins there could be no peace, Salk ibn Muhammad, and his son Hasuyah after him, living in perpetual war with Mamā ibn Namrad and his son Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā, and this state of things still obtained at the time when our author wrote.

The three remaining Shabānkārah tribes were of less importance. The chief of the Karzuvī clan was a certain

Abū Sa'd, who is mentioned more than once in the geographical part of the work. Abū Sa'd was the son of a certain Muḥammad ibn Mamā; he took service under Fadlūyah, and in the disorders of the last Buyid days obtained possession of Kāzirūn with its districts. All this country he held till the arrival of the Atabeg Chāulī in Fārs, who before long dispossessed him of Kāzirūn. Abū Sa'd, when our author wrote, was apparently already dead, having left a son named, after his early patron, Fadlūyah (ibn Abū Sa'd), now become chief of the remnant of the Karzuvī clan.

Of the Mas'ūdī tribe, the chief had been a certain Amiruwayh, who, making himself powerful in the time of Fadluyah, was put in possession of the castle of Sahārah, near Firūzābād, together with some neighbouring fiefs. The Atabeg Khumārtagīn, coming to Fārs, allowed him to hold all these under the Saljuq overlordship, and then Amīruwayh got into his possession the city of Fīrūzābād. Next the Mas'udi, now become a powerful tribe, seized most of the district of Shapur Khurah, round Kazirun, in addition to the lands of Fīrūzābād. The rise to power of Abū Sa'd, the chief of the Karzuvī clan, however, proved the ruin of Amīruwayh and his people: fighting took place, and the town of Kāzirūn, held by Amīruwayh, having been taken by storm, Abū Sa'd forthwith put that chief to death. Amīruwayh left a son, Vishtāsf by name, and after Abū Sa'd had himself come to his end, and when the Atabeg Chāulī had Fārs firmly under rule, he confirmed Vishtasf, who was related to Hasuyah of the Ismā'īlī clan on the mother's side, in possession of Fīrūzābād, where he governed till his death. When our author wrote, the Mas'ūdī were ruled by a certain Siyāh Mīl, descended from this Vishtāsf. In the geographical part of the work he is stated to have held the castle of Bushkanat, and there were also of this family the two sons of a certain Abū-l-Habah, who still held rank in our author's time. The last clan of the <u>Sh</u>abānkārah to be mentioned is that of the <u>Sh</u>akānī, who lived in the mountain-lands of the coast or hot region. They were for the most part robbers and highwaymen, Ibn-al-Bal<u>kh</u>ī states, but had been brought to order in recent times by the Atabeg Chāulī.

Our author next speaks of the Kurd tribes, who in Fars were divided among the Five Ramms (clans) 1 named the Jilūyah (or Jilawayh), the Ramm-adh-Dhīwān, the Lawalijān, the Kariyān, and the Bazūyān, and these five clans had occupied, he says, originally one hundred thousand Jawmahs, villages or households. In the days of the Sassanians, according to Ibn-al-Balkhi, the Kurdish troops of the Great King had been the flower of the Persian armies; hence, at the time of the Moslem conquest, of the Kurd warriors all, save one man only, had fallen in the numerous battles against the Arab invaders. The one survivor, 'Alak by name, had subsequently become a Moslem, and some of his descendants were yet living when our author wrote. He adds that the Kurds settled in Fars in his day were of a tribe that had been brought down there by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid from the neighbourhood of Isfahān.

Ibn-al-Balkhī closes this section of his book (fols. 88b-89b) with a short discussion as to how the Persians, who are a refractory folk, may best be governed, whether by force or by clemency. In regard to the Shabānkārah more especially, he remarks that you will certainly be

¹ In the B.M. MS. the word is clearly written, and with the vowel marked, Ram or Ramm. Possibly, but by no means certainly, in error the MSS. give it at times with initial z, written Zamm. See De Goeje in Glossary to BGA, iv, p. 250. Jawmah, otherwise Ḥawmah (the word is now pronounced Ḥūmah), means "a village", also "the chief town of a district"; but it must here stand for "a household". The above list of the Ramms Ibn-al-Balkhī has copied verbatim from Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 98 and 99). For Ram-adh-Dhīwān our MS. may read Az-Zabwān; Yāqūt has Az-Zīzān, and Muqaddasī Az-Zīrāz. For other variants see the notes to Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 98, 99.

respected by any one of these turbulent tribesmen if by force you take his turban and then restore it, and this much more than if in the first instance you had generously given him a new turban of your own as a present, for doing which indeed he would only despise you.

Immediately following after the very meagre notice of the Moslem conquest of Persia Ibn-al-Balkhi has inserted a short account of the family of the Chief Justice of Fars (fols. 62a-63b); a summary of these paragraphs will be of use, before passing to the translation of the Geographical Section of his work, where an allusion to the family of the Shīrāz judge occurs. As is patent throughout his work, our author was an orthodox Sunni, and he held in horror the Shī'ah tendencies of the Buyids, whose heterodox beliefs (he further avers) had always when possible been combated by the Qādīs of Shīrāz. judges were of a family come down in direct descent from Abū Burdah of the Arab tribe of Fazārah,1 and during the reign of the Caliph Radi, that is to say between 322 and 329 (934-40), the grandson of the grandson of this Abū Burdah, by name Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah, was promoted from being Judge in Baghdād to be Qādī-al-Qudāt, or Chief Justice of Fārs, his jurisdiction being afterwards extended to include the outlying provinces of Kirman and 'Oman, with the city of Tiz in Makrān. Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that the Qādī Abū Muḥammad, who had composed no less than eighteen works on jurisprudence, "had every care to order well, with good intent, both the (orthodox) Faith and the (Sunnī) Tradition, thus firmly laying the foundations in the matter of the Law." 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince of that day, in spite of his own strong inclination towards the Shī'ah doctrines, had honoured the Qadi with his trust and esteem, for,

¹ He is usually known as Abū Burdah son of Abū Mūsā-al-Ash'ari; and he was Qādī of Kūfah, and died in 103 (721). His father was a well-known Companion of the Prophet, and had been Governor of Basrah.

putting him to the proof, he had ever found him to be incorruptible. This Abū Muḥamınad left five sons: Abū Nasr, the youngest, succeeded him in the judgeship, of whom later; next Abū Dharr and Abū Zuhayr, who settled down as Dihqāns, or provincial nobles, in Kirmān; Abū Tāhir, who acted as his father's deputy in the Kirmān judgeship, and was called to the Sublime Court (Dargāh-i-A'lā, Baghdād presumably) for consultations on the affairs of that province; and lastly Abū-l-Hasan, who, after having been associated with his younger brother (Abū Nasr) in the Fars judgeship, was sent for by Sultan Mahmud, some time between 388 and 421 (998 and 1030), who appointed him Qādī at Ghaznah, and his descendants still held the office of judge there at the time when Ibn-al-Balkhi wrote. Abu Nasr, the youngest of the Qādī Abū Muhammad's five sons, as already said succeeded him as Judge of Fars. He was a man of great learning and influence throughout the province, his power coming to be increased upon his marriage with the only daughter of the Mirdasi chief, a family of local nobility. His son was named 'Abd-Allah, and when in due course he succeeded to the office of Chief Justice he became also, in his mother's right, the hereditary chief noble of the Fars district. This power, judicial and tribal, Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, had afterwards passed to both his son and grandson, whose names our author does not specify, and the grandson was Judge of Shīrāz when our author wrote. The Judge 'Abd-Allah had flourished in the reign of Bākālījār, the penultimate Buyid prince, whose heterodox Shī'ah proclivities the orthodox 'Abd-Allah had always valiantly striven to combat; and further, to his exceeding honour, a brother of the Qadī 'Abd-Allah had through scruples of conscience always refused to be made judge in Isfahān. But, as our author writes, "in the days of Bākālījār, the sect of the Seven Imams had become very rampant," and to the grief of Qadi Abd-Allah the Buyid prince now

appeared to be paying great attention to the preaching of a certain Shi'ah missioner named Abū Nasr ibn 'Amrān, whom the people also were beginning to look upon as a prophet. The pious zeal of the judge becoming inflamed by the disastrous influence which the missioner was getting to exercise over Bākālījār, with much astuteness demanded a private audience, and succeeded in persuading the Buyid prince that the missioner, having succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the troops, was now inciting them to revolt against the Government. Bākālījār thereupon, without pausing to inquire, ordered out a hundred men of his Persian horse-guards and a hundred of his Turk pages, putting them under the orders of a trustworthy person supplied by the Qadi 'Abd-Allah. This officer managed matters promptly and cleverly. The missioner was seized and carried many days on horseback without rest or delay, being at length set free on the further side of the Euphrates, where a decree was forthwith published that it were lawful to slay him if he repassed that stream eastward.

With this anecdote our author concludes his notice of the Chief Justices, and next comes the description of the province of Fars (fols. 63b-86b), which will be found translated in the pages which follow. For a general description of the province and its towns, I may refer the reader to the chapter on Fars in The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. References to the earlier Arab geographers are to the texts printed in the volumes of the Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum (BGA.) of De Goeje. For the present condition of the province I have consulted the (modern) Fars Namah Nasirī (referred to as FNN.), written by Hājī Mirzā Hasan Tabīb of Shīrāz (folio lithograph, Tihran, A.H. 1313, A.D. 1895), of which the great map, in Persian, on the scale of about ten miles to the inch, gives us the position of every village and stream throughout the province. This work has enabled me to

identify many names written defectively in the manuscript, and also to verify the fact in regard to the names which, in the lapse of eight centuries since Ibn-al-Balkhī wrote, have disappeared leaving no trace. And it may be remarked that in many cases the name of an ancient town, or village, that has disappeared, is preserved in the modern district: and sometimes vice versa.

THE PROVINCE OF FARS

Section giving the description of Fars.—This land, after the coming of Islam, became the first campingground of the Arab armies, but in the days of the old Persian kings Fars was the centre of their government and the original seat of their power. For at that time all the countries from the banks of the Oxus to the borders of the Euphrates went by the name of the Land of the Persians; all here were the cities of the Persians, and all the world paid them taxes and tribute. When, however, Islām arose and Fārs came to be conquered. this province became the camping-ground of [one of the armies of | Iraq, for no sooner had the Moslems come hither than they took up their quarters permanently in the land, on the one part the troops from Kūfah, on the other those from Basrah, and from this base they went forth to the conquest of all lands and to subjugate the [eastern] world. Afterwards they gave the names of these two townships, whence originally the armies of Islam had been recruited, to the conquered provinces. Now, the army from Kūfah had taken possession of Quhistan and Jibal, [with all the country from Isfahān to Ray and Dāmghān [going north] to Tabaristan; these provinces, therefore, were given the name of Mah Kufah, and in the [registers of] taxes this name still occurs. The army from Başrah, on the other

¹ This map, which is difficult to procure, I have had on loan from Mr. A. G. Ellis, to whom I am also indebted for having in the first instance brought the $F\bar{a}rs\ N\bar{a}mah$ -i- $N\bar{a}sir\bar{\imath}$ to my notice.

hand, had conquered Bahrayn and 'Omān, with Tīz in Makrān, also Kirmān, Fārs, and Khūzistān, with the adjacent lands and the Arab districts that lie on the frontier; and so all this region came to be known as Māh Baṣrah, and in the registers this name too occurs. Fārs, therefore, is one of the Baṣrah camping-grounds, for it was conquered by the army from Baṣrah, and it came to be called Māh-al-Baṣrah, and the name is so written in the registers.

The extent of Fars, with its districts, is 150 leagues in length by 150 leagues in breadth. In regard to the positions of the angles [of its frontier line], these, as shown in the figure on the margin of the manuscript 1 lie at the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south, and not at the corners [to the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W.]. Thus, the shape of the province is a square [or lozenge], of which the angles are to the four main points of the compass, while the four sides lie cross-wise facing the intervening compass-points, all of which will be clearly understood if the accompanying figure drawn [on the margin of the manuscript], and which represents the outline of the province, be carefully considered. The frontier lands at these four angles of Fars are as follows: To the north the [province here] adjoins Isfahān, the frontier between Isfahān and Fārs being at Yazdikhwast, and then come Yazd, Abarquyah, and [on the other side] Sumayram. The eastern angle of Fars is towards Kirman, in the direction of Sīrjān, the frontier being at Rūdān. This place Rūdān was originally in the Fars province, but in the reign of the late Sultan Alp Arslan, when the frontier came to be re-established between Fars and Kirman at the time that Qavurd [his brother was made governor of Fars], Rūdān was then counted as of Kirmān. The angle to the south lies on the seashore at the frontier of Kirman.

¹ This figure of a lozenge is wanting in both manuscripts.

and the districts of Huzū are at this place; and next comes the Sīf [or Coast District] lying along the sea. The western angle of Fārs is towards Khūzistān, in the direction of the Sea of 'Omān, the frontier being near Arrajān [which should of right be counted] as of the province of Fārs. However, at the time when [the Buyid prince] Bākālījār¹ was driven from his kingdom, the governor of that district was a certain Wazīr, Abu-l-'Alā by name, and he, making common cause with Hazār Asp² [the chief of that frontier], delivered over Arrajān into his hands. Hence it has come about that since the time when Khūzistān [about 443 (1051)] on the first establishment of the present [Saljūq] dynasty, was placed under the governorship of Hazār Asp, Arrajān has been included in the Khūzistān province.

Description of the Kūrahs [Districts] of Fārs.—The province of Fārs contains five [Districts or] Kūrahs, and each Kūrah is called after the name of the king who first established it; these districts therefore stand thus: the Iṣṭakhr Kūrah, that of Dārābjird, that of Ardashīr Khūrah, of Shāpūr Khūrah, and of Qubād Khūrah; and each one of these five Kūrahs contains various cities and sub-districts, as will be fully detailed in what follows.

THE ISTAKHR DISTRICT

The name of this district is from [the capital, Persepolis] Iṣṭakhr, which same was the first city to be built in Fārs, and it was founded by [the mythical king] Kayūmarth. The Kūrah extends over a total area of 50 leagues in the

¹ In the manuscript, as already said, spelt thus and alternatively Bākālinjār. See Introduction, p. 7.

² Hazār Asp ibn Bankīr ibn 'Iyāḍ Tāj-al-Mulk (Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 392).
³ Always written in the MS. <u>kh</u>ūrah, the Arabic form being <u>kh</u>urrah, meaning "the Glory" of Ardashīr, <u>Sh</u>āpūr, and Qubād. As a matter of fact only these three last Kūrahs bear the names of kings. The five Kūrahs are those given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 97) except that he calls Qubād Khurrah the Kūrah of Arrajān.

breadth by 50 in length. Its frontiers in the length are at Yazd [on the east] and at Hazār Dirakht ["the Thousand Trees," on the west], and in the breadth extend from Qūhistān to Nāyrīz. The chief cities of the Kūrah are the following.

Yazd.—This city, with its dependent towns Maybud, Navin, Kathah [Old Yazd], and Fahrai, with some others, belongs to Fars, and it lies on the frontier of the Istakhr Kurah. Yazd has its water from underground channels [kārīz]; its climate is temperate, but by reason that the city stands on the border of the [Great] Desert, it is at Fruits of all kinds grow well, and pometimes hot. granates are in greater abundance here than anywhere else, those of Maybud being the best in quality. In Fahraj the water-melons are excellent, sweet, and so large that two of them are a load for any beast.3 In the districts round silk is produced, for the mulberry-tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade, also of the kind named mushti, farakh,4 and the like, for in [Yazd] they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong. The people [of Yazd] are all of the Sunni sect, orthodox, pious, and strict [in religious observance]. The coin in use here is known as

¹ The MSS. have, probably in error, Hazār va Dirakht, "Thousand and a Tree." The place named is possibly connected with Hazār, chief town of the Hazār District, with a mosque (minbar) mentioned by Iṣṭakhri, p. 102 (also p. 123, l. 1, where Harāt in the text is in error for Hazār), and IH. 182, 194. Muqaddasī (p. 458) writes the name Azār Sābūr, in Qudāmah (p. 196) it is given as Nay Sābūr. The present village of Hazār lies 2½ leagues south-east of Bayḍā (FNN. 185), which agrees with the Itineraries (Ist. 132, IH. 201, Muq. 458), where it is placed half-way between Māyin and Shīrāz.

² The village near Isfīdān, see next page.

³ The MS. here has a hole in the paper: text completed from Hāfiz Abrū (India Office MS., fol. 76a, B.M. 86a).

^{*} Mushtī is mentioned in Muqaddasī (p. 323) as the name of a stuff made in Nīshāpūr. De Goeje (Glossary, BGA. iv, 355) explains that the name came from the instrument (musht) used in its manufacture. What the farakh stuff was is uncertain; possibly we should read farajī, given in the dictionaries as the name of a garment worn by Shaykhs.

the Amīrī gold piece, and three of these dīnārs go to the red dīnār. 1

Greater and Lesser Urd.—A meadow-land, 30 leagues in length by 3 in breadth. In this meadow-land there are districts that are full of villages with fiefs paying the state and the land taxes.² The chief town of those districts is Bajjah.³ The climate here is extremely cold, hence there are neither trees nor gardens. Both in the plain and in the hills around are many springs. In this district also is a village [called Kushk-i-Zard ⁴], of the state-domains, and this is the frontier village of the district. All these places are most populous, and to this district also belong the villages of Dih Gawz, Abādah, and Shūristān.⁵

Kūrad and Kallār.6—Kūrad is a small town, Kallār a large village; and a wide district lies round them, producing corn crops, for the climate here is very cold. There are running streams, and the source of the River Kur is in this district. It is most populous.

Isfīdān and Qūhistān.7—Both these places are much

² Mulkī wa kharājī.

⁴ MS. blank restored conjecturally from Hamd-Allah Mustawfi.

⁶ Kūrad, according to the Itineraries, lay 5 leagues north of Kallār.

Neither place now exists.

¹ Namely, the "Abbasid dīnār" of the Caliphate, worth about half a sovereign.

³ The name Urd is no longer known. Bajjah, the chief town (or Jawmah), is possibly Bāzbachah, 5½ leagues north of Aspās (FNN. 220, Ist. 103, Muq. 424). The word Jawmah, already referred to (p. 13), often written in the MSS., whether in error or not, Hawmah, is used in Ibn-al-Balkhī for "the chief town" of a district. In modern Persian hūmah is the district round a town, e.g. the hūmah of Shīrāz (FNN. 190).

⁵ Dih Gawz is modern Dih Girdū, "Nut Village" (FNN. 220). This Abādah is now known as "of Iqlīd", to distinguish it from the village of the same name near Lake Bakhtigān (FNN. 168). Shūristān is modern Shūlgistān (FNN. 168), which Iṣṭakhrī (p. 103) gives as Sarvistān, "Cypress Village."

⁷ Isfidan, which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably the modern Isfadran (FNN. 221). Quhistan, which generally means "a mountain district" or "the hill country", is here the name of a village, probably near Isfadran, but no longer to be found on the map. It is given above as on the western frontier.

like Kūrad. The climate here is extremely cold; and in the neighbourhood there is a cavern in the mountain that can be used as a place of refuge.

Yazdikhwāst.—This place, with Dih Gawz, Shūristān, Abādah [above mentioned], and other villages of these parts are all of the cold district, growing corn but no fruit. There are running streams and springs here, but at Shūristan ["the Salt Village"] the water is brackish.

<u>Khabraz and Sarvāt.</u>—[Both these are] small towns, having many districts round them, of which they are the chief places. The climate here is cold but temperate; there are running streams and springs, and fruit of all kinds is grown plentifully. The district is populous, and in the chief town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.¹

<u>Khabrak and Qālī.—Khabrak</u> is a large village and Qālī a meadow-land, some [5 or 6] ² leagues in length. The climate here is cold but healthy; also there are hunting-grounds. Their water is from the river [Purvāb], which is very wholesome. The district is populous, and near by is the village of <u>Kh</u>uvār, the climate and water of which

¹ There is some confusion about these two places and the next two mentioned. Khabraz appears to be modern Khabraz, lying 3 leagues south-west of Arsinjan (FNN. 173). No village of Sarvat now exists, and the name is given by Istakhrī (p. 103, also IH. 182) as Sarvāb, and in the present MS. it is often written so that it might be read Purvāb, the name of the river. Sarvat, however, is given below as near Kamah, modern Kamin, hence it probably stood to the southward of modern Kalīlak. The district round this, along the eastern bank of the Purvāb River, was apparently the meadow land of Qali, a name that has disappeared from the map. This also is the case with Khabrak, but Khuvār near which it stood exists, as Qal'ah Khār (I league to the south-east of Arsinjan), and Khabrak, given later in the MS. under the form Khafrak, must have been one of the chief villages of the Khafrak Districts, Upper and Lower, which are well known (FNN. 174, 300). The mosque for the Friday prayers so frequently mentioned [literally "congregational mosque and pulpit"; jāmi' wa minbar] is a phrase taken from Istakhrī and other earlier Arab geographers who give long lists of towns with or without a minbar or "pulpit", to indicate their approximate importance and size.

² Added from Hāfiz Abrū, and see the previous note.

are as aforesaid, and here too there is a castle called Qal'ah Khuvār.

Māyīn.—A small town in the hill country, lying at the foot of a pass, at a point where many roads meet. The climate is cold, and the water from running streams excellent. They have corn and fruit, but in no great quantities. Most of the people here are thieves and robbers.

Abarqūyah.—Abarqūyah is a small town, with a broad district round it, having a temperate climate, somewhat cooler than that of Yazd. Its water is from running streams partly, and in part from underground channels. There are corn-lands, and much fruit is grown. It is a pleasant place, with an invigorating climate, but other crops [beyond those above mentioned] do not grow here. The town is populous, and there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

 $Iql\bar{\iota}d$.—A small town, with a fortress; also a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cool, for it lies in the cold country, and is both temperate and invigorating. The water is good, being from running streams. Fruits of all kinds are cultivated here, and there are corn-lands, but no other crops are grown. The place is very populous.

Surmaq and Arjumān.—[Both are] small towns, with their districts, that resemble in every way Iqlīd. They also grow here apricots; the equal thereof for excellence and sweetness will not be found anywhere else in all the world, and the dried apricots from this place are exported to other lands. The district is very populous.

Rūn Greater and Lesser.2—These are meadow-lands,

¹ Māyīn, Abarqūyah, now called Abarqūh, and Iqlīd are all well-known places; so too Surmaq and Arjumān, now written Sūrmaq and Argumān (FNN. 169, 171, 291). In the text of Iṣṭakhrī (p. 101) Arjumān is wrongly given as Arkhumān or Urkhumān (variant here right). Our Paris MS. gives Urjān or Uzjān, in error, which must not be mistaken for Uzjān of Yāqūt, i, 197.

² Rūn District is no longer found on the map, but its position north of Māyīn is confirmed by the Itinerary. It is not the modern Rivin (spelt the same) of FNN, 272, which lay in Kūh Gilūyah.

16 leagues in length by 2 in width. There are many districts among these meadows, where are fiefs and crown lands ¹; and the chief town lies among gardens. The climate is cold, their water is from springs, and they have hardly any fruit, nothing being grown except corn. You go from here to the pass above Māyīn, a fearful road, by reason of the footpads, who infest all the villages of that district.

Kāmfīrūz.²—A district lying on the banks of [the River Kur]. There is here a great forest of oak-trees, with medlars and willows. Lions are met with in great numbers, very fierce and bold, and in no other place [in Fārs] are they so numerous. The climate is cold, but temperate, and they get their water from the river [Kur], which is excellent and digestible. The chief town of the district is [Tīr Māyijān], but most of its villages are now in ruin.

Kamah, Fārūq, and Lasīrā. 4—[Three] small towns, with many villages and their districts. The climate here is cold but temperate. There are many fine running streams, and much fruit of all kinds is grown. Hunting-grounds abound near by. All the district is populous, and in the chief town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Ṣāhah and Harāh.5—Two small towns; the climate here is temperate, but running streams are scarce. In Ṣāhah they get iron, and of the steel make swords and other blades, which [after the name of the town] are

¹ Iqṭāʿī wa mulkī.

² FNN. 256. The chief town of the district, now, is called Pālangarī.

³ Blank: see Itinerary. Istakhrī does not mention its chief town.

⁴ Kamah town is probably the present Kalīlak, the capital of the Kamīn District: Fārūq exists, in the Upper Khafrak District; but Lasīrā, or Basīrā (as the name is spelt later), is no longer to be found on the map (FNN. 260, 300).

⁵ Ṣāhah is modern Chāhak, as further shown by the name of the Chāhakī swords. Harāt, as the name is written in the Arab geographers, also exists (FNN. 181, 301).

called Chāhakī. Both these towns are populous, each having a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Bavvān and Marvast.¹—Bavvān is a small town, with a mosque for Friday prayers; and Marvast is like it. There are fruit orchards, so extensive that their trees make a forest. These two towns lie near the districts of Kirmān. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams; also, both places are very populous.

Abraj.²—A large village lying at the foot of a hill. This hill is their sure refuge, and they have dug their houses, [building them] one above another in its flank. An abundant stream flows down from its summit, and the water for the whole district is taken from this.

Istakhr and Marvdasht.—Istakhr in the days of the ancient Persian kings was their capital. It was, in fact, first founded by Kayūmarth, and after him each king on his accession added something to the city, more especially Tahmūrath, who built here many palaces. When Jamshīd came to be king of [Persia and] the whole world, he made Istakhr such an enormous city that its limits extended from Ḥafrak or Khafrak [on the east] to the further parts of Rāmjird [on the west], its area measuring 4 leagues in length by 10 in breadth. Within the circuit of the city there were three castles, one Qal'ah

¹ Bavvān (not to be confused with the valley of Bavvān, mentioned below) was the chief town of the district still known as the Bavvānāt. Of this the capital now is Sūriyān, but Bavvān town is more probably to be identified with modern Muzayjān, which in the Arab geographers is spelt Murayzijan (FNN. 181, Ist. 101, Muq. 424). The town of Marvast must not be confounded with the Marvdasht district, as is too often the case in the MSS. The town exists (FNN. 301); and it is probably the place mentioned by Istakhrī (p. 102), where for Marusf in the text we should read the variant Marūst or Marvast given in the note. (In BGA. iv, 390, the emendation that this should be read Marvdasht is certainly in error.) Neither Marvdasht district nor Marvast town is mentioned by any of the other Arab geographers.

² Abraj is now the name of the district of which the chief town is Dashtak (FNN, 170).

³ Persepolis (FNN. 293).

Istakhr, the second Qal'ah Shikastah [the Broken Castle], and the third Qal'ah Shakanvan. These were known as the Three Domes.1 Next he built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world; and the description thereof is after this wise. At the foot of the hill [north of Istakhr] Jamshid laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in colour, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 ells. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy of ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone, so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by turner's art or by carving; and these columns were very tall. Some were after one pattern, while others were differently carved; and among the rest there were two pillars in particular which stood before the threshold [of the palace], these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all the province of Fars is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought. This stone is [a stiptic] for wounds, hence they break off pieces thereof, and when any one has received a hurt they file some piece of the stone down, and laying [the powder] on the wound it forthwith is staunched. The wonder is however these great stones were set up here, for each pillar measures more than 30 ells round and about, being also more than 40 ells in height; and each is built up of only two or [at most] three blocks. Further, there is

¹ Sih Gunbadān.—At fol. 15b of the MS. the author writes that in the castle of Iṣṭakhr Jamshīd kept his treasury [khazānah], in the castle of Shikastah his storehouse [farrāṣḥ-khānah], and in the castle of Shakanvān he established his armoury [zarrād-khānah]. This last name is sometimes written Shankavān.

to be seen here the figure of [the steed] Buraq,1 and the figure is after this fashion: the face is as the face of a man with a beard and curly hair, with a crown set on the head, but the body, with the fore and hind legs, are those of a bull, and the tail is a bull's tail. Now all these columns had borne originally upper stories erected on their summits, but of these buildings no trace now remains. Round and about lie mounds of clay, and the people going up there dig out this clay and wash it; and they find in among the clay Indian tutty,2 which same is a medicament for the eyes; but no one knows how this has here come to be mixed up with the clay. In Istakhr everywhere and about may be seen the sculptured portrait of Jamshid, [and he is represented] as a powerful man with a well-grown beard, a handsome face, and curly hair. In many places his likeness has been so set that he faces [south to] the sun. In one hand he holds a staff, and in the other a censer, in which incense is burning, and he is worshipping the sun. In other places he is represented with his left hand grasping the neck of a lion, or else seizing a wild ass by the head, or again he is taking a unicorn [or rhinoceros] by the horn, while in his right hand he holds a hunting-knife, which he has plunged into the belly of the lion or unicorn aforesaid. In the hill [above Istakhr] they have made a hot-bath, cutting tanks in the solid rock; and the water which flows into these tanks from the sides and the ceilings is from a natural hot spring, which goes to prove that the source of the water lies in a sulphur-bed. On the hill-summit [beyond Istakhr] are many great Dakhmahs,3 to which the people have given the name of the Prison of the Wind.

¹ On which the Prophet Muhammad made his Night Journey to Heaven. See Quran, ch. xvii, where, however, the name of the steed is not mentioned.

² Tutty, which is crude zinc oxide, is found in many parts of Persia.

³ So-called Towers of Silence, where the dead were exposed by the Guehres.

The Marydasht District 1 in part was built over by the houses of the city [of Istakhr], but the greater portion was occupied by the gardens of Jamshid's palaces. River Purvāb is the celebrated stream that flows past Istakhr and through the Marvdasht district; its waters are wholesome to drink. The climate of Istakhr is cold but temperate, and resembles that of Isfahan. early days of Islam when Istakhr was first conquered [by the Arabs], once and twice even the people revolted treacherously, which led to a massacre of the inhabitants, as has been already mentioned in the first [historical] part of the present work, and the city was laid in ruins. long after this, in the latter part of the reign of Bākālījār [the Buyid], there was a certain Wazīr who, being at enmity with another [noble], set out to contend with him. Upon this the Amir Qutulmish 2 came up with a [third] army, and they [fought], demolishing all that remained of [ancient] Istakhr, and pillaged the whole township. Wherefore at the present time Istakhr is become a mere village, with only a hundred men for population. The River Kur [as already said] flows through [the plain of] Marvdasht; its source is near Kallar, and it flows out into Lake Bakhtigan, the description of which will come in its proper place. Near Istakhr is seen the mountain of Nafasht, on which was preserved the Book of Zand,3 which [the prophet] Zoroaster revealed.

Rāmjird.4—A district lying on the banks of the [Kur]

¹ FNN. 293, but, as already said (note to p. 25), not mentioned by the Arab geographers,

² The Amīr Qutulmish, surnamed Shahāb-ad-Dawlah, was the son of an uncle of Tughrul Beg. He was the contemporary and rival of Sulṭān Alp Arslān, and died in 456 (1064). (Ibn-al-Athīr, x, 23, 24.) He was the ancestor of the later Saljūq Sultans who ruled in Qūniyah (Iconium).

³ This mountain and its connexion with the revelation of the Zand Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority. No Arab geographer seems to have noticed the name, and nothing about it is given by F. Rosenberg in his translation of the Zaratusht Nāmah (Le Livre de Zoroastre, St. Petersburg, 1904).

⁴ FNN. 214.

River. In this part of the stream they had in former days erected a dam in order to secure a sufficiency of water to irrigate the lands, but in the times of disorder [when the Arabs overran Persia] this dam fell to ruin, and all the district of Rāmjird went out of cultivation. In recent years the Atabeg Chāulī has rebuilt this dam, and the country round has again been brought under cultivation. This dam is named [after the Atabeg whose surname is Fakhr-ad-Dawlah] the Fakhristān. The climate of the district is cold but temperate, and there are corn-lands giving abundant crops, but no fruit is grown.

Qutruh.¹—A small town with a temperate climate. There are running streams, and both corn and fruit are grown. It is now under the rule of Ḥasūyah.² There are iron-mines here, and the district is populous.

<u>Khayrah</u> and Nayrīz.3—These are two small towns, and Nayrīz possesses a castle. They grow grapes here abundantly, and most of the grapes they dry to make raisins. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams. In each town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, for they are very populous. Near by is the district governed by Ḥasūyah, and in <u>Khayrah</u> there is a very strongly fortified castle 4 on a hill-top.

Upper and Lower Kirbāl.⁵—[In these districts] they have built three dams across the Kur River, whose waters serve to irrigate their lands. Of these districts parts are of the hot region, parts of the cold, and there are corn-lands.

Baydā.6—A small but well-built town, and the soil here

² Chief of the Ismā'īlī tribe; see Introduction (p. 11).

¹ FNN. 308. Now spelt Qatrū.

³ Khayrah, a stage in the Itineraries, must have been the chief hamlet of the Khīr district, which lies on the south of Lake Bakhtigān to the north of Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 178 and 199). Nayrīz, now pronounced Nīrīz, is a town and district to the east of the lake (FNN. 305).

⁴ Tīr-i-Khudā ; see below. ⁵ FNN. 256.

⁶ Now called the Hill of Bayda, *Tall Baydā* in Arabic meaning "the White Hill" (FNN. 183). The name is pronounced Bayzā by the Persians.

is white, and it is from this fact that the place has its name. Before the gate of the town there stretches out a fine meadow-land, 10 leagues in length by 10 leagues in width, and in all the country round there is none other to equal it. There are many dependent districts, and the fruit grown here is excellent, being of all kinds. The climate is cold but temperate, and running streams of good water abound. The town is populous, with a mosque for the Friday prayers. In the neighbourhood of Baydā lie the two [villages of] Āsh and Ṭūr.1

Abādah.2—A small town, having a strongly fortified castle. The climate is temperate, and its water is derived from the overflow of the Kur River, for near by lies the lake [of Bakhtigān]. Grapes in abundance grow here. The district [governed by] Ḥasūyah is near here, and it is very populous.

<u>Khurramah.</u>³—A small but pleasant town, with a temperate climate and running streams. Fruit and corn grow abundantly. There is a castle here, on the hill-top, which is very strongly fortified and known as Qal'ah <u>Khurramah</u>; in the town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Dih Mārd and Rādān.⁴—Two villages lying at no great distance from Bavvān. The climate is cold, and in the first-named village myrtles grow abundantly.

 $^{^{1}}$ Neither appears to exist at the present day; cf. Itinerary for their position.

² The southern Abadah, now known as Abadah Tashk (FNN. 170).

³ Now called Khirāmah (FNN. 257).

⁴ Dih Mūrd, which still exists (FNN. 170), is called in Arabic Qariyatal-Ās, both names signifying "Myrtle Village"; and it was known to the earlier geographers also as Būdanjān. Rādān, or Rādhān, is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) as a village with no mosque for the Friday prayer. Muqaddasī (p. 457) gives it as lying between Harāt and Shahr-i-Bābak, one stage from either place; it no longer appears to be marked on the map. Rādān must not be confounded with Rūdān, on the eastern frontier of Fārs.

THE TARIKH-BAGHDAD (VOL. XXVII) OF THE KHATIB ABU BAKR AHMAD B. 'ALI B. THABIT ALBAGHDADI'

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BIOGRAPHIES BY FRITZ KRENKOW

A MONG the recent acquisitions of the India Office Library is a volume of the Tārīh Baghdād of the Hatib² containing biographies of men with the names of 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali. The MS. is acephalous, the end is missing, and many leaves have been lost, so that an edition of the whole text is out of the question. Paper and writing point to the beginning of the seventh century of the Higrah. This volume of the extensive biographical dictionary of the Hatib does not appear to exist in other European libraries, the greater portion of the work having Salmon published in 1904 the geographical been lost. introduction of the book with a French translation; in his introduction he gives an account of the known MSS. and a biography of the author. With regard to the MSS. enumerated by Salmon, it must be noted that Amar (JA., vol. xi, 237, 1908) has shown that the MSS. Bibl. Nat. 2130 and 2131 are not the original work of the Hatīb, but parts of an amplification of his work by Ibn an-Nağğar (d. 643 A.H.). The fact that No. 2131 is called the twenty-eighth volume, and contains biographies of men named 'Ali following later, according to the alphabetical arrangement of the Hatib, than those contained in the India Office MS., seems to prove that the latter is a portion of the twenty-seventh volume.

¹ For biographies of the author I refer readers to the introduction of the work of Salmon, mentioned below, and the long account found in Yāqūt, Iršād, i, 246-60.

² Arab. 1134.

With the utmost liberality the authorities at the India Office sent me the codex for perusal at home, for which I express here my sincerest thanks and the faint hope that other public libraries in this country may some day make similar arrangements, which would greatly assist Oriental studies and place English students on a similar footing to that enjoyed by scholars on the Continent. This enabled me to make a complete copy of the MS., which I shall be pleased to place at the disposal of scholars who cannot consult the India Office MS.

The MS. is written in kurrāsahs of ten leaves each, and the following table will show at a glance which leaves are lost or misplaced:—

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I missing.
    II
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                        3
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         X
              1
                             4
                                        6
                  11
   III
        10
                       12
                            13
                                 14
                                       15
                                            16
                                                 17
                                                      18
              \dot{\mathbf{x}}
   IV
         x
             19
                  20
                            23
                                 24
                                       X
                                           [21
                                                 22]
                                                      \mathbf{x}
                        \mathbf{x}
    \mathbf{v}
             25
                  26
                       27
                            28
                                 29
                                            31
                                                 32
                                                      33
                                      30
         x
   VI
         x
             34
                  35
                       36
                            37
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                                                      42
  VII
        43
             44
                  45
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                                            50
 VIII
        92
             53
                  54
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                                      58
   IX
        62
             63
                       65
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                  64
                                      68
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    X
        72
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                  74
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                                           79
                                                80
                                                      81
   XI
        82
             83
                  84
                       85
                            86
                                 87
                                      88
                                           89
                                                      90
                                                 x
  XII 91
             93
                  94
                       95
                            96
                                 97
                                      98
                                           99
                                               100
                                                    101
 XIII to XVII, only the following leaves preserved; it is
          doubtful to which kurrāsa they belong: 104,
          105, 102, 103; 106; 107, 108.
XVIII x
                  x
                       x 109 x x
          X
                                           \mathbf{x} = \mathbf{x}
 XIX x
            110
                      111 112 113 114
                  x
                                               115 116
                                           X
  XX x
            117 118 119 120 121
                                    122
                                               131 x
                                           X
 XXI 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130
                                               132
                                                     X
XXII x
            133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140
                                                    141
XXIII 142
           143 144 145 146 147
                                    148 149 150
                                                     \mathbf{X}^{-i}
XXIV
            151 152 153 154 155 156
        X
                                          157 158
                                                    159
XXV 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167
                                                x
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In spite of so many defects the volume contains some interesting details. Far from being a history, the aim of the Hatīb is in the first instance to give the names of traditionists as fully as possible, then he quotes the authorities of each person and his principal pupils; after this he gives opinions of his own teachers with regard to the trustworthiness of the men whose biographies are recorded, and not seldom a tradition, or traditions, which are recorded on their authority, pointing out forgeries and errors, always giving the authority of one of his teachers but never his own opinion. Here he appears strongly opposed to 'Alide traditions. I have omitted this portion as a rule in the subsequent pages as it would have made my article too long, and I have contented myself with giving such details which I thought might be of general interest; I have given dates wherever they are recorded. We even glean some additional details about the author himself, as e.g. in the biography of his father (No. 220). Interesting is the biography of Abū-l-Farağ al-Isbahānī, which I have added in the Arabic text, as this is the only biography in which anything like a full account of the works of any of the authors named is given. A very long account is given of the grammarian al-Kisā'ī, which proves, though the Hatīb is quite unconscious of it, that he was a mixture of a charlatan and a man of learning, conceited, and never sure of his own knowledge. Al-Kisā'ī plays the often repeated trick of claiming to have received the authority for his statements, which were disputed, in a dream from the prophet.1

The MS. frequently lacks the diacritical points just in names of persons and places where they are absolutely necessary, and vowels are put occasionally in words where they are generally understood. The former defect entailed

¹ I refer the reader to the Appendix, in which I try to justify my remarks here.

a good deal of research, and I have been able to fix most, though not all, of the names by the aid of the Kitāb al-Ansāb of as-Sam'ānī, of which the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund are preparing a facsimile edition, and which it is to be hoped will soon be in the hands of students. In the footnotes I have indicated where I have found biographies of the men named in other works of biography, the principal of which are—

al-Maqdisī, Maǧmaʻ bain ar-Riǧāl, ed. Ḥaidarābād, 1323. aḍ-Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, ed. Ḥaidarābād, no date. Ibn Ḥaǧar, Taqrīb at-Tahdīb, ed. Lucknow, 1321. Ibn Ḥaǧar, Tahdīb at-Tahdīb, Ḥaidarābād, 1326, vol. vii. Ibn Ḥallikān, ed. Cairo, 1310.

The following list of biographies in the order in which they are found in the MS. will show the scope of the volume, and I must at the outset remark that I give all names ending with the letters a in the Persian pronunciation āyah. Sam'ānī, who had frequent opportunity of meeting men with similar names, insists upon this spelling. Names of this class point to Persian origin, and were without a shadow of doubt pronounced in this way by those who bore them, and we should cease to follow the pedantry of Arab grammarians who try to make these foreign names conform with rules of Arab speech. Only Sib-būyah means "apple-scented", not Sibawaihi; similarly, we must read Būyah for Bawaihi; Nifṭūyah for Nifṭawaihi; Miskūyah for Miskawaihi, etc.

'UMAR

- 'Umar b. Hārūn al-Balhī, died 194 a.H. (Beginning lost.) [Fol. 1a.]
- 1. Taqrīb, 282 ; Dahabī, Tabaqāt,
i, 311 ; Mīzān, ii, No. 2154 ; Tahdīb, vii, 501.
- ¹ I have not made an attempt to be exhaustive in these notes, as many works of reference are not at my disposal.
- ² I am moreover inclined to think that this translation is wrong also; the duplicated B is never mentioned, and we must read Sībūyah after the analogy of other similar names.

- 2. 'Umar b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Qais Abū Ḥafs al-Abbār al-Kūfī. [Fol. 1B.]
 - 2. Taqrīb, 280; Tahdīb, vii, 473.
- 3. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Abdī al-Baṣrī, died 198 A.H. [Fol. 3A.]
 - 3. Mīzān, ii, No. 1994.
- 4. 'Umar b. Šabīb b. 'Umar al-Muslī, a native of al-Kūfa. [Fol. 5A.]
 - 4. Mīzān, ii, No. 2054; Taqrīb, 279; Tahdīb, vii, 461 (died 202 A.H.)
- 5. 'Umar b. Habīb al-'Adawī, a native of al-Baṣra. [Fol. 6B.]

Anecdote containing an account of a dispute about the trustworthiness of Abū Huraira as traditionist in the presence of ar-Rašīd.

When under Hārūn he was Qādī of ar-Ruṣāfa, he had occasion to summon 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Alī¹ to appear in a case brought against him. The latter refused to appear, whereupon 'Umar ceased sitting in court. Hārūn, having heard of this, commanded 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad to appear, and 'Umar, having regard to the dignity of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, had the road from his castle to the mosque of ar-Ruṣāfa laid with felt carpets. When 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad appeared in the mosque he made as though he would sit by the side of 'Umar, but the latter forced him to sit with his adversary. We are not told what was the nature of the claim, but the judge found against 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.

'Umar forms part of a deputation to al-Ma'mūn from al-Baṣra; while they are in the audience hall a man is brought and the Caliph commands him to be beheaded there and then. 'Umar intercedes, though he is the youngest of the deputation, and obtains pardon for the prisoner by quoting a tradition which he had heard from Hārūn after al-Manṣūr after Ibn Abbās. He asks al-Ma'mūn why he does

¹ An uncle of the Caliph Hārūn.

not transmit traditions, and the Caliph answers that sovereignty and transmitting traditions to the people do not go well together.

This account appears to be apocryphal, as 'Umar was appointed judge for the eastern part of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr, and to the same office in al-Baṣra by Hārūn.

(The end of the biography is unfortunately lost.)

- 5. Mīzān, ii, No. 1986; Taqrīb, 277; Tahdīb, vii, 431 (died 206 or 207 A.H.).
- 6. 'Umar b. Sa'id Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qurašī ad-Dimašqī, died the 3rd of Dū-l-Qa'da, 225 A.H., over 80 years old. (Beginning missing.) [Fol. 11A.]
 - 6. Tahdīb, vii, 453.
- 7. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥālid b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ, known as al-Kurdī. [Fol. 118.]
 - 7. Sam'ānī, 479A; Mīzān, ii, No. 1963.
- 8. 'Umar b. Zurāra Abū Ḥafs al-Ḥadathī. [Fol. 12a.]
- 8A. 'Umar b. Zurāra an-Nīšāpūrī, mentioned at the end of the biography to distinguish him from his namesake. [Fol. 12B.]
- 9. 'Umar b. al-Farağ Abū 'Aun al-Hāšimī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 13a.]
- 10. 'Umar b. Ismā'īl b. Muǧālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī, a native of al-Kūfa. [Fol. 13a.]
 - 10. Taqrīb, 277; Tahdīb, vii, 427.
- 11. 'Umar b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Abū Ḥafṣ, settled in ar-Raqqa, where he died 237 a.h. [Fol. 15a.]
 - 'Umar b. Abī-l-Ḥārith Ḥunga b. 'Āmir as-Sa'dī al-Buḥārī, died 250 a.H. in Baghdād. [Fol. 15B.]
- 12. Maqdisī, Maǧmaʻ, p. 343, No. 1296.
 - 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. az-Zubair Abū Ḥafṣ al-Asadī, known as Ibn at-Tall, died in Śawwāl, 250 a.H. [Fol. 16a.]
 - 14. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz aḍ-Darīr. [Fol. 17a.]
 - 'Umar b. Naṣr Abū Ḥafṣ al-Anṣārī an-Nahrawānī.
 [Fol. 17B.]

- 16. Umar b. Šabba b. Ubaida b. Zaid Abū Zaid an-Numairī al-Baṣrī, born on Sunday, 1st of Ragab, 173 A.H., died on Thursday, the 25th of Ğumādā ii, 262 A.H. [Fol. 17B.]
 - 16. Dahabī, Tabaqāt, ii, 98; Taqrīb, 279; Tahdīb, vii, 460.
- 17. 'Umar b. Manşūr b. Naşr Abū Ḥafş al-Kātib. [Fol. 19B.]
- 18. 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Īsā al-Madā'inī. [Fol. 20a.]
- 19. 'Umar b. Sulaimān Abū Ḥafṣ, the schoolmaster. [Fol. 20A.]
- Umar b. Mudrik Abū Ḥafṣ ar-Rāzī, the Qāḍī; some say he came from Balḫ. (End of biography lost.) [Fol. 20B.]
 - 20. Mīzān, ii, No. 2131.
- 21. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm Abū Bakr al-Ḥāfiz, known as Abu-l-Ādān, died at Sāmirā in Muḥarram, 290 A.H., at the age of 63 years. (Beginning of biography lost.) [Fol. 21A.]
 - 21. Taqrīb, 277; Tahdīb, vii, 424.
- 22. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abān b. Abī Ḥamza, known as Ibn az-Zayyāt. [Fol. 21a.]
- 23. 'Umar b. al-Walīd b. Abān al-Karābīsī. [Fol. 21a.]
- 24. 'Umar b. Dā'ūd b. Sa'dān Abū Ḥafṣ an-Nīšāpūrī. [Fol. 21B.]
- Umar b. Ḥafṣ Abū Bakr as-Sadūsī, died in Ṣafar,
 293 a.H. [Fol. 21B.]
- 26. 'Umar b. Ya'qūb b. Yaḥyā Abū Ḥafs ar-Raqqī. [Fol. 22a.]
- 27. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Biśr b. as-Sarī Abū-l-Ḥusain, known as Ibn as-Sunnī. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 22a.]
- 28. Three lines of a biography, the beginning of which is lost. This traditionist transmitted after Zaid b. al-Ḥabbāb. [Fol. 23A.]
- 29. 'Umar b. Yāsir b. al-Yās Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār. [Fol. 23a.]
- 30. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam (or 'Abd al-Ḥakam) Abū Ḥafṣ, known as an-Nasā'ī. [Fol. 23a.]
- 31. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥafṣ, known as aš-Šaṭawī, died Rabī' i, 279 a.H. [Fol. 23B.]

- 32. 'Umar b. Mūsā Abū Ḥafs al-Ğallā'. [Fol. 24A.]
- 33. Umar b. Mūsā b. Fairūz Abū Ḥafṣ al-Maḥramī, known as at-Tawwazī. (End of biography lost.)
 [Fol. 24A.]
- 34. Umar b. Ayyūb as-Saqati, died 302 or 303 A.H. (Beginning lost.) [Fol. 25A.]
- 35. 'Umar b. Hālid b. Yazīd b. al-Gārūd Abū Hafs aš-Ša'īrī, was alive in 304 a.H. [Fol. 25a.]
 - 35. Sam'ānī, 335B.
- 36. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥakam Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ma'arrī al-Kāghidī, died 305 а.н. [Fol. 26а.]
- 37. 'Umar b. Wāṣil, a Baṣrī, in the opinion of the Ḥaṭīb, who settled in Baghdād. [Fol. 26a.]
 - 37. Mīzān, ii, No. 2159.
- 38. Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. Naṣr b. Ṭarḥān Abū Ḥufaiṣ al-Qādī al-Ḥalabī, came to Baghdād. He died in 306 a.h. on his return journey from Baghdād to Ḥalab, it is said at Hīt. [Fol. 27a.]
- 39. 'Umar b. Tāhir b. Abī Qurra al-Warrāq. [Fol. 27B.]
- 40. 'Umar b. Hafs b. Muḥammad al-Maḥramī. [Fol. 28a.]
- 41. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Muʿārik Abū Ḥafṣ. [Fol. 28a.]
- 42. 'Umar b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hāšimī, was superintendent of prayer at the great mosque of ar-Ruṣāfa till his death in Ṣafar, 307 A.H. [Fol. 28A.]
- 43. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Bakkāz Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qāfilānī, died 308 A.H. [Fol. 28B.]
- 44. 'Umar b. Rizq-Allāh b. al-Haǧǧāǧ, was alive in 308 A.H. [Fol. 28B.]
- 45. 'Umar b. Sahl b. Yazīd Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Daqqāq at-Tustarī. [Fol. 29a.]
- 46. 'Umar b. Sahl b. Maḥlad Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz. [Fol. 29B.]
- 47. 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Salama Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn Abī Ghailān ath-Thaqafī, died 309 a.h. [Fol. 29b.]
- 48. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥammād b. Ḥassān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Yazdād Abu-l-Qāsim,

- known as Ibn Abī Ḥassān az-Ziyādī, died 314 а.н. [Fol. 29в.]
- 49. 'Umar b. al-'Alā' b. Mālik Abū Bakr, the Qur'ān-reader. [Fol. 30A.]
- 50. Umar b. Muḥammad b. Īsā b. Saʿīd Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ğauharī, known as as-Saḍābī. [Fol. 308.]
 - 50. Mīzān, ii, No. 2118; Sam'ānī, 295A.
- 51. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Šu'aib Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣābūnī. [Fol. 31A.]
- 52. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Sanūyah b. Muqarrin b. ar-Rabī' Abū Ahmad al-Marwazī. [Fol. 318.]
- Umar b. Muhammad b. al-Musayyib b. Darīs Abū Ḥafṣ, known as an-Nīšāpūrī, died 321 A.H. [Fol. 31B.]
- 54. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ġa'd b. 'Ubaid Abū 'Āsim al-Ğauharī, brother of Sulaimān and 'Alī; he died 323 A.H. [Fol. 32A.]
- 55. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥannāṭ, or al-Ḥayyāṭ. [Fol. 32A.]
 - 55. The Hatib is in doubt whether bis or bisil is correct.
- 56. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. Sūrīn Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaṭṭān, a native of Dair al-'Āqūl. [Fol. 32B.]
 - 56. Sam'ānī, 317A.
- 57. 'Umar b. Ğa'far b. Ahmad b. al-Farağ Abū Ḥafs al-Waššā'. [Fol. 328.]
- 58. 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaimān aṣ-Ṣaffār. [Fol. 33A.]
- 59. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ğauharī, known as Ibn 'Allak al-Marwazī, came to Baghdād on his pilgrimage in 322 A.H. (End missing.) [Fol. 33B.]
 - 59. Sam'ānī, 397A; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 65.
- 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, known as ad-Darbī Abū Ḥafṣ aļ-Qaṭṭān, died in 327 A.H. [Fol. 34A.]
 Sam'ānī, 224A.
- 61. 'Umar b. 'Iṣām b. al-Ğarrāḥ Abū Hafş al-Ḥāfiz, died 328 a.h. [Fol. 34a.]

62. 'Umar b. Abī 'Umar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Ismā'īl b. Hammād b. Zaid b. Dirham Abū-l-Husain al-Azdī; he filled the office of Qādī of Baghdād as deputy of his father, and was confirmed in the office after the decease of the latter; the period from the time he filled his father's place till his death was 17 years 20 days.

He received his first appointment from al-Muqtadir-Billah on the 15th of Ramadan, 310 A.H., after he had been appointed by his father as his deputy when he was only 20 years of age; afterwards his father got him appointments as Qādī in places outside the city of Baghdad, but during the lifetime of his father he was again Qādī of the capital. He judged according to the school of Mālik and the people of al-Madīna, though he was also well versed in the doctrines of the other schools. He also composed a Musnad, a portion of which the Hatīb had seen. Abū-l-Farağ al-Mu'āfā b. Zakarīyya relates that he was waiting upon Abū-l-Ḥusain 'Umar b. Abi Umar when a raven settled upon a datepalm in the court and croaked; a Bedouin who was present remarked that the Qādī would die in seven Shortly after a servant came out and davs. asked them to enter. When they reached his presence he appeared ill, and told them that he was troubled with a dream he had had, which seemed to forbode his end. On the seventh day after this he was buried. 'Umar b. Abī 'Umar died on Thursday, the 16th of Ša'bān, 328 A.H.; his son Abū Nasr said the prayers over him, and he was buried in a house close to his dwelling. [Fols. 34B-37B.]

62. Ibn Farhūn, Dībāğ, 189.

Umar b. Yūsūf Abū Ḥafṣ, known as al-Bāqilānī.
 [Fol. 378.]

- 64. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm aš-Šaukī ad-Da"ā', a native of Sāmarrā, died 328 a.h. [Fol. 378.]
- 65. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Manṣūr Abū Bakr. [Fol. 37B.]
- 66. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. Abi-l-Yamān Abū Bakr, or Abū Ḥafṣ at-Tammār, a native of the eastern part of Baghdād; he died on Thursday, the 27th of Ša'bān, 329 a.h. [Fol. 38a.]
- 67. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn Abul-Qāsim al-'Aṭṭār al-'Askarī, was a native of Sāmarrā and settled in Baghdād. [Fol. 38A.]
- 68. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Bakr al-Qarāṭīsī. [Fol. 38_{B.}]
- 69. 'Umar b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaimān b. 'Anbasa Abū Ḥafṣ al-Anmāṭī, a native of Marw, known as al-'Umānī, died in Rabī' ii, 331 a.h. [Fol. 38B.]
- 70. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd-Allāh Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥurfī, author of the book al-Muhtaṣar fīl Fiqh according to the teaching of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal. The Qādī Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain stated that 'Umar had composed many works and elucidations (تخريجات) on the rites of his school which were not published, because he left Baghdād when the followers of Ibn Ḥanbal were persecuted, leaving his books behind him. They are said to have been deposited in the Darb Sulaimān, but the house in which they were kept was burnt and with it all his books, which were not copied on account of his being far away. He died in Damascus in 334 A.H., where he was buried. His grave has fallen into decay. [Fol. 39A.]
- 71. Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Mansūr Abū Ḥafs, known as Ibn Abī Ḥaithama; he is stated to have promulgated traditions at Ṭarsūs, where he had come for the purpose of ransoming prisoners. [Fol. 40A.]

- 72. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'id Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥayyāṭ, a brother of Abū Bakr 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'id, and maternal uncle of Ibn al-Ği'ānī; he died in Baghdād in 335 A.H. [Fol. 40B.]
- 73. Umar b. Abī Šaih Abū Ḥafs al-Ḥurfī. [Fol. 408.]
- 74. 'Umar b. Bayan (?) al-Anmāṭī. [Fol. 41A.]
- 75. 'Umar b. 'Imrān b. Ḥubaiś aḍ-Darrāb, father of Abū 'Abd-Allāh b. aḍ-Darīr. [Fol. 41a.]
- 76. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb b. ar-Rummān Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz, known as Ghulām az-Zandarūdī, father of Ḥaidara b. 'Umar, died on Thursday, the 28th of Raǧab, 339 A.H. [Fol. 41A.]
- 77. 'Umar b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Mālik b. Ašras b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Mungab Abu-l-Husain aš-Šaibānī, known as He was Qādī in Syria and later Ibn al-Ušnānī. three days in Baghdad, then he was deposed. He was born in Baghdād in 259 or early in 260 A.H. A tradition is recorded which he recited in his own house in Ragab, 339 A.H. Al-Muqtadir removed Abū Ga'far Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. al-Buhlūl from the office of judge in the city of al-Mansur on Thursday, the 19th of Rabi' ii, 316 A.H., and appointed 'Umar b. al-Hasan the same day; he sat as judge on the Saturday following, but on Sunday he was relieved of his office. Before this he had already filled a similar post in Syria; he was, however, principally a traditionist, and for some time was at the head of the office of accounts in Baghdad.1 He was accused of forging traditions, and died on Thursday, the 18th of Du-l-Higga, 339 A.H. [Fol. 41B.]
 - 77. Sam'ānī, 40a; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, iii, 68, ult.; Mīzān, ii, No. 1990.
- 78. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Raǧa' Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Ukbarī, died 329 a.H. [Fol. 44a.]
- 79. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī b. Mas'ūd b. an-Nu'mān

- b. Dīnār b. 'Abd-Allāh, father of Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dāraquṭnī. [Fol. 44a.]
- 80. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b Dā'ūd Abu-l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz as-Sāmarrī, known as Ibn al-Faḥḥām. [Fol. 448.]
- 81. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād Abu-l-Ḥasān al-Faqīh. [Fol. 44B.]
- 82. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Dīnār Abu-l-Qāsim al-Fārisī al-Bazzāz, died the 23rd of Ğumādā i, 341 a.h. [Fol. 448.]
- 83. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Šihāb Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Ukbarī. [Fol. 45B.]
- 84. Umar b. Zakarīyā b. Bayān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz, known as Ṣāḥib al-Madīnī, died on Thursday, the 3rd of Raǧab, 346 a.h. [Fol. 46a.]
- 85. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Abū Bakr al-Ḥaššab. [Fol. 46B.]
- 86. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Umar b. Hafs Abu-t-Tayyib al-Mutarriz. [Fol. 46B.]
- 87. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭar, known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād, settled in Egypt. He died on Tuesday, the 23rd of Du-l-Qa'da, 346 A.H. [Fol. 46B.]
- 88. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū Ḥafs at-Tallī 'Ukbarī al-Ḥaṭīb, used to forge traditions. [Fol. 47a.]
- 89. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ma'mar Muḥammad b. Ḥuzaz b. Sahl b. al-Haitham Abū Bakr ad-Dūrī aṣ-Ṣaffār, had a shop near the Bāb aṭ-Ṭāq in the quarter of the coppersmiths. Died on Thursday, the 7th of Rabī' i, 350 A.H. [Fol. 47B.]
- 90. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ḥafs al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 488.]
 - 90. Mīzān, ii, No. 1970.
- 91. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ Abū Bakr, the Qur'ān-reader, died in Ša'bān, 352 a.H. [Fol. 48B.]
- 92. 'Umar b. Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. Salm b. Rāšid Abu-l-Qāsim al-Huttalī, elder brother of Aḥmad b. Ğa'far,

was born on the 15th of Ğumādā i, 271 A.H., died on Thursday, the 27th of Ša'bān, 356 A.H.; he was buried in the cemetery of al-Haizurān. [Fol. 48B.]

92. As-Sam'ānī, fol. 189A, gives 291 (writing in figures) as the date of his birth, and calls him 'Umar b. Ga'far b. Ahmad b. Salm.

- 93. 'Umar b. Ğa'far b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Abi-s-Sarī Abū Ḥafṣ al-Warrāq al-Baṣrī, came at an early age to Baghdād and stayed there for many years until his death. He made selections of traditions which were eagerly copied; these caused ad-Dāraquṭnī to write a treatise addressed to his friend Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ḥārikī, in which he pointed out his mistakes. This is stated to be an excellent book, while a similar work by Abū Bakr al-Ği'ānī on the same subject is said to have missed the mark in most places. Several examples of disputed traditions are given. 'Umar b. Ğa'far al-Baṣrī died on Friday, the 2nd of Ğumādā i, 357 A.H.; he was born in 280 A.H. [Fol. 49B.]
 - 93. Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 146.
- 94. 'Umar b. Aktam b. Ahmad b. Ḥayyān b. Bišr Abū Bišr al-Asadī, was Qāḍī of Baghdād under the Caliph al-Muṭī', holding this office through Abū-s-Sā'ib 'Utba b. 'Ubaid-Allāh, whom he succeeded in the office of Qāḍi-l-Quḍāt. They were the first two Šāfi'ī lawyers who held this office.

When al-Muti' and Mu'izz ad-Daula Aḥmad b. Būyah conquered al-Baṣra in the month Rabī' ii, 336 a.H.,¹ the Qāḍī Abu-s-Sā'ib 'Utba b. 'Ubaid-Allāh went to al-Baṣra to congratulate them, and his secretary was at the time Abū Biśr 'Umar b. Aktam; his grandfather had been a man of note and had been Qāḍī in various places, among which Iṣfahān and the Šarqīyya quarter of Baghdād are

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, Bulāq edition, viii, 168, gives the 24th of Rabī' ii as the date when Abū-l-Qāsim al-Barīdī fled from al-Baṣra and the city surrendered.

named. Abū Bišr 'Umar had received an excellent education, and judges accepted his witness (!); later he served as secretary to Qādīs. When Abu-s-Sā'ib left the capital to go to al-Basra he appointed him as judge over the Šarqīyya. At al-Başra Abu-s-Sā'ib was appointed Qādī over the whole land, and letters to this effect were sent to the capital. He then appointed Umar Qādī over the whole of Baghdad as his deputy. 'Umar applied himself to his office to the satisfaction of all, but when Abū-s-Sā'ib returned to Baghdād he resumed his office, and 'Umar returned to the position of secretary as before. This post he held till the death of Abu-s-Sā'ib, which happened in Rabī' ii, 350 A.H., when 'Umar b. Aktam received the post, which he had to renounce when Abul-'Abbās b. Abi-š-Šawārib was appointed in the month of Ša'bān of the same year. When the latter was dismissed in the year 352 A.H.. Abū Biśr 'Umar b. Aktam was again appointed in the month of Ragab of the same year, and filled the post till he was relieved of it in Ša'ban, 356 A.H., when he retired to his home and lived there until The period of his last tenure of office was he died. four years and some days. He died on Wednesday, the 5th of Gumādā ii, 357, and was born in 284 A.H. [Fol. 53B.]

94. Subkī, ii, 313.

- 95. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Ḥusain Abu-l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Baghdādī, known as Muqla, settled in Egypt. [Fol. 55a.]
- 96. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ḥamma Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥallāl, a Mu'addal, died the last day of the year 360 and was buried 1st of Muharram, 361 A.H. [Fol. 55A.]
 - 96. Sam'ānī, 178a, margin.
- 97. 'Umar b. Ibrāhim b. Ahmad b. Abī 'Azza al-'Aṭṭār,

brother of 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, known as al-Muzakkīyān, died the end of Raǧab, 362 A.H. [Fol. 55B.]

97. The biography of his brother 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm is unfortunately lost; the strange laqab المزكيان may have been explained or pointed in that biography.

- 98. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Umar b. Muhammad b. al-Ḥārith Abū 'Abd-Allāh, the Qādī, known as Ibn Šaqq al-Quḍbānī.¹ A tradition heard from him in 362 A.H. is quoted, but not the date of his death. [Fol. 56A.]
- 99. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ahmad b. Ğa'far Abū Ḥafs al-Bundār, known as Ibn Qatūmā an-Nahruwānī, a Mu'addal. A tradition heard from him in Baghdād in 362 a.H. is quoted. [Fol. 56B.]
- 100. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn Abū Bakr al-Bazzāz, a native of Sāmarrā, settled in Baghdād in the Ṭaifūr square; he died in Muḥarram, 363 A.H. [Fol. 57A.]
- 101. 'Umar b. Anas b. Ḥāmid Abū Bakr al-Mauṣilī, settled in Baghdād, died in Ğumādā i, 363 A.H. [Fol. 57B.]
- 102. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Ḥusain, a Mālikī Qāḍī, one of the Shaikhs of ad-Dāraquṭnī. [Fol. 581.]
- 103. 'Umar b. Idrīs Abū 'Abd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣālihī al-Fāmī, a native of the village Fāmīya, near Wāsit, not far from Fam as-Ṣulh, settled in Baghdād, where he heard a tradition as early as 289 A.H. [Fol. 58B.]

103. Sam'ānī, fol. 408
в, l. 10, calls him al-Balḫī and the village Fāmah.

- 104. 'Umar b. Yūsuf b. 'Abdak Abū Ḥafṣ al-Barūğirdī, was a traditionist at Baghdād. [Fol. 59A.]
- 105. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥātim Abū-l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn at-Tirmidī, died in the beginning of 364 a.h. [Fol. 59a.]
- 106. 'Umar b. Nūḥ b. Ḥalaf b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣaib b. Nūḥ b. 'Īsā b. Barīq b. Mālik b. Ghauth Abū-l-Qāsim

¹ Both names not pointed; the nisba occurs three times in the same form.

al-Bağalı al-Bundar, born 277 A.H. Al-Birganı relates that he came one day to him to read some traditions: at the time of his arrival a certain portion of the fascicle had been gone through and he copied the remainder. Later he went to Abū Mansūr Ibn al-Karhī to copy the portion which he had missed. A long time after, when Umar b. Nüh had become blind, he went to him with a view of verifying his copy, explaining that Ibn al-Karhī might have pointed some words wrongly. 'Umar invited him to read his copy to him, but when he came to a certain tradition 'Umar said that this was not correct, and gave the right reading. Al-Birqānī replied that his copy had exactly as he had read, and there was no doubt that this was the reading of Ibn al-Karhī. 'Umar then told a maid to fetch a certain parcel of papers, which she brought. Then he turned over one fascicle after the other, considering as he touched the straps with which they were tied, till he found one, when he asked al-Birgani to read the titles. He read the titles till they found the required fascicle. When he read it he found the tradition just as 'Umar b. Nuh had said. In his amazement al-Birgānī asked him how he had acquired such a marvellous memory, and he replied that in years past he had gone to some villages to read his traditions, and had thus remembered some of them. [Fol. 60A.]

107. 'Umar b. Bašrān b. Muḥammad b. Bišr b. Mahrān b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū Ḥafs as-Sukkarī; he died before Ibn an-Naḥḥās, whose death happened in 368 A.H. [Fol. 61A.]

107. Dahabī, Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, iii, 176, says he lived till 367 а.н., apparently derived from this statement.

Died 388 A.H. Sam'ānī, fol. 478B, ll. 9-11.

- 108. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Fayyāḍ Abū Bakr. [Fol. 61B.]
- 109. Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥumaid b. Bahta Abū Ḥafṣ al-Munāšir, born 265 A.H., died 367 A.H. [Fol. 61B.]
- 110. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. Yūsuf Abū Ḥafṣ, Wakīl of the Caliph al-Muttaqī, known as Abū Nu'aim or Ibn Nu'aim, died in Ṣafar, 369 A.H. [Fol. 62A.]
- 111. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. as-Sirāğ Abū Ḥafs aš-Šāhid, died in 369 A.H. [Fol. 62B.]
- 112. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Šihāb Abū Ḥafs al-'Ukbarī. [Fol. 62B.]
- 113. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. as-Sūs Abū Ḥafṣ, or Abu-l-Qāsim. Only a tradition on al-Burāq. [Fol. 63a.]
- 114. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kātib. [Fol. 63B.]
- 115. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Saif b. Muḥammad b. Ğa'far b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Sulaimān Abū-l-Qāsim al-Kātib. Later in life he removed to al-Baṣra, where he died the 23rd of Ğumādā i, 374 A.H. [Fol. 64A.]
- 116. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. al-Laith b. Banān b. Ḥidāś Abū Muḥammad, died on Saturday, the 9th of Rağab, 374 A.H., and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb Ḥarb. [Fol. 64B.]
- 117. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Mūsā b. Yūnus b. Anānūš Abū Ḥafs an-Nāqid, known as Ibn az-Zayyāt. He was born 286 a.h., and died on Sunday, the 15th of Ğumādā ii, 375 a.h. [Fol. 65a.]
 - 117. Dahabī, Tabaqāt, iii, 192.
- 118. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Yūnus Abū Ḥafṣ al-Qaṭṭān, a native of Dār al-Quṭn. Al-Ğauharī heard traditions from him in 376 a.h. [Fol. 658.]
- 119. Umar b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muqbil Abu-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn ath-Thallağ, came to Samar-qand in 376 A.H. [Fol. 66A.]

- 120. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Hālid Abu-l-Qāsim al-Bağalī, known as Ibn Sunbuk. Resided near the Bāb al-Azağğ, and the Qādī Abū-s-Sā'ib used to accept his witness; later Abū Muḥammad b. Ma'rūf appointed him as deputy for minor decisions in the Sūq ath-Thalāthā' and the Ḥarīm of the Dār al-Ḥilāfa. He used to claim descent from Garīr b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Bağalī; the documents, according to his own statement, were in the possession of a cousin of his, who kept them concealed. He was born in Baghdād in Rabī' i, 291 a.h., and copied his first traditions in 300 a.h. He died on Tuesday, the 16th of Rağab, 376 a.h. [Fol. 66B.]
- 121. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. as-Sarī b. Sahl b. Ḥālid b. al-Baḥtarī Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, known as Ibn Abī Tāhir. He was also known as al-Ğundipūrī. He used to say that he was born in 290 A.H., and he died in Rabī' ii, 378 A.H. [Fol. 678.]
 - 121. Mīzān, ii, No. 2112.
- 122. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hamadānī, father of Abū Ghānim 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Umar aš-Šīrāzī, settled in Baghdād, died towards the end of Raǧab, 379 A.H. [Fol. 68B.]
- 123. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn b. al-Farağ b. ar-Rabi' Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn al-Āğurrī, died the night of Sunday, the 3rd of Raǧab, 382 A.H. [Fol. 69A.]
- 124. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Zādān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Zādān Abū Hafs al-Qādī al-Qazwīnī, came to Baghdād when performing the pilgrimage in 384 л.н. He was a descendant of Abū 'Umar al-Kindī. [Fol. 69в.]
- 125. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Azdād b. Surāh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn Šāhīn, settled in the Šarqī side of Baghdād in the neighbourhood of

al-Mu'tarid. He himself stated that his family came originally from Marwarud in Horāsān. He was born in Ṣafar, 297 A.H., and the first traditions, as far as he remembered, he wrote down in 308 A.H. when he was 11 years of age.

The Hatīb here mentions that three of his Šaihs had commenced their studies of tradition at the same early age, namely—

- (a) Abu-l-Qāsim 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, born in Ramaḍān, 214 A.H., died 317 A.H.; he wrote his first traditions in 225 A.H.
- (b) Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣā'id, born 228 A.H., died the end of 318 A.H.; he wrote his first traditions in 239 A.H.
- (c) 'Abd-Allāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Aš'ath, born 230 a.H., wrote his first traditions in Egypt in 241 a.H.; he died the end of 316 a.H.

I also, says the Haṭīb, was 11 years of age when I wrote my first traditions in Muharram, 403 A.H., for I was born on Thursday, the 23rd of Ğumādā ii, of the year 392 A.H.

Ibn Šāhīn stated that he had composed 330 works, among them—

- (1) The large Tafsir in 1,000 fascicles.
- (2) The Musnad, 1,500 fascicles.
- (3) The Tāriḥ, 150 fascicles.
- (4) Az-Zuhd, 100 fascicles.

The first time he appeared as a teacher of traditions was in al-Basra in 332 A.H. He used to say that he had used up 400 rotl of ink, or, in another account, ink to the value of 700 dirhams, and the price of ink used to be 4 rotl for one dirham, and, the recorder adds, he wrote a great deal after this. He spoke Arabic incorrectly and had only very little knowledge of law (figh), and

could not distinguish between the various schools. He used to say, "I am Muhammadī-l-Madhab." He took his great Tafsīr to ad-Dāraqutnī, asking him to correct any mistakes, who found that he had absorbed in his work the Tafsir of Abu-l-Garud: then, when referring to this commentary incidentally in his work, he quoted "Abu-l-Garud" on the authority of Ziyād b. al-Mundir, which latter name was the name of Abu-l-Garud. He was considered weak, no doubt because he asserted that he was in the habit of copying, but did not take the trouble to collate again what he had written down. died, according to al-'Atiqi, on Sunday, the 11th of Du-l-Higga, 385 A.H., and was buried near the Bāb Ḥarb, close to the grave of Ahmad b. Hanbal. Others say he died on Sunday, the 12th of Du-l-Hiğğa. [Fol. 70A.]

- 125. Dahabī, Țabaqāt, iii, 195.
- 126. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Abū-l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣūfī al-Munāḥilī, settled in Damascus. [Fol. 74A.]
- 127. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl Abū Ḥafṣ al-Barmakī, died in Ğumādā i, 389 a.H. [Fol. 74a.]
- 128. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Kathīr b. Hārūn b. Mahrān Abū Ḥafs al-Muqri', known as al-Kattānī, settled near the Nahr ad-Daǧāǧ, died on Monday, the 11th of Raǧab, 390 A.H., aged 90 years. [Fol. 74B.]
 - 128. Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 218.
- 129. 'Umar b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri', friend of Abū Bakr b. Muǧāhid, had the laqab Wabra, and was known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād. He used to read tradition in the Ğāmi' of ar-Ruṣāfa, and lived in the Sūq Yahyā. [Fol. 75A.]
- 130. 'Umar b. Rukān b. Ahmad b. Rukān b. Yahyā b. Maimūn b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Dīnār Abū Ḥafṣ at-Taimār, died 393 a.h. [Fol. 75B.]

- 131. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd Abū Sa'īd as-Siğistānī, settled at Nīšāpūr but came to Baghdād, where he read tradition when on the way to perform the pilgrimage. He died in Mecca. [Fol. 76A.]
- 132. 'Umar b. Thābit b. al-Qāsim Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥanbalī, the Sūfī, nicknamed Kutla, read traditions in Baghdād. [Fol. 768.]
- 133. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Ḥalaf b. Naǧīb Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Daqqāq. [Fol. 77a.]
- 134. 'Umar b. Rūh b. 'Alī b. 'Abbād Abū Bakr an-Nahru-wānī, known as Ibn al-Bābanā'ī, was originally an adherent of the Ḥanbalī school, but reading some Mu'tazilī books he became imbued with their doctrines. He died in Ğumādā i, 404 a.h. [Fol. 77a.]
 - 134. Sam'ānī, 56A, ult.
- 135. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain b. Zaid b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Abū 'Alī al-'Alawī al-Kūfī, settled in Baghdād. He died on Wednesday, the 3rd of Raǧab, 413 a.h. [Fol. 77b.]
- 136. 'Umar b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ta'wīd Abū Ḥafṣ ad-Dallāl, died in 415 a.H. [Fol. 778.]
- 137. 'Umar b. Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdūyah b. Sadūs b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd Abū Ḥāzim al-Hudalī al-'Abdawī (or 'Abdūyī), came to Baghdād in 389 a.h. on the way to Mecca; he died in Nīšāpūr the day of the 'Īd al-Fiṭr in 417 a.h. [Fol. 78a.]
 - 137. Sam'ānī, 381a; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, iii, 272.
- 138. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn Abī 'Amr, a native of 'Ukbarā, where the Ḥaṭīb heard traditions from him in 410 a.h. He was born in 320 a.h. and died 417 a.h. [Fol. 79a.]

- 139. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh Abu-l-Faḍl b. Abī Sa'd, a native of Herāt, came to Baghdād when on his pilgrimage. He was born in 348 and died 426 A.H. [Fol. 79B.]
- 140. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Biǧād b. Mūsā b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ Abū Ṭālib az-Zuhrī, the Shafi'ī lawyer, known as Ibn Ḥamāma. He stated himself that the traditionists named his ancestor Biǧād, while historians called him Niǧād. He was born in the middle of Dū-l-Qa'da, 347 A.H., and died the night of Monday, the 9th of Čumādā ii, in 434 A.H., and was buried on the 10th of the same month in the cemetery of ad-Dair. [Fol. 80A.]

140. Subkī, Tabaqāt, iii, 7.

- 141. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Īsā b. al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abu-l-Qāsim al-Hāšimī, known as Ibn Bakrān, an elder brother of Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad. He was born in 354 a.h. and died on Sunday, the 7th of Du-l-Qa'da, 439 a.h. [Fol. 818.]
- 142. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid-Allah b. Qaz'a Abū Tālib, the school teacher, known as Ibn ad-Dalw, a brother of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad an-Naǧǧār, resided in Bustān Umm Ğa'far. He died the night of Saturday, the 6th of Šawwāl, 446 A.H., and was buried early on the following Sunday in the cemetery of the Bāb ad-Dair. [Fol. 82A.]
- 143. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Ḥaffāf, was born 363 a.H., died the middle of Du-l-Qa'da, 450 a.H. [Fol. 82a.]
- 144. 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Wāthiq-billāh Abū Muḥammad al-Hāsimī, resided near the Bāb

al-Baṣra. He was born in 375 A.H. and died on Sunday, the 10th of Šawwāl, 453 A.H. [Fol. 82B.]

'UTHMĀN

- 145. 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. Ka'b at-Taimī, a native of al-Madīna; he was Qādī of his native city, and came to Baghdād in the reign of al-Mahdī. When asked to assume the office of Qādī he refused to accept it, and only when threatened with flogging in public consented to act. When al-Mahdī came on his pilgrimage to al-Madīna he came to him and asked to be relieved of the office of Qādī. While he held that post he refused to accept any payment, saying that he did not like to enrich himself by this hateful office. [Fol. 82B.]
- 146. Uthmān b. Maṭar Abu-l-Faḍl aš-Šaibānī al-Baṣrī, came to Baghdād and read traditions. All critics declare him weak. [Fol. 84A.]
 - 146. Mīzān, ii, No. 1491; Taqrīb, 261; Tahdīb, vii, 154.
- 147. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū 'Amr az-Zuhrī, a descendant of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, known as al-Mālikī and as al-Waqqāsī. He was a native of the Ḥiǧāz, but came to Baghdād; died in the reign of Hārūn ar-Rašīd. [Fol. 85B.]
 - 147. Dahabī, Mīzān, ii, No. 1457; Taqrīb, 260; Tahdīb, vii, 133.
- 148. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. Fāris b. Laqīṭ b. Qais Abū Muḥammad, or Abū 'Adī al-Baṣrī, came to Baghdād, and died the 23rd of Rabī' i, 209 A.H., according to most authorities; others give 207 and 208 A.H. [Fol. 87A.]
- 148. Dahabī, Mīzān, ii, No. 1471; Taqrīb, 261; Maqdisī, Magma', p. 378; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, i, 346; Tahdīb, vii, 142.
- 149. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi-l-'Āṣ Abū 'Amr al-Qurašī al-Umawī. This is his genealogy according

to al-Hākim Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ibn al-Bayyi' an-Nīšāpūrī,¹ while others trace his origin to the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, as follows: 'Uthmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Anbasa b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. He travelled in Egypt, Syria, the Ḥiǧāz, to Baghdād, al-Kūfa, al-Baṣra, and Ḥorāsān. He settled in Nīšāpūr and died there. Here a leaf is missing, and fol. 90a contains only some traditions recorded on his authority. [Fol. 89a.]

149. Mīzān, ii, No. 1449.

150. 'Uthman b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Abū-l-Ḥasan al-'Absī al-Kūfī, known as Ibn Abī Šaiba, the elder brother of Abū Bakr and al-Qāsim; he travelled to Mecca and ar-Rai, composed a Musnad and a Tafsīr, and settled in Baghdād. He died the 3rd of Muḥarram, 239 A.H.; his hair never lost its colour and he was not obliged to dye it. [Fol. 90A.] (Fol. 92 does not belong to this biography; it should follow after fol. 52.)

150. Dahabī, Mīzān, ii, No. 1443 ; Taqrīb, 261 ; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, ii, 30 ; Maqdisī, Maǧmaʻ, p. 349 ; Tahdīb, vii, 194.

- 151. 'Uthmān b. al-Mubārak Abū Sa'īd al-Anbārī. [Fol. 94B.]
- 152. 'Uthman b. Hišām b. al-Fadl b. Dalham. [Fol. 95A.]
- 153. 'Uthman b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Abī Zuhair, brother of Sā'iqa, i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm (who died 250 A.H.). [Fol. 95B.]
- 154. 'Uthmān b. Sālih b. Sa'd b. Yaḥyā Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥayyāṭ al-Ḥulqānī, died 256 A.H. Six lines of Raǧaz are quoted on his authority which the prophet is said to have uttered on the day of al-Aḥrāb. [Fol. 95B.]

154. Taqrīb, 259, ult.; Tahdīb, vii, 122.

¹ Born 321 а.н., died 405. Cf. Sam'ānī, 99в; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, iii, 242.

- 155. 'Uthman b. Ma'bad b. Nūḥ al-Muqri', died on Wednesday, the 24th of Ṣafar, 261 A.H. [Fol. 96B.]
- 156. 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-Baghdādī; he was a friend of the Qādī Muḥammad b. Samā'a, who died in 261 A.H. [Fol. 978.]
- 157. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ, a nephew of al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. aṣ-Ṣabāḥ az-Za'farānī, was a native of Baghdād and came to Iṣfahān in 276 a.H. [Fol. 98a.]
- 158. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ath-Thalğ (?)
 Abū 'Umar al Burğumī, known as aḍ Ḍā'igh,
 a native of al-Baṣra, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 98a.]
- 159. 'Uthmān b. Yaḥyā b. 'Amr b. Bayān b. Farrūḥ al-Ādamī. [Fol. 98B.]
- 160. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Abū 'Amr al-Ḥarrānī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 99A.]
- 161. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Šu'aib Abū 'Amr al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 99A.]
- 162. 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Śu'aib b. 'Adī b. Humām Abū Bakr as-Samsār, brother of Muhammad b. 'Alī. [Fol. 99a.]
- 163. Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. Baššār Abū-l-Qāsim al-Ahwal al-Anmāṭī, a jurist of the Šāfi'ī school, died in Šawwāl, 288 a.h. [Fol. 998.]
 - 163. Subkī, Ṭabaqāt, ii, 52; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 211.
- 164. 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, a nephew of 'Alī b. Dâ'ūd al-Qanṭarī. [Fol. 100A.]
- 165. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr al-Baghdādī; he left Baghdād, and his traditions are recorded by foreigners only (according to one Isnād apparently in Persia).

 [Fol. 101A.]
- 166. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr Abū 'Abd-Allāh aṭ-Ṭā'ī, emigrated to Barda'a; perhaps he has been mentioned before (viz. under No. 165). A tradition of his heard in 295 A.H. in Mayānağ is recorded. [Fol. 100B.]
- 167. 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd Abū 'Amr at-Tammār, heard a tradition, which is recorded, in 256 a.H. [Fol. 101a.]

168. Uthmān b. Sahl b. Maḥlad al-Bazzāz, or, as it is said, al-Ādamī. (Only the beginning of biography, remainder is lost.) [Fol. 101B.]

169. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥatṭāb b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū 'Umar al-Balawī al-Ašaǧǧ al-Maghribī, known as Abu-d-Dunyā; he was a notorious liar, claiming to have heard traditions from 'Alī. He claimed to have been born in the beginning of the reign of Abū Bakr, and that he came with his father to al-Kūfa during the reign of 'Alī and witnessed the battle of Siffīn. Several other lies are recorded. He came from a town in the Maghrib called Mazmada,¹ and died in Baghdād 327 A.H. (This leaf and the following are much damaged.) [Fol. 104A.]

169. Dahabī, Mīzān, ii, No. 1425; Ṭabaqāt, iii, 50.

170. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdūyah b. 'Amr Abū 'Amr al-Bazzāz al-Kabšī, died on Wednesday, 1st of . . . 328 A.H. (The correct sequence of leaves is 104,105, 102, 103.) [Fol. 105B.]

170. Sam'ānī, 474A, l. 3.

171. 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥasan b. . . . b. Zaid Abū 'Amr. [Fol. 102A.]

172. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Ḥamdān Abū 'Abd-Allāh al-Baghdādī, resided at Tinnīs in Egypt. [Fol. 102a.]

173. 'Uthmān b. Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Haitham b. 'Abd-Allāh, known as ad-Dīnawarī. [Fol. 102B.]

174. 'Uthmān b. Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdak Abū 'Amr ad-Dīnawarī, was alive in 329 A.H. [Fol. 1028.]

175. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Abū 'Amr, resided at Baghdād. [Fol. 103A.]

176. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmād b. Abī Šamla ad-Dīnawarī al-Warrāq, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 103A.]

¹ I believe in this name of a town the name of the Maşmuda Berber tribe is hidden.

- 177. 'Uthmān b. Ahmad Abū'Amr al-'Uthmānī. [Fol. 103A.]
- 178. 'Uthmān b. Muhammad b. al-'Abbās b. Gibrīl Abū 'Amr al-Warrāq, known as aš-Šam'ī. (The end of the biography, containing the date of his death, is lost.) [Fol. 1038.]
- 179. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. as-Sammāk (only an odd leaf, part of which is cut away; the beginning and end of the biography are lost); he was alive in 344 A.H., in which year a tradition of his is recorded. [Fol. 106A.]
 - 179. Dahabī, Mīzān, ii, No. 1411.
- 180. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad Abū 'Amr al-Qāri' al-Maḥramī, died in Dīnawar in 393 A.H. (Only the last five lines of the biography are preserved, giving the date of his death.) [Fol. 107A.]
- 181. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. ad-Dalīl al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 107A.]
- 182. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Qutaiba, the school teacher. [Fol. 107a.]
- 183. Uthmān b. Īsā Abū 'Amr al-Bāqilānī, was a pious man, a kind of hermit. (The end of the biography giving the date of his death is lost.) [Fol. 107a.]

'ALĨ

- 184. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Kūfī, came to Baghdād in [2]13 A.H. (Only the six last lines of the biography preserved, the leaf is much damaged.)
 [Fol. 108A.]
- 185. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Haitham b. Ḥālid Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz, a Mu'addal, died 3 . . a.h. [Fol. 108a.]
- 186. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Qāsim al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 1088.]
- 187. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Laith, the Warrāq of Ibn Maḥlad. [Fol. 1088.]
- 188. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sulaimān al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 108B.]
- 189. 'Alī b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Ḥusain al-Ḥarrānī. (Only the first three lines of the biography, the date 348,

- on fol. 109A, does not belong to this biography.) [Fol. 108B.]
- 190. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī Abu-l-Ḥasan ar-Raffā', known as Ibn Abī Qais; he resided in the Darb al-Bāriziyyīn of the Sūq al-'Ataš on the eastern side of Baghdād, died in Ğumādā ii, 352 a.h. [Fol. 109a.]
 - 190. Mīzān, ii, No. 1693.
- 191. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Īsā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī al-Ḥazraǧī, settled in Egypt. He was born in Muḥarram, 280 a.H., and died in Egypt in Rabī' i, 355 a.H. [Fol. 109a.]
- 192. 'Alī b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Farrūḥ Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Wā'iz, known as Ghulām al-Miṣrī. (End of biography lost.) [Fol. 1098.]
- 193. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, known as 'Alūyah al-Bazzāz, died on Monday, the 13th of Safar, 271 A.H. Ibn Qāni' says 270, but this is less approved. (Beginning of biography is lost.) [Fol. 110A.]
- 194. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan, known as the Ghulām of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. [Fol. 110A.]
- 195. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭabarī,came to Baghdād. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 1108.]
- 196. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Qāsim Aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Uṭrūš al-Baghdādī, resided at Qanṭarat al-Baradān, a suburb of Baghdād, where he died in Raǧab, 307 A.H. (Beginning lost.) [Fol. 111A.]
- 197. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Ka'b ad-Daqqāq, died 314 а.н. [Fol. 111а.]
- 198. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz. [Fol. 1118.]
- 199. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. Abī Bišr Isḥāq b. Sālim b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Mūsā b. Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Aš'arī, the Mutakallim, author of books and works in refutation of the heretics and others, whether they be Mu'tazilīs, Rāfiḍīs, Ḥāriǧīs, etc. He was a native of al-Baṣra

and settled in Baghdad, where he used to sit every Friday in the mosque of ar-Rusafa in the circle of the jurist Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī. Some people of al-Basra say that he was born in 260 A.H. and died after 330 A.H. According to others he died in Baghdād after 320 A.H., or in 330 A.H., and was buried in the Maśra'at ar-Rawāyā in a piece of ground next on one side to a mosque (masgid) close to a bath, to the left of those who pass from the market $(s\bar{u}g)$ to the Tigris. [Abū Muhammad 'Alī b. Ahmad b. Sa'īd b. Hazm al-Andalusī states that he died in 324 A.H., and that he had composed fifty-five works.¹] Abu-l-Hasan used to derive his income from a small estate which had been left by Bilal b. Abī Burda to his descendants, the revenue of which was nineteen dirhams annually. [Fol. 112A.]

199. Subkī, ii, 245-301; Ibn Farhūn, Dībag, 195.

200. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Ḥasan an-Naubaḥtī. Two verses which he transmitted on the authority of Tha'lab are quoted. [Fol. 113A.]

201. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī, settled in Baghdād, where traditions were heard from him in 375 A.H. [Fol. 113B.]

202. 'Alī b. Isḥāq as-Sulamī Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī ad-Dārakānī, a companion of 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Mubārak, came to Baghdād and died in 213 a.H. [Fol.113B.]

202. Sam'ānī, 217
в, І. 13 ; Taqrīb, 269 ; Tah
dīb, vii, 282.

203. 'Alī b. Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. Zātiyā Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Maḥramī, became blind towards the end of his life. (End of biography is lost.) [Fol. 1148.]

203. Sam'ānī, 2668 (where it is stated that he died in Ğumādā i, 306 A.H.); Mīzān, ii, No. 1708.

¹ This appears to be a later gloss which has been entered by the scribe in the text, otherwise it is remarkable that the Haṭīb should quote a contemporary Spaniard for the date of death of a man who had died in Baghdād. Ibn Ḥazm died 456 a.H., seven years before the Haṭīb.

204. 'Alī b. Isrā'il. [Fol. 115A.]

205. 'Alī b. Abī Umayya b. 'Amr, a Maulā of the Banū Umayya b. 'Abd-Šams, a brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Umayya. Both were poets. [Fol. 115A.]

206. 'Alī b. Umayya b. Abī Umayya the Kātib, brother of Muḥammad b. Umayya and nephew of Muḥammad and 'Alī, the sons of Abū Umayya, also a poet. [Fol. 1158.]

206. Agh. xx, 63 ff.

207. 'Alī b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḥusain b. Ayyūb b. Ustāḍ Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Qummī, known as Ibn aš-Šāribān (?), settled in Baghdād. He had heard from al-Mutanabbī his dīwān except the Šīrāzīyyāt (i.e. the poems in praise of 'Aḍud ad-Daula). He belonged to the Rāfiḍī sect, and was born in Šīrāz in 347 a.h. He died at Baghdād in 430 a.h. [Fol. 116a.]

207. Mīzān, ii, No. 1711.

208. 'Alī b. Baḥr b. Barrī Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān, a native of Fārs; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is named among his pupils. [Fol. 1168.]

208. Taqrīb, 269, states that he died 234 a.h.; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, ii, 55; Tahdīb, vii, 284.

209. 'Alī b. Bahrām b. Yazīd Abū Ğuḥaifa al-Muzanī al-'Aṭṭār, a native of North Africa, came to the 'Irāq, where he settled and died. [Fol. 117A.]

210. 'Alī b. Bathā' at-Tamīmī. [Fol. 117B.]

211. 'Alī b. Bakr Abu-l-Ḥasan, a native of Baghdād, went to Egypt, where he died in Dū-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 285 A.H. [Fol. 117B.]

212. 'Alī b. Barrī b. Zanǧūyah b. Māhān Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dīnawarī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 1178.]

213. 'Alī b. Bunān b. as-Sindī al-'Āqūlī (in a tradition ad-Dair-'Āqūlī). [Fol. 118A.]

214. 'Alī b. Buḥār Abu-l-Ḥasan ar-Rāzī; ad-Dāraquṭnī studied under him in Dār al-Quṭn. [Fol. 1188.]

215. 'Alī b. Bašrān b. Muḥammad b. Saif al-Qazzāz [Fol. 119a.]

216. 'Alī b. Badr Abu-l-Ḥasan, resided in the eastern side of Baghdād. [Fol. 119a.]

217. 'Alī b. Turkān Abu-l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣūfī; he emigrated with his brother Sa'id to ar-Ramla. [Fol. 119B.]

- 218. 'Alī b. Thābit Abū Ahmad or Abū-l-Ḥasan, a Maulā of al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāšimī; he was a Ğazarī who settled in Baghdād. Others say he came from Ḥorāsān; another account states he came from al-Ğazīra, i.e. Mesopotamia. [Fol. 119B.] 218. Tagrīb, 269.
- 219. 'Alī b. Thābit b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl Abū-l-Ḥasan an-Nu'mānī, used to reside in Baghdād as client of the Qāḍī al-Muḥāmilī. [Fol. 1218.]
- 220. 'Alī b. Thābit b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥaṭīb ("my father, may God be satisfied with him!" says the author), was for about twenty years Imām and Ḥaṭīb in the pulpit at Darzinǧān. He used to say that he descended from pure Arabs, and that his tribe were horsemen settled at al-Ḥuṣāṣa in the neighbourhood of the River Euphrates. He died on Sunday, the middle of Šawwāl, 412 A.H., and was buried the same day in the cemetery of the Bāb Ḥarb. [Fol. 122A.]

220. As this biography is short I give the text here:-

على بن ثابت بن احمد بن مهدى ابو الحسن الخطيب والدى رضى الله عنه كان أحد حقاظ القرآن قرأ على أبى حفص الكنانى وتولى الامامة و الخطابة على منبر بكرّزُخْجَان محوا من عشرين سنة وكان يذكر أن أصله من العرب وأن له عشيرة يركبون الخيول مسكنهم بالخُصَاصة من نواحى الفرات وتوفى يوم الأحد للنصف من شوّال سنة اثنتى عشرة واربعمائة ودفن من يومه فى مقبرة ماب حُرِّب *

221. 'Alī b. Čabala b. Muslim b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Abu-l-Hasan, the poet known by the name of al-'Akawwak; praised al-Ma'mūn, Ḥumaid b. 'Abd

- al-Ḥamīd aṭ-Ṭūsī, Abū Dulaf al-ʿIǧlī, and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. (Only the beginning of biography preserved.) [Fol. 1228.]
- 221. Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 348; poems of his are quoted frequently in works dealing with poetry.
- 222. 'Alī b. Hafs al-Madā'inī. (Only one tradition after Šu'ba, the beginning is lost.) [Fol. 123a.]
- 223. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bukair b. Wāṣil Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥaḍramī, a cousin of Muḥammad b. Bukair. [Fol. 123A.]
- 224. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bišr b. Hārūn at-Tirmiḍi, read traditions in Baghdād. [Fol. 123a.]
- 225. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. 'Ubaid b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Iyās Abu-l-Hasan aš-Šaibānī, known as Ibn al-A'rābī, was chiefly versed in Adab and historical accounts. [Fol. 123B.]
- 226. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Musāfir Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥayyāṭ, died on Wednesday, the 11th of Ramaḍān, 276 а.н. [Fol. 124а.]
- 227. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. 'Arafa b. Yazīd al-'Abdī, died at Sāmira in 277 a.H. [Fol. 124a.]
- 228. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdūya Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥaszāz, used to live in the Śāri' Ibn Ḥuḍaib in Baghdād, where he died on the 13th of Dū-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 277 A.H. [Fol. 1248.]
- 229. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Bayān Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri', known as al-Bāqilānī, died in 284 a.H. [Fol. 125B.]
- 230. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Qutaiba b. Ğabala Abū Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān. [Fol. 126a.]
- 231. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Yāsīn b. Ğubair. [Fol. 126B.]
- 232. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Abi-l-'Anbar Abu-l-Qāsim, a cousin of Šuraih b. Yūnus, a native of Marwarūd. [Fol. 127A.]
- 233. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ aṣ-Ṣā'igh. [Fol. 127a.]
- 234. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 127B.]
- 235. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaimān b. Šuraiḥ b. Isḥāq

Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Qāfilānī al-Qatī'ī, died in Muḥarram, 306 A.H. [Fol. 127B.]

236. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Hārūn al-Ḥanbalī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 128a.]

237. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. Sahl al-Bağalī. [Fol. 128B.]

238. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ğa'd b. 'Ubaid Abu-l-Ğa'd al-Ğauharī, brother of Sulaimān and 'Umar,¹ settled in Egypt, where he was at the head of the office of public accounts. [Fol. 128B.]

239. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ğunaid Abū 'Abd-Allāh al-Bazzāz an-Nišapūrī, settled in Baghdād. [Fol.129a.]

- 240. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān al-'Ukbarī. A tradition of the Prophet about "my brother" Jesus. When the Jews wanted to kill him, Gabriel came with the Muḥammadan creed written on his wings to teach him a prayer enabling him to escape. [Fol. 1298.]
- 241. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-'Alā' Abu-l-Qāsim as-Samsār, brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. [Fol. 130a.]
- 242. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīra Abū Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq, died in Du-l-Qa'da, 317. (Fol. 131 is in the wrong place; it belongs probably to the gap before fol. 123. The narrative goes without interruption from fol. 130B to fol. 132A.) [Fol. 130B.]

243. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šaqīq (beginning and end missing; he died in 215 a.H., Maqdisī, Maǧma', fols. 353-4). [Fol. 131a.]

243. Maqdisī, Maǧmaʻ, 353 ;
 Dahabī, Tabaqāt, i, 339 ; Taqrīb, 270.

244. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥārith b. Baḥr b. Sulaimān b. Ghailān Abu-l-Qāsim, known as al-Marūdī. [Fol. 132A.]

245. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hārūn b. Rustam Abū-l-Ḥasan as-Saqaṭī, was alive in 322 a.H. [Fol, 132B.]

 $246.\ {\rm `Ali\ b.\ al-Ḥasan\ al-Maḥramī}$ (only the first three lines

of the biography; here is a gap of two leaves; fol. 133 begins with two lines of a traditionist who stayed in Baghdad for some time, but returned to his native country at the end of 332 or early in 333 A.H.). [Fol. 132B.]

247. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Dulail b. Ismā'īl b. Maimūn Abū-l-Ḥasan ad-Dallāl, was born in Raǧab, 268 A.H., and died in Ğumādā i, 353 A.H. [Fol. 133A.]

248. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Ubaid-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ḥāšimī. [Fol. 133A.]

249. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Allāh Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Balhī, came to Baghdād. [Fol. 133B.]

- 250. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ǧaṣṣāṣ, was born in 290, and died on Thursday, the 1st of Rabī' ii, 367. He had confused ideas, and claimed the authorship of several books like the book of az-Zaǧǧāǧ (probably the Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān are meant) and the Ma'ānī-l-Qur'ān of Qutrub. His creed was not above suspicion.¹ [Fol. 134A.]
- 251. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Zakariyā Abu-l-Qāsim al-Warrāq, the poet, was a pupil of the historian at-Tabarī. [Fol. 134A.]
- 252. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ga'far Abū-l-Ḥusain al-Bazzāz, known as Ibn Kurainib and as Ibn al-'Aṭṭār al-Maḥramī, was born in 298 a.h., wrote his first traditions down in 307 a.h., and then travelled to Syria, where he copied traditions in 330 a.h. and later. Then he visited the Qāḍī Abu-l-Ḥusain 'Umar b.al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ušnānī,² who was delivering traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī, known as Ibn Mu'ayya, after Fāṭima, the daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān

وكان في مذهبه شيء¹

b. Šarīk an-Nuha'i. 'Alī said that he had heard these traditions directly from Fatima and her sister Umm al-Hasan. Ibn al-Ušnānī inquired where he had heard them, to which Ibn Kurainib replied: "In al-Kūfa in the year 314 A.H., where I was introduced to them both by Abū-l-'Abbās Ibn 'Agda. She handed to us a parcel of writings by the hand of her grandfather 'Abd ar-Rahman b. Šarīk, with traditions on the authority of his father, and I paid her ten dirhams." Ibn al-Ušnānī was amazed, and exclaimed that Abu-l-'Abbas Ibn 'Aqda had charged him one thousand dinars for traditions which he had heard from Ibn Mu'avya on her authority, while he, 'Alī, had received them directly from Fatima for practically nothing. 'Ali replied that that was his good fortune. He was, however, in bad repute that he used to acquire old volumes, cutting away the first leaf containing the true Isnāds and substituting fresh headings in which he claimed to have heard the traditions himself. He died on Tuesday, the 24th of Safar, or, according to another account, in Rabi' i of the year 376 A.H. [Fol. 134B.]

252. Mīzān, ii, No. 1729.

253. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muṭarrif b. Baḥr b. Tamīm b. Yaḥya Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī al-Ǧarrāḥī, died on Tuesday, the 4th of Ğumādā ii, 376 a.h.; he is stated to have been born in 298 a.h. [Fol. 136B.]

254. 'Alī b. al-Qāḍī Abī Tammām az-Zabībī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd-Allāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Abū-l-Qāsim al-Hāšimī, was Naqīb of the 'Abbāsides. He was born in 327 a.h., and died in Du-l-Qa'da, 384 a.h. At-Tanūḥī said: He and my

- father were born and died in the same year. [Fol. 137A.]
- 255. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Abu-l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn ar-Rāzī, used to claim that he had heard the chronicle of Ibn Abī Ḥaithama from the author himself, which was disbelieved, but he had the chronicle of Ibn Ḥirāš. He died on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabī' ii, 391 A.H. [Fol. 138A.]
- 256. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Abū-l-Ḥasan aš-Šaibānī. [Fol. 1398.]
- 257. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ b. Muslim b. Yazīd b. 'Alī Abū Naṣr al-Ḥarašī an-Nišāpūrī, brother of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Ḥīrī, came to Baghdād in 396 A.H. [Fol. 1398.]
- 258. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad Abu-l-Ḥasan ad-Dallāl, known as Ibn-Naḥḥālī (?). The Ḥaṭīb heard a tradition from him in 410 a.H. [Fol. 1398.]
- 259. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar Abu-l-Farağ an-Nahruwānī, the Ḥaṭīb of the chief mosque in Nahruwān. The Ḥaṭīb met him on his journey to Nišāpūr in 415 a.H.; he died in 425 a.H. [Fol. 140a.]
- 260. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntāb Abu-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn Abī 'Uthmān ad-Daqqāq. He was born in Dū-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 355 a.h., and died on Saturday, the 27th of Rabī' i, 440 a.h. [Fol. 140a.]
- 261. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Muqri' as-Saqlaṭūnī, died on Sunday, the 9th of Rabī' ii, 449 a.h. [Fol. 1408.]
- 262. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan Abu-l-Qāsim, known as Ibn al-Maslama, was a Mu'addal, later he became secretary of the Caliph al-Qā'im, who made him Wazīr, and gave him the titles Ra'īs ar-Ru'asā' Šaraf-al-Wuzarā' Ğamāl al-Warā. He was born 397 a.h., and was

killed on Monday, the 28th of Du-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 450 a.H., by Abū-l-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī; later al-Basāsīrī was killed and his head carried about in Baghdād on the 15th of Du-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 451, and his body was nailed to the cross in front of the Dār an-Nūbī of the Dār al-Ḥilāfa. [Fol. 141a.]

263. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥazīn b. Za'lān Abu-l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn Iškāb, an elder brother of Muḥammad Ibn Iškāb. He died on Wednesday, the 25th of Šawwāl, 261 A.H. There were about ten months between his death and that of his brother, who died before him. They used to reside in the eastern part of Baghdād, near the Bāb-Ḥorāsān. [Fol. 142A.]

263. Tāğ al-'Arūs, i, B, 41, شكب.

264. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Šahrayār Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī. He is mentioned by Ibn Mindah in the Kitāb al-Asmā' wal-Kunā. [Fol. 1444.]

265. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Yazīd aṣ-Ṣudā'ī, a native of al-Kūfa, died in 286 a.H. [Fol. 144a.]

265. Sam'ānī, 350A.

266. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Bazzāz, a native of Sāmarrā. [Fol. 1448.]

267. 'Alī b. al-Husain aş-Sūfī al-Baghdādī. [Fol. 145A.]

268. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥayyān b. 'Ammār b. Wāqid Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī, died on the 4th of Ğumādā ii, 305 a.h. [Fol. 145a.]

269. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain Abu-l-Ḥasan as-Saqaṭī. [Fol. 1458.]

270. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥarb b. 'Īsā Abū 'Ubaid, known as Ibn-Ḥarbūyah, the Qāḍī of Egypt; his kunya was Abū 'Ubaid; he came to Egypt to assume the office of Qāḍī, and stayed there for a long time. He was relieved of this post in 311 A.H. He had sent a messenger to Baghdād submitting his resignation, locked up the door of his house, and refused to act as judge any longer. After his

retirement he used to deliver traditions in public gatherings. Later he returned to Baghdād, where he died the night of Thursday, the 17th of Ṣāfar, 319 A.H. He was buried the following morning in his own house, and Abū Saʿīd al-Iṣṭaḥrī said the prayers over his body. [Fol. 146A.]

270. Subkī, ii, 301-7; Dahabī, Tabaqāt, iii, 24; Taqrīb, 270.

- 271. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Abu-l-Ḥasan az-Zayyāt, was alive in 320 a.h. [Fol. 148B.]
- 272. 'Alī b. al-Husain b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. al-Haitham b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Marwān b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Marwān b. Muhammad b. Marwān b. al-Hakam b. Abi-l-As Abu-l-Farağ al-Umawī, the Kātib, known as al-Isbahānī. A number of his works are enumerated, which I need not repeat here as I think it best to give the Arabic text of the biography, since it is one of the earliest accounts of the author of the Kitāb al-Aghānī which have come down to us. It is interesting that an-Naubahtī calls him one of the greatest liars, because he used to buy large quantities of books and then quote from them. This is, from our point of view, decidedly a gain, as the eye is always a far surer guide than the ear, especially if the writer worked from good copies; moreover, it was only possible in this manner for Abu-l-Farağ to give us those many precious narrations stored up in the Kitāb al-Aghānī. According to the most accredited account he died on Wednesday, the 14th of Du-l-Higga, 356 A.H., while his birth is placed in 284 A.H. [Fol. 148B.]

272. Tha'ālibī, Yatīma, ii, 278; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 334. An extract of this biography taken from the Tārīḥ-Baghdād is found on the last page of the lithographed edition of the Maqatil at-Ṭalibiyyīn printed in Teheran 1304 a.H., from which it appears that this volume of the Tārīḥ may exist also in Persia.

عَلِيٌ بن العُسين

ابن محمد بن احمد بن الهيشم بن عبد الرحمن بن مروان بن عبد الله بن مروان بن محمد بن مروان بن الحكم بن أبي العاص ابو الفرج الأموى الكاتب المعروف بالإصبهاني * حدثني التنوخي حدّثنا أبو اسحاق ابراهيم بن احمد بن محمد الطبرى بنسبه هذا * حدّث عن محمد بن عبد الله الحضرمي مطين و محمد بن جعفر القبات و العسيين بن عمر بن أبي الأحوص الثقفي و على بن العباس المقانعي وعلى بن اسحاق بن زاطيا وأبي حبيب المربي ومحمدبن العباس الترمذي ومَن بعدهم * وكان عالمًا بأيّام الناس والأنساب و السيرة وكان شاعرًا محسدًا و الغالب عليه رواية الاخبار و الآداب وصنف كتبًا كثيرة منها الأغانى الكبيرو مقاتل الطالبيين و أخبار الإماء الشواعر وكتاب الحانات وكناب الديارات وآداب الغرباء و غير ذلك فهذه تصانيفه التي وقعت الينا * و حصل لـــه ببلاد الأندلس مصنفات لم تقع الينا منها كتاب نسب بني عبد شمس وكتاب أتيام العرب ذكر فيه ألفًا وسبع مائنة يوم وكتاب التَعْدِيل و الإنتصاف في مآثر العرب ومثالبها وكتاب جمهرة النسب وكتاب نسب بني شيبان وكتاب نسب المهالبة ونسب بني تغلب و نسب بني كلاب و كتاب القيان و كتاب الغلمان المغنيين وكتاب مجرد الأغاني * روى عنه الدارقطني و أبو اسماق الطبري و ابراهيم بن مخلد و محمد بن أبي الفوارس و حدثنا عنه على بن احمد الرزاز و أبو على بن دوما ولم يكن سماع ابن دوما منه صحيحًا * حدَّثنا المحسن بن المحسين النعالي قال قال ابو الفرج الإصبهاني بلغ أبا العسن جعطة ان مُذَرِث بن محمد الشيباني الشاعر فكره بسوء في مجلس كنت حاضرة فكتب اليّ

- * أَبَافَرَجٍ أَهْجَى لَدَيْكُ وَيُعْتَدَى * عَلَيَّ فَلَا تَحْمَى لِذَاكَ وَتَغْصَبُ *
- * لَعَمْرُكَ مَا أَنْصَفَّتَنِي فِي مَوَدَّتِي * فَكُنْ مُعْتَبا إِنَّ الأَكَارِمَ تُعْتَبُ * فَكُنْ مُعْتَبا إِنَّ الأَكَارِمَ تُعْتَبُ * فَكَنْ مُعْتَبا إِنَّ الأَكَارِمَ تُعْتَبُ *
- * تَعِينْتُ لِمَا بُلِّغْتَ عَيْنِي باطِلاً * فَظَيُّكُ إِنِّي فِيهِ عَمْرُكُ أَعْجَبُ *
- * ثُكِلَتُ إِذًا نَفْسِي وَعِيْزِي وَأُسْرَتِي * بِفَقْدِي وَلاَ أَثْرَكْتُ مَا كُنْتُ أَكْلَبُ *
- * فَكَيْفَ بِمَنْ لَا حَظَّ لِي فِي لِقَائِـهِ * وَسِيَّـانِ عِنْدِى وَصْلُهُ وَ النَّجَنُّبُ *
- * فَثِينَ بِأَنْحِ أَصْفَاكَ مُتَخْضَ مَنُولَاتِهِ * يُشَاكِلُ مِنْهَا مَا بَدَا والمُغَيَّبُ *

حدَّثنا التنوخي عن أبيه قال ومن الرواة المنسعين الذين شاهدناهم أبو الفرج على بن العسين الاصبهاني فإنه كان يحفظ من الشعر والأغاني و الأخبار والآثار والحديث المسند والنسب ما لم أر قــط مــن يحفظه مثله وكان شديد الاختصاص بهذه الأشياء ويحفظ دون ما يحفظ منها من علوم اخر منها اللغة و التحو و الخرافات و السير و المغارى ومن آلة المنادمة شيئًا كثيرًا مثل علم الجوارج والبيطرة و نُنف من الطبّ و التجوم و الأشربة و غير ذلك * حدّثني أبو عبد الله الحسين بن محمد بن القاسم بن طباطبا العلوي قال سمعت أبا محمد الحسن بن الحسين النوبحتي يقول كان أبوالفرج الإصبهاني أكذب الناس كان يدخل سوق الورّاقين وهي عامرة و الدكاكين مملوءة بالكتب فيشتري شيئًا كثيرًا من الصحف ويحملها إلى بيته ثمّ يكون رواياته كلّها منها * قال العلوى وكان أبو المحسن البتّيّ يقول لم يكن أحد أوثق من أبي الفرج الإصبهاني * سمعت أبا نعيم المحافظ يقول توفى أبو الفرج على بن الحسين الإصبهاني الكاتب بيغداد سنة سبع و خمسين وثلاثمائة * قال محمد بن أبي الفوارس توفى أبو الفرج الإصبهائي يوم الأربعاء لأربع عشرة خلون من ذي المحتجة سنة ست و خمسين و ثلاثمائة و مولدة سنة أربع و ثمانين و مائتين و كان قبل ان يموت خلط وكان أمويًّا وكان يتشيّع وهذا القول هو الصحيح في وفانه * * *

¹ The MS. has لعمرك.

- 273. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muhammad b. Hāšim Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, settled in Damascus. [Fol. 1508.]
- 274. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Abu-l-Qāsim ad-Dabbī al-Maḥāmilī. (Only the first three lines of biography preserved.) [Fol. 1508.]
- 275. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abu-l-Ḥasan, companion of Abu-l-Fadl Ibn Dūdān al-Ḥāšimī al-'Abbāsī, died on the 1st of Du-l-Ḥiǧǧa, 432 a.H. [Fol. 151a.]
- 276. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib Abu-l-Qāsim al-'Alawī, had the laqab al-Murtaḍā. He was Naqīb of the Ṭālibīs, a poet who made many poems, a Mutakallim, and composed works on Šī'ah tenets. He was born in 355 a.h., and died on Sunday, the 25th of Rabī' i, 436 a.h., and was buried the same evening in his house. [Fol. 151a.]
- 276. Mīzān, ii, No. 1749; Ibn Ḥallikān, i, 336. It is remarkable that the Ḥaṭīb has only a very few lines for him, and does not mention one of his works by title.
- 277. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm Abu-l-Qāsim at-Tāǧir, a native of al-Baṣra. He went frequently to al-Baṣra, al-Kūfa, Mecca, and the Yaman. He stayed in Mecca for a long time, and the Ḥaṭīb heard traditions from him there. He was born in 379 A.H., and died at Baghdād in Muḥarram, 449 A.H. [Fol. 1518.]
- 278. 'Alī b. Ḥamza Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Asadī, known as al-Kisā'ī, the grammarian, and one of the great Qur'ān-readers. He came from al-Kūfa and settled in Baghdād, where he was tutor of the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd and of his son al-Amīn after him. He used to deliver the Qur'ān for a considerable time after the reading of Ḥamza az-Zayyāt, under

whom he had studied; then he chose a reading of his own and lectured to students in accordance with his interpretation at Baghdad, ar-Ragga, and other places. He composed works on the Ma'ani-l-Qur'an and al-Āthār-fil-Qirā'āt. According to as-Sūlī his name was 'Alī b. Hamza b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Bahman b. Fairūz, and he was a Maulā of the Banū Asad. According to al-Farra' he began to learn grammar when old, because he was on one occasion reminded of having made a grammatical mistake. This reproof stung: he went to Mu'ad al-Harra' and studied under him. Subsequently he went to al-Basra to study under al-Halil. An Arab told him he had made a mistake in doing so, as correct speech could be found among people of Asad and Tamim at al-Kūfa. He inquired from al-Halil where he had acquired his learning, and was told that he had gained it from the Bedouins of the Higaz, Nagd, and the Tihama. This induced him to travel in Arabia, and before he returned he had used up fifteen flasks of ink, besides what he had stored up in his memory. His first act after his return was to go to al-Basra to see al-Halil. When he arrived al-Halīl had died and Yūnus was occupying his place; Yūnus was amazed at the learning of al-Kisā'ī. Asked why he was named Kisā'ī, he replied because he was clad in a kisā' when performing the pilgrimage; according to another account the Qur'an-reader Hamza gave him this name because he wore a kisā' when he first attended his lectures. Here follow some of the readings of al-Kisā'i, e.g. افَأَكُلُهُ الدِّبُثُ where he read i without hamza, supporting his reading with the most flimsy arguments, one

¹ Sūra 12, v. 17.

of them being that everyone would read without hamza also; another argument is that the verb انتخاب is also pronounced without hamza, and thus mixing up the roots أذب and خوبت as a third argument he quotes a verse which is an evident forgery, where the plural

In another anecdote al-Kisā'ī corrects the teacher of ar-Rašīd in the presence of al-Mahdī, giving as the correct imperative for "use the toothpick". Next follows a discussion on saying three times. A third tale, which appears apocryphal, given on the authority of Abu Hātim as-Siğistānī, states how a governor of al-Kūfa came to al-Basra and found that the learned men there specialized in one single branch of learning. He stated that al-Kisā'ī was equally well versed in all sciences. Al-Kisā'ī makes, in spite of his learning, mistakes which a man of very slight attainments would not make. He explains that his tongue runs away with him. Al-Kisā'ī relates that he had seen the prophet in a dream, who taught him certain readings. After the death of al-Kisā'ī a man used to speak lightly of him. After a few days he too had a dream; he had seen al-Kisā'ī in heavenly glory because the Lord had forgiven his sins on account of his readings of the Qur'an. An Arab of the desert declares al-Kisā'ī more learned than any Arab because he knows the difference between the kind of stars called دَرِّى and دِرِّى. Abū 'Umar ad-Dūrī used to say that he had read the book Ma'ani-l-Qur'an of al-Kisa'i under Abū Mishal, at-Ţuwal, Salama, and others at Baghdād in the mosque as-Sawwāqīn, when Abū Mishal said that anyone who had read it ten times would still be longing to read it again. One day al-Kisā'ī complained that Yaḥyā b. Hālid had found fault with him because he was slow in answering grammatical questions, yet, he remarked, if I answer straight away I am liable to make a slip. He was told that he should not fear anyone, but speak what he wanted, as there was nobody who could correct him. Al-Kisā'ī, seizing his tongue, said, "May God cut thee off if thou wert to speak what I do not know!"

As might be expected of a vain fellow, he dressed after the manner of the nobles of his time.1 salary under Hārūn ar-Rašīd either was insufficient or it was not paid promptly; some verses addressed to the Caliph brought in a large present. follows a silly poem on the advantages of learning grammar and the disgrace of not being able to speak correctly. There is uncertainty about the date of his death, the most accepted account being that he accompanied ar-Rasid on a journey to Horāsān, and died on the road at a place called Ranabuyah, near ar-Rai, in the year 182 A.H., on the same day as the jurist Muhammad b. al-Hasan. Other accounts give 183 and 189 A.H., and as places where his death took place ar-Rai and Tus. Al-Yazīdī composed an elegy upon his death, of which four verses are cited. Abū Mishal relates that he saw al-Kisā'ī after his death in a dream, his face shining like a full moon. He asked him how God had dealt with him, upon which al-Kisā'ī replied that He had

ا فرآه بعض علماء الكوفتين و عليه جِرّبانات عظام فقال له يا أبا المحسن ما هذا الزّق قال أدب من آداب السلطان لا يثلم دينًا ولا يدخل في بدعة ولا يخرج من سُنّة *

forgiven his sins on account of his Qur'ān readings; questioned about the reader Hamza az-Zayyāt, al-Kisā'ī stated that the former was so high in heaven that he appeared to them only like a small glittering star. A parallel account joins Sufyān ath-Thaurī with Hamza in this exalted position. [Fols. 152A-163B.]

278. Zubaidī, Ṭabaqāt MS., Brit. Mus. Or. 3041, fol. 13æ; Ibn Hallikān, i, 330; Ibn al-Anbārī, Nuzhat, 81; Suyūtī, Bughyat, 236, and many other works.

- 279. 'Alī b. Ḥarmala at-Taimī, of Taim ar-Ribāb, a Kūfī who was Qāḍī-l-Quḍāt at Baghdād under ar-Rašīd in succession to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. He had studied law under Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf. [Fol. 1638.]
- 280. 'Alī b. Ḥafṣ Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī. [Fol. 163B.]
- 281. 'Alī b. Ḥafṣ Abu-l-Ḥasan aš-Šanqī. [Fol. 164B.]
- 282. 'Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm al-Madā'inī. [Fol. 165A.]
- 283. 'Alī b. Ḥuǧr b. Iyās b. Muqātil b. Muḥaḍiš Abu-l-Ḥasan as-Sa'dī, resided originally in Baghdād, but removed to Marw, where he read traditions till he was named after his place of residence al-Marwazī. He was born in 154 a.h., and left Baghdād when 33 years of age. He used to say that at that time he cherished the wish that he might live another thirty-three years and then publish some of the learning he had acquired, but when he had been spared that time he still had the same desire to wait another thirty-three years. He died the evening of Wednesday, the middle of Ğumādā i, 244 a.h.

283. Maqdisī, Maǧmaʻ, p. 354; Dahabī, Ṭabaqāt, ii, 36; Taqrīb, 269.
284. 'Alī b. Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥayyān b.
Māzin b. al-Ghadūba aṭ-Tā'ī al-Mauṣilī. His
ancestor Māzin¹ came to the Prophet. 'Alī travelled

¹ Cf. Usd al-Ghāba, iv, 269.

in the Hiǧāz, to Baghdād, al-Kūfa, and al-Baṣra. (The biography is not complete, and the MS. ends fol. 168B abruptly.) [Fol. 167B.]

The following leaves contain two portions of the Kitāb al-I'ǧāz wal-Iǧāz of ath-Thaʿālibī, fols. 169–77, corresponding to pp. 69¹⁷–72⁸ of the edition of this work published in Ḥams Rasāʾil, Const. 1301, while fols. 172–84 are found pp. 46⁴–55²¹. Paper and writing of this portion are later; the text is beautifully written with many vowels which are not always correct.

APPENDIX

THE APPEARANCE OF THE PROPHET IN DREAMS

Time after time we encounter in works of biography and history accounts where persons who are eager to give special weight to their own statements, disputed by others, claim to have seen the Prophet in a dream and to have received the authority for their statements from him. These appearances of the Prophet in a dream have played in the Muslim world a rôle similar to that of letters fallen from heaven in Christian countries.¹

The justification for receiving authority from the Prophet in a dream is based upon a series of traditions, which with slight variations run as follows: 2 "Who sees me in a dream has seen me (actually), for the Devil does not assume my form." The difficulty here is to ascertain for whom these traditions were intended, whether for all

¹ I remember as a boy that the trick with a letter from heaven was tried with the peasant population near my home, but it failed.

[&]quot; من رآنى فى المنام فقد رآنى فإن الشيطان لا يتمثل بى The traditions bearing on my subject are found in the following works: Sunan of Abū Dā'ūd, ed. Lucknow, 1312, ii, p. 303; Sunan of Ibn Māğa, ed. Lucknow, p. 287; and especially Samā'il of at-Tirmidī (at the end of the Gāmi'), ed. Lucknow, 1310. I have not looked up the other collections of traditions, as these three authors are of undisputed authority and sufficient for my purpose.

coming generations or only for those persons who knew Muhammad personally and could distinguish his form from that of any other person. This point early caused a difference of opinion, and a marginal note in Ibn Māğa, p. 287, states that the learned Qādī of Sabta (Ceuta) 'Iyad held the opinion 1 that it could only refer to persons who knew Muhammad, which is however refuted. We get probably nearer the original form of the tradition as it is quoted in the Sunan of Abū Dā'ūd, ii, 3036, on the authority of Abū Huraira, where we read: مَنَ , آنه في في الله عند الله عن Who sees me in a dream will see, المنام فسيراني في اليقظة me when awake." This tradition is followed immediately by what appears to be an amendment on the authority of 'Ikrima, after Ibn 'Abbas, as follows: مَن راني في المنام رآنى فى اليقظة ولا يتمثل الشيطان بى "Who sees me in a dream has seen me when awake, for the Devil does not assume my likeness." The commentator explains the words في النقظة as referring to the Resurrection. That this is not the bearing of the tradition is proved by several traditions found in the Šamā'il of at-Tirmidī. 'Asim b. Kulaib, on the authority of his father, states that the latter had heard from Abū Huraira this tradition in its usual form: "Who sees me in a dream has seen me (actually), for the Devil does not assume my likeness." His father went to Ibn 'Abbas and told him that the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and mentioned al-Hasan, the son of 'Ali, as resembling the apparition. Ibn 'Abbās replied, "Yes, he used to look like him." We see here that to verify whether he had seen the Prophet in his vision or not he has to go to Ibn 'Abbās, who knew how the Prophet looked, and point out a man then living, and he was not certain until he was told that al-Hasan resembled the Prophet. Another tradition states that Yazid al-Fārisī had seen the Prophet in a vision in the lifetime

¹ I have not found a passage relating to these traditions in his Šifā'.

of Ibn 'Abbās. He goes to him and tells him of his dream. Ibn 'Abbās replies: "The apostle of God used to say, 'The Devil is not able to assume my likeness, therefore whoever sees me in a dream has seen me." Then he asks him if he is able to describe the person who appeared in the vision. Replying in the affirmative he gives a description which is not very lucid. 'Auf b. Abī Gamīla, who heard this tradition from Yazīd al-Fārisī, says: "I do not know what to make of this description," النعت والمرق ما كان مع هذا النعت.

We see from these traditions that the original form as preserved by Abū Dā'ūd points to the lifetime of the Prophet, when it was possible to see him in person when awake after the dream, and that after his death it was considered imperative to make sure that the apparition actually resembled the Prophet. This could only be done by making inquiries from persons who had personally known Muhammad. When these persons had passed away, the possibility whether the dreamer had seen the Prophet or the Devil could not be determined any longer, and as a person who has had a dream cannot bring a second witness, the weight attached to such claimed vision was misplaced. Nevertheless, these traditions have been abused by unscrupulous persons who were eager to carry their ideas through against all just opposition. I am inclined to believe that al-Kisa'ī by appealing to the authority of his vision was only able to get his readings of the Qur'an accepted, though well-informed contemporaries had their doubts and expressed them.



III

YASNA XXX AS THE DOCUMENT OF DUALISM

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS

HAVE elsewhere (see SBE. xxxi) thus designated this chapter. Yet, as in the case of the "eschatology" and of the "moral idea", I by no means intend here to imply that either of those concepts or this "Dualism" had never been mooted elsewhere in any obscure form at any period previous to the composition of this Yasna XXX. The most of such ideas as these issue inevitably from the human consciousness in many places in the course of ages; here, however, they are definitively grasped and pointed in synoptic statement, whereas elsewhere they were, if at all, loosely surmised, and to be gathered only through inference. I call attention to this chief doctrine of the piece with especial care on account of its epochmaking importance as offering the initiative in the above sense to all analogous subsequent suggestion.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTS

1. (a) And now I will proclaim, O (ye who are) comingand-wishing-1 (to-be-taught), those animadversions 2 which (are the mental-instructions) for the one (desiring to be) thoroughly informed,3

² Some render as if the faculty of "memory" were here especially involved; "memorable things." I cannot quite see this; the "animadversions" were, however, to be regarded as "memorable".

* Recalling $v(a)\bar{e}di\check{s}t\bar{o}$ of Yasna XLVI, 19, I formerly preferred "to the all-knowing one"; this I would now put in the alternative.

¹ Išentō, "coming-with-desire"; that the idea of "coming" is involved in išentō, to the ind. iš, is the more probable from the parallel expressions in Yasna XLV, 1, "from near and from far." One writer long since corrected (?) to $Mazd\bar{a}$ $\theta r\bar{a}$ = "Thou, O Mazda". This precludes a voc. in išentō; yet see the following second personals, with which the voc. is harmonious.

- (b) both the praise-songs for Ahura, and the sacrificial-offerings 1 of Vohu Manah 2 (the Good Mind's follower),
- (c) and the joyful counsels (held) with Aša's 3 (just truthfulness), and what-two-(doctrines 4 are those) whereby propitious results are (or "may be") seen through the lights (on high, and on holy altar).⁵
- 2. (a) Hear ye (then) with your ears; behold ye the flames 6 with the best mind;—
- ¹ Yesnyā far more naturally renders "offerings", "sacrifices" than "prayers"; for the latter see rather the forms of $i\S$, $y\bar{a}s$. Yesnyā is properly $yasniy\bar{a}$, as e is merely the result of a perhaps false epenthesis; e is =a+i, the latter i being anticipated from the terminal y, of which it may be considered to be an element.
- ² That is, "offerings to the Archangel by the one inspired by him," as offered to him in the "spirit which he represents", i.e. offerings "deeply sincere and earnest, with good will". The interior sense is not lost in the proper name, or in the word as otherwise understood, though, wherever possible, $Vohu\ Manah$ should be understood as the "correct citizen in whom V. M. dwells"; and so, analogously, of Asa, this word should often be taken to represent "the Holy Community" in whom $Asa\ (Arsa)$ was dominant. This treatment would be more realistic, and at Yasna L, 2, we are constrained to adhere to such an interpretation of $Vohu\ Manah$. This was the favourite point of procedure preferred by a great Vedist, who suggested so much for the Gasa. Wherever a realistic result of treatment is possible we should resort to it, as being the more critical.
- ² So, "joyful counsels which have truth as their basis and inspiration," $hum\tilde{a}zdr\tilde{a}$ $A\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$ ($Ar\tilde{s}\tilde{a}$), i.e. "ind. su+mand+tra" (I write $A\tilde{s}a$, as the more correct $Ar\tilde{s}a$ is not euphonious). An instr. should not be expected amidst nom. acc. neut. pl.'s, except where it is unavoidable, as in the case of $A\tilde{s}a$ here. Otherwise, where intellectual action on the part of the subject of the sentence is involved, all terms expressing "thought", "speech", and "action" demand a semi-adverbial $A\tilde{s}a$ or $Voh\tilde{u}$ $Manahh\tilde{a}$ in the instr. being the form of any such word which may be so taken; here personality seems also indicated.

⁴ So my former alternative as now preferred to $y\bar{e}c\bar{a}$ when real as $y\bar{a}c\bar{a} =$ "I beseech"; $y(a)\bar{e}c\bar{a}$, as the lost acc. dual. neut., if belief, referring to the "two main divisions" of the creation, of "good and evil", of which the statement immediately follows.

"'Propitious indications from the heavenly bodies," or from the altar flames". Some others, following very old stress that "the rapture(?)"; but the more realistic and objection and the stress that is a therefore the more scientific; wrvaz- is wraz-, to ind. vraj p

⁶ Some others, "Hear the best things, the illustrious (?) with the mind." $Vahišt\bar{a}$ has indeed the place of an acc. pl. neut., but it is restricted characteristic in its application to $A š \bar{a} (Ar \check{a} a)$ elsewhers, and so the none

- (b) at this decision as to faiths man and man, (each) for himself ¹ (deciding),
- (c) in presence of ² the great endeavour-of-the-Cause (be) awake to this our teaching.³
- 3. (a) Thus are the two first spirits (primeval), who, natural here for "Vohā" Mananhā. Some render "with enlightened mind" behold, but "the flames upon the altar" or "the flaming heavenly bodies" is a far more realistic suggestion; and the "carried over" sense should be always only reluctantly followed anywhere. Cf. Ved. šuča', šu'či. Recall RV. ii, 35 (226), 8, yó apsv ā šu'činā dai'vyena rtāvā'jasra urviyā vt b'āti, "shines with heavenly light," not "with pure Godhead" (!); RV. iv, 2 (298), 16, . . . šučāt ayan . . . arunīr āpa vran; see also 17 . . . šučāntō Agntm. The "carried over" sense "illustrious" is a bad guess with av(a)ēnatā close by; see also darasatā with raočēbīš; "seeing" and "looking" demand "flame" here, and not "mental enlightenment"; "lights," "stars," and "flames" are homogeneous to "sight". Realism should dominate our detailed exegesis wherever possible.

1 "For his own person."

- ² So with Ved. párā, but possibly = "before"; cf. Yasna XIX, 1, (3).
- ³ Or, sazdyāi to sad (?), "to our favouring," "that it may eventuate to our favour," cf. Haug, "in our favour," but the most immediate, and not the most remote idea, should be always selected. "To our teaching" to sah = saih is far more immediate; and would even call for a reconstruction of text in its favour; see also the hint of the Pahl. trl. [It is not favourable to a scientific procedure to place doubtful, if interesting, suggestions in our text when making a serious report to the learned world outside the extremely small number of even professed experts. All conceivable new suggestions should be made; and the present writer has often led the way there, but hazardous suggestions should not be put in the body of a text intended for the general learned public, without at least the most fully prepared alternatives. faculty of sound judgment should be allowed its full play here, valuable and startling suggestions being placed in the notes. It was a very eminent Sanskritist who recommended me to offer "all the possibilities" -this early in the eighties.]
- ⁴ So, deciphering $p(a)o(u)rviy\bar{a}$, $p(a)ourvy\bar{e}$, as a loc. adverbial, not being here accepted, as a loc. would make here a somewhat awkward contrast as an adverbial form, in this strophe 3, with the acc. adverbial in the next strophe, 4; \bar{e} is a false decipherment of the last sign
- ($\mathfrak{C} = \mathfrak{fo} = \mathfrak{G}$); read $\mathfrak{C} = \mathfrak{g} + \mathfrak{g} y\bar{a}$, which $\mathfrak{C} = \mathfrak{G}$ is Pahl.-Av. of the transitional period. [Otherwise, indeed, $-vy\bar{e}$, if so deciphered, can be again only taken as a dual, this time as a neut. with $vahy\bar{o}$, $akem\dot{c}a$, which would, however, afford a meaning almost too significant to be credible: "Thus are two spirits, two first (principles?), . . . these two, a better thing (or 'principle') and a worse . . ." I have here

as a pair,¹ (contrasting their opposing attributes, yet) independently ² (acting, each in His person) have been famed (of old),

- (b) (as regards) these two (principles), as to the better and the worse, in thought, in word, and in deed;—
- (c) and between the two let the wisely-disposed choose ³ aright; (choose ye) not as the evil-minded.⁴

taken $h\bar{\iota}$ as acc. dual. neut. used adverbially—this for "safety" only; for there is no denying the fact that, were it not for the exceedingly profound results of the interpretation involved, it would be quite impossible to avoid the force of the language as it stands. With the neuter the profoundest concepts are here adumbrated, so also in numberless similar cases; aside from a neuter, see Yasna XXIX, 4. We must, however, be carefully upon our guard in accepting ideas too modern. The deepest philosophic point is, however, everywhere anticipatively adumbrated; the diction is very close upon it, and must have called the attention of many a hearer, or reader, to it, so becoming the cause of later more definitive recognitions of the interior elements present in it.]

1 "Two spirits, two twins" (sic; cf. the Vedic $yam\tilde{a}$, dual, of the Ašvins, etc. Others, with well-meant efforts at novelty, cf. Indian $y\tilde{a}ma =$ "night watch"; cf. my Persian translation of Pahlavi in $G\bar{a}\theta$ as, pp. 40, 41, 437, 438. Some writers fully venture upon the rendering "two things", "a better thing, or principle, or a worse, as to thought, word, and deed." Here I hesitated, though greatly admiring the literal force and desiring to accept it; see just above. This would be philosophy unquestioned of the highest or "deepest" description, cf. the Greeks. For the various alternative suggestions see SBE. xxxi, at the place, and The Five Zara θ uštrian Gā θ as as just cited.

² Some would read ahvafnā, from long since antiquated authority = "sleepless"; others again "in dream", or "in apparition". Sva+dpah(-s) should, naturally, give the indication here, not svap="to sleep". Or even, as ever, in plain cases like this, the text should invariably be restored to its original and rational form to this effect, sva+dpah(-s). The theme is the "higher creation" here, and hardly either "sleeping" or "dreaming". Recall RV. x, 38 (864), 5, svavr'jam ht tvām ahám Indra šušráva (notice the same verb šru in the two connexions; the analogies here are, of course, not here cited as being absolutely exact); see RV. i, 54, 3, drča dive brhate šūšyàm váčah svákšatram yásya d'ršato d'ršato mánah; RV. iii, 21 (255), 2, svád'arman devávītaye šréšťam no d'ehi váryam (of Agni); cf. svīkarana.

³ All the preterital verbal forms should be read conjunctively, as in a conjunctively future sense, where this is at all feasible; in urgent crises thoughts dwelt rather on the present and the immediate future than upon the past; "let them choose" is better than "they did choose".

"Evil-disposed" means more than "unintelligent", though it includes "mental obscurity", and the force of the "evil" element

- 4. (a, b) (Yea) when these two spirits came together to make ¹ at first ² life and life's ³ absence, (determining) how at last the world shall be (constituted),
- (c) the worst (life) of the faithless, but for the holy the best mental state,⁴
- 5. (a) He who (was) the evil of these two Spirits (chose the evil, thereby) working the worst of (possible) results; ⁵ should not be modified in a translation; some writers seem inclined to accept a $d\bar{a}$ (?) = "to know".

¹ Or, emending, "they have made," as a 3rd dual perf. contracted to fit the metre, or possibly, again, 3rd sing. "(each) makes"; let the general reader notice that the important "meaning" is here but little

affected by these differences in the choice of text or rendering.

² The adverbial acc. sing. neut., which, in the Indian, together with the instr. adverbial, outnumbers in its occurrences those of the locative by a heavy multiple. Notice that loc. adverbial is not used here, which renders its occurrence just previously in s. 3 the more doubtful; see also, again, the impossibility of $-\bar{\imath}m$ as acc. sing. neut.; the $-\bar{\imath}$ - is a false decipherment; $\mathbf{T} = \log \text{Pahl. } \mathbf{J} = \text{Av. } y$ in the body of an Avesta word with the inherent a = -yam; cf. an ind. $p\bar{u}rvyam^*$; so likewise with $hai\theta\bar{\imath}m$; $-\bar{\imath}m$ is here ridiculously impossible as an acc. sing. neut. The supposed $-\bar{\imath}$ - is again a false decipherment for Pahl. -y with its inherent a, as always in Pahlavi.

- 3 It seems incredible that the worst "life" or "world" should be actually meant here directly as a punishment in a full modern subjective sense; yet so the language stands, and it would be a gross misuse in a commentator not to report the fact, for, if the language was not meant to have its full force uncurtailed, then most certainly the sentences foreshadow the deepest possible of religious-philosophical concepts. But as regards our attempt to discover the exact idea immediately present in the mind of the composer, it is perhaps better to hold the inner meaning to be that "the Evil Spirit fostered the worst life for the wicked", in view of its punishment; and so the Good Spirit "fostered the best mental state" with its rewards for the holy. Here predestination does not particularly occur to me. Also the "world at last" or "life at last" need not have exclusive reference to an ultimate future state in a higher, or lower, world, though this is undoubtedly our first impression; a beatified existence upon a restored earth was also held in view; see the related passages throughout the Avesta.
- ⁴ It is hard to understand how even distinguished writers could render the "best abode"; it might, however, well pass as a "free translation".
- ⁵ Ačištā-verezyō, as nom. sing. masc.; others as acc. sing. neut. for verezyō. I prefer to recognize the nom. at the end of a sentence, or before a cæsura, wherever it may be possible; and I would also see a masc. everywhere when feasible as being more personal, and therefore the more realistic.

- (b) but the most bounteous ¹ Spirit (chose) Asa² (the sanctity of the Holy Law); yea, He so chose who clothes-upon-Himself the most firm stones (of Heaven, as His robe,
- (c) and He chose likewise) those who content Ahura ³ with true actions (really done) in-accordance-with-the-faith.⁴
- 6. (a) And between these two spirits the Demonworshippers 5 could make-for-themselves no correct choice,6 since deception, (as Ačišta Manah,7 the Worst Mind), came upon them, as-they-were-questioning (the great decision);—(he came), the Worst Mind,7 that he might be chosen 8;—(they made their fatal decision);
- (b) and thereupon they rushed together to the *Demon-of-Fury* that they might pollute ⁹ the life of mortals. ¹⁰
- ¹ Notice that $Sp\bar{v}ii\bar{s}t\bar{u}$ Mainy \bar{u} seems to be here indubitably used of Ahura; the usage vacillates. Recall also Semitic analogies as regards the use of the term "Holy Spirit"; it is often difficult to decide whether the terms apply to an Attribute of the Supreme Deity, or to His highest creature. I only object to the rendering of spenista as "holiest" from fear of conceding too refined a sense; I should greatly desire it.
- ² "Personification" is here next to impossible; to say that "Ahura 'chose' His own Archangel" would be fatuous.
- ³ Notice this usage "Ahura" of the Deity who was Himself the "chooser"; the word "Ahura" used for "Him".
- * Fra+var seems characteristic of "acting in the spirit of the Faith". Some of the others render "gladly". The neut. acc. of the part. pres. is used adverbially, as in the Indian; recall dravát and drahyát adverbially used with changed accent.
- ⁵ So, far more realistically, $d(a)\bar{e}va$ unquestionably means " $d(a)\bar{e}va$ -worshippers" here, as most often in the Gä θ as; and this view is far more realistic than that which renders the "D(a) \bar{e} va-gods", who would not so naturally "rush together" toward one of their own number.
- ⁶ So, the preterite conjunctively understood; otherwise "they did not choose aright"; cf. strophe 2.
- ⁷ Notice this important instance of rhetorical personification; "the (personified) Worst Mind 'came' with Aša" (Arša), etc. To assert that all the meaning of two such words as acistem mano was lost in a mere proper name would be here ridiculous; and if this is ridiculous here, what is an analogous procedure elsewhere?
- 8 Or "so that they might choose the worst intention"; but I prefer, where feasible, always the nom. at the end of a line, or at the end before a cæsura.
- ⁹ That they might disease the "life" of man; so the Pahl., Pers., and Skt.: recall the name $B\bar{e}\bar{n}dva$, XLIX, 1. 10 "Of the mortal."

- 7. (a) Upon this 1 came then Aramaiti (the Zeal of God, and His Saints); and with her came Xšaθra's (Sovereign-Power), with Vohu Manah's (Good Mind), and with Aša's (faultless Law);—(she came as creation's act was finished);
- (b) and strenuous-strength to-the-body she gave 2 (she, Aramaiti) the-eternal-ever-abiding; 3 —
- (c) and for these ⁴ Thy (strengthened saints) so let (that body ever) be, as (when) Thou camest ⁵ first with (Thy) creations.
- 8. (a) (And when that strife shall have been concluded—begun by those erring $D(a)\bar{e}va$ -worshippers), and when Vengeance ⁶ for those wretches comes,
- (b) thereon, O Mazda, the $X\$a\theta ra's^7$ (Sovereign Power) shall have been gained for Thee (benevolently), through (Thy) Good Mind (for Thy Saints, and in their souls, as beatified in Thy Reign),
- 1 "At this juncture in the creation," or "to this one"; others, "to man." Notice how indifferent, as ever, the "difference" is in view of the higher moral theology involved.
- ² "She gave steadfastness to the body"; $\bar{a}nm\bar{a}$ to an an=ind. in. "She, the unbending quality," to a+nam as a neut. in apposition, is also far from being so impossible as one might suppose. The Pahl. translator suggests an a priv.; see my Pahl., Pers., and Skt. texts at the place.
 - 3 One writer seems boldly to render the form here as a neut, sing.
 - 4 "Holy ones assembled for the contest."
- 5 Or "with iron bonds"; so a great Vedist first suggested; see Gāθas, 431-49; and another seems to have understood "the metal" of the "molten lake" with ādānāiš as = "Heimzahlungen". The "molten metal" of the "ordeal" (?) was, however, a definite concept which developed only later. If $t\bar{o}i$ =Thy, this second personality should dominate the sentence; "Thou camest" is better than "with iron". If the text ayaħhā could not be regarded as adequate here, it should be emended in the needed sense. "Iron" seems only remotely indicated, while ādānāiš could well express "creations"; and "creation" is the subject in hand.
 - ⁶ See strophe 6; the vengeful punishment of them.
- 7 In several places political expectations seem to be adumbrated; the Archangel Xša θ ra is here all but positively excluded. The word can only mean "the Government"; I am the only writer who would even mention the personification here—this for the sake of consistent continuity.

- (c) and for those declared, O Ahura, who will deliver the Druj-(Lie-²Demon of the Foe) into-the-two-hands of Aša ³ (Archangel of thine armed Folk).
- 9. (a) And may we be such as those who make this world (fully) progressive (till perfection shall have been reached),⁴
- (b) (as) the Ahuras of Mazda,⁵ bringing ⁶ benefits-with-meeting-help, and with the Holy Law;

¹ Reading saste, middle for passive. Otherwise read the act. sastī; so I, in SBE. xxxi, "he(?) declares."

² Everywhere in the later Avesta and in the Inscriptions the root word druj in its various forms is expressive of "falsification", in the Indian

seldom or never; "injury" is there the prevailing sense.

 3 Of course, a State standing in the Holy Law is here intended; cf. the first arising of the "Church"; "into the Power of the holy congregation." I held (see above) that $A\delta a$ ($Ar\delta a$) expresses the "Holy Congregation" frequently, as well as the Law, in the $Ga\delta a$, as Vohu Manah often means "the individual saint"—this even in the $Ga\delta a$; notice the quasi-military character of the figure, and recall Yasna XXXI, 18, "Hew ye them all with the snai $\theta i\delta$ "; war, civil or international, is indicated. $A\delta a$ seldom or never represents the "Fire" here, as it may at times in the later Avesta, and in the later Zoroastrianism.

⁴ This is the document of Frašakard, the first recorded "call" of a millennial propaganda; for extended comment see $G\bar{a}\theta$ as at the place. Frašakard derives from here $y\bar{o}i$ $\bar{\imath}m$ frašēm (or fraš $\bar{\imath}m$ (?), frašyam) kerenaven $ah\bar{\imath}m$.

⁶ As Ahura at Yasna XXIX, 2, and elsewhere refers to the human subject, the pl. may well be so applied to the leading princely priests here. Or, with others, changing the subject to the second personal, "O Ahuras of Mazda, do ye (?) bring (2nd pl. imp. ?) companionship and help with the Holy Law," -anā as 2nd pl. imp. term for -tanā; but the t would seem to be especially organic in the Vedic 2nd pl. It is never so well to change the personal from the first to the second Within a single strophe, where this change can be avoided, and at the dictate of such a doubtful recognition as that of -tanā in -anā; rather read baramnā, which would not affect the metre; surely after line a it is not going too far to refer baranā to the 1st pers. pl.

⁶ The added $-c\bar{a}$ might tempt us to regard $a\bar{s}\bar{a}-c\bar{a}$ as an acc. pl. neut.; for the added $-c\bar{a}$ would seem to belittle the expression as the proper name of an Archangel here, but an instrumental $a\bar{s}\bar{a}$ is very much in place where the personal subject of the sentence is represented as pointedly thinking, speaking, or acting; a voc. would be here especially clumsy. $Amoyastr\bar{a}$ might, however, better be rendered as in the acc.

pl. neut.

- (c) for there will the collected-minded-one be where Wisdom shall abide in the home.¹
- 10. (a) Then shall the blow (of destruction) ² fall for the host ³ of the *Druj*-Lie-Demon (of our foes),
- (b) but swiftest in the abode of Vohu Manah's (Good Mind),
 - (c) of Ahura, and of Aša's (Holiness) shall gather⁵ those
- ¹ So, more "objectively" than "there will our thoughts be (centred)": so the Pahl. Or "that the collected-minded-one may be there where the knowledge was (once) astray"; so Roth; see Gāθas, Comm., at the place; recall havir-mat'īnām of the yātu's "disturbing the offering". Cistī, however, seems very nearly a rhetorical personification. She "comes", in XLVIII, 11; see Yasna LI, 16, 18, etc. Cistī seems almost to correspond to the "wisdom" of the Proverbs: see also Vedic citti, as masc. and adj. of Agni; see also Pouru-čistā as the proper name. Of course, we can accept an Avestic use of cisti=ci'tti as being "astray", but only in case of necessity. Imagine our finding such a Gātic expression as Vohu Manah being "astray", yet Gäθic cistī almost approaches in sanctity that concept; Vohu Manah, as the correct citizen, is only ceremonially "defiled" even in the "later Avesta". Where could the "wisdom" of Proverbs be said to be "astray"?—the sinner "strays" from wisdom, while the latter hardly "errs". I prefer the familiar idea of "abode". Cf. garō nmanē. A very interesting distinction intervenes here. $M(a)\bar{e}\theta\bar{a}$ seems to be undoubtedly adverbial in the sense of "in the abode"; at XXXIII, 9 see baratū; see also aθrā-yaθrā as adverbs of place at XLVI, 16; see also XLIII, 2, where Ahura is spoken of as "dwelling", šaēitī (šayatī); the "dwelling" of Ahura and His "Cistī" seems to be especially congruous. The sense may be "where wisdom is propitious".

² See Gāθas, Comm., p. 4. So the Pahl. sipah. Some others, "of good fortune," so less realistically, to śvā (?); recall śvánta; cf. spenta.

³ Read $\bar{a}sist\bar{a}$; the apparent short vowel reading of $asist\bar{a}$ may, as it does in numberless other instances, have resulted from one of the confusions necessarily prevalent in the transitional period, when Pahl. characters still lingered in many Avesta words; short Pahl. \mathbf{a} = Avesta long $\mathbf{a}\mathbf{a}$.

4 Or "they hasten", to yuz.

⁵ Others seem to recall asistā yaojañtē (so reading) in the sense of "joining the a + sista", the unversehrt(!); see Haug, to šiš, šina'sti. Then, again, some writers see asistā, ā-sistā, as the "promised (things)", "the rewards", to šiš, šisyāt. The hint of the Pahl., Pers., and Skt. (far more graphically) points to āšu = "swift"; consider also yaozente, "swiftest they hasten"; recall also the original meaning of aš, "to attain."

who (now) walk (upon earth) (or "are regenerated") in good fame.

- 11. (a) When (therefore), O ye men, ye learn these doctrines which Mazda has established
- (b) with-regard-to-(our)-well-being 2 (upon the one side) and (our) hindering-disasters (upon the other); 3 and when also (ye learn that there will be) a protracted punishment (a long wounding) for the Faithless-evil,
- (c) and blessings for the holy;—then upon these things (when these doctrines shall have been heeded and obeyed, upon this) there shall be (the salvation's-hail-with) uštā!⁴
- I. Concluding Remarks upon the Alternative Treatment, and the General Principles of Procedure

The above translation of Yasna XXX is intended to be a study looking toward a possible second edition of the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East, which has been officially and pointedly mentioned.

As the Sacred Books of the East are addressed by close experts to the general learned public, being regarded as the reproductions of subject-matter of the highest

¹ Zazeñtë to $h\bar{a}$, $ji'hate^* =$ "to go forth"; otherwise to zan = ind. jan, "are (re)generate."

² See strophe 10, and for all the alternatives see Gāθas, text, pp. 36-52; and Comm. pp. 431-49. Few, if any, serious opinions have ever been published which may not be found in that work, though Pischel's kind and distinguished remark, ZDMG., 1896, that "everything necessary to the understanding of the Gāθas is contained in the book", of course, refers to it as including its Lexicon, which still lacks some eighty pages of its completion; see also the identical remark by Dr. West, JRAS., 1896, Professor Wilhelm, Bombay Iranian Catalogue, 1901 (Geiger only in a private letter), while Professors Kuhn and Geldner edited my translation into Sanskrit of Yasna XXVII in Roth's Festgruss, itself cited pointedly by Oldenberg; see Ved. Relig., p. 27.

³ See Yasna XXIX, 1.

⁴ Others simply "then will it be well". This was an interesting suggestion emanating from a high source, whose point was always to bring things down to the commonplace where possible; unquestionably a correct canon of procedure, where feasible. But uštā, loc. sing. adverbial of -ti, is a most emphatic expression and almost idiomatic; see Yasna XLIII, 1. (Or the uštā might also possibly be a nom. neut. pl. with singular verb. This would, however, be a rather tame suggestion.)

importance to the History of Religion, those volumes of them in which portions of the detail involve considerable uncertainty should be treated with alternative exposition, citing the various opinions of ancient and modern writers as well as suggestions from the translator himself.

II. (1) REASONS FOR SUCH A PROCEDURE IN SBE. XXXI

The most prominent reason for this re SBE. xxxi is the somewhat exaggerated variations in the views of a few translators. These well-meaning scholars not unnaturally pique themselves upon reproductions of such difficult matter which differ from those of all other writers, as also not infrequently from their own previous efforts, and this sometimes without sufficient intimation as to what those previous views were, or where they are to be found, while this ever-changing super-rotation of views continues on indefinitely. That this course has been pursued with the express purpose of keeping readers in ignorance of the detailed opinions upon the subject, seems hardly possible, yet from this neglect it not unnaturally results that eminent scholars, engaged upon closely kindred subjects, find it next to impossible to get any satisfactory synoptic view of the materials upon which to form general opinions without becoming close experts themselves, the acme of error being reached when these unintentional obscurantists themselves reproach great Vedists with this very want of information which they themselves have solely contributed to produce. In view of this, translators should at least record the more respectable of those suggestions which, through external or genuine influences, have managed to get a hearing, so that persons desirous of getting information upon the subject might find it possible to form an approximate, provisional, and independent judgment without a mass of study such as only a laborious specialist should be expected to undertake.

(2) AN IMMEDIATE OBJECTION MAY BE ANSWERED AT ONCE

That even the most interesting of alternatives, if multiplied, would harass the readers, is not the fact, for to some of them these matters are of vital, if collateral, professional and literary importance, though they may not be specialists, while interest is rather increased by the reproduction of homogeneous detail.

III. MORE INTERIOR CONSIDERATIONS

1. But the best defence for alternatives in this particular case of the $G\bar{a}\theta as$ and of Yasna XXX is—and it is of the last possible importance to make it indubitably clear—that what we most value in them, the $G\bar{a}\theta as$, is already plain and unmistakable at once and prima facie, so that we can the more patiently tolerate the ever-changing treatment of the secondary elements; whichever one of two, three, or even four pointings of the sense may be the correct one, this seldom, or never, affects the main principles, which are really immense in their character and force—so to speak of them.

[I said "secondary elements", for I divide the question of exegesis here into three departments, the first two of crucial interest. First, the treatment of the central terms expressing the main ideas, whether personified or not, for all that is epoch-making in this pregnant subject resides in those terms; secondly, the treatment of these $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic places where these ideas are not so pointedly involved; thirdly, these ideas as they appear in the later Avesta, in some Pahlavi commentaries, and in the later familiar household use of them.] As said, the first object of a series like the SBE is to discover the existence and trace the history of the "moral idea" in interior religions, and in the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as we have this vital element focussed at once in a manner unprecedented; for certain terms recur continuously which can express only such an idea with the first exposition of

"subjective recompense" in history—and these words can have no meaning at all here apart from their actual literal sense as language, making the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as far and away the first documents of their kind of equal antiquity.

- 2. All possible interior notions, with the moral idea, can, of course, like all other conceivable thoughts, be discovered in isolated expression everywhere in antiquity, as in our present later times, but here subjective religious morality is brought into focus and apex as never before, and established in a remotely early system, which also became later widely known in the religion of the Achæmenian Persian Empire, the then dominant Asiatic power, and it was never lost at any date of which we have a record. [Recall even Plutarch's astonishing report of these ideas from distant Greece in his reference to the "Gods of Persia"; see below, see also this Journal for July, 1910. The points of this clearness come out with especial force when we transcribe the $G\bar{a}\theta as$ into their closely related Indian forms, reading them then, in their obvious sense, prima facie; see my publications in this form.1 Here all the more closely defined interpretation as to the various shades of possible ultimate meaning may be, for the moment, suspended with no prejudice to the results.] There is also nothing interior which can be excluded even from any one of the several possible points in the "secondary" stage of our inquiry into the detailed ideas which may occur to us: for the tone of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as remains unaltered. The advantage here is great, if we adequately estimate these particulars. We can therefore the more patiently submit to differences in opinion here.
 - 3. The interior-moral-religious concept so pervades

¹ Yasna XXVIII, translated into Sanskrit in Roth's Festgruss, p. 193, so Y. XLIV, similarly treated in the Actes of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris, 1897, re-edited ZDMG., July, 1911, and later; see also my recently published lengthy Yasna I in its Sanskrit equivalents.

the whole $Ga\theta ic$ system that the words which constitute the so-called names of the Amesaspends—to expand the remarks just made above—even when indubitably so used by speech-figure, as such (proper names) exclude all ideas save those which they represent as words, while in the greater part of these occurrences it is extremely difficult for us to decide whether the personification be merely that of rhetoric, or of literal statement, and in many places we are even entirely at a loss to discover whether any personification at all, either rhetorical or literal, is meant, or simply, and far more grandly, the "abstract thought"; [that is to say, we are often at a loss to determine whether Asa merely names the Archangel rhetorically or literally, or whether it directly means the Truth-Law. Where is Vohu Manah, the mere name, and where "the Good and Sane Benevolence"? When is $X \sin \theta r a$ the Archangel and when "the Sovereign Authority"? And when is Aramaiti the personal being and when the Energetic Zeal (the active piety)? In one remarkable place, indeed, Yasna XXXII, 2, we have the two things together: God evidently "speaks with His Truth, Aša" (as always with verbs of such speech, thought, and deed in the subject of the sentence), yet he, Asa, is at once and in the same sentence called "the Good Companion", a most refined and subtle rhetorical personification]. And these primal crucial ideas in the words which express them, whether personified or not, rhetorically or otherwise, or used immediately in their clear sense, lie, as just said, already everywhere irresistibly evident before us, prima facie, in the folios of the $G\bar{a}\theta as$. We might even strike out every line which points outside their scope (N.B.),1 and what we chiefly value in the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as as the first documents closely applying the interior

 $^{^1}$ Remark repeated on account of its crucial importance to the spread of Gāθic reading as preliminary to Gāθic study.

moral thought at from 700 to 900 B.C., would still be left. Alternatives therefore in the lesser particulars need not disturb us.

4. Outside the scope of the chief epoch-making terms this does not by any means continue to be the case, yet this characteristic still dominates while it pervades the mass, and entirely outside the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as we have widely divergent parallel development. To explain—and here I first mention that sphere which lies most remote from the first section (as I term it) of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic exegesis— Aša vahišta, only the Truth-Law in the Gāθas in either of two first divisions of the subject seems there, in the later Avesta and later Zoroastrianism, sometimes to be used for the Fire, doubtless because Asa ruled the ritual which grouped itself about the altar. Vohu Manah became the special guardian of living creatures, men, flocks, and herds—this from the Gāθic use of it, Vohu Manah, for "the Good Citizen in whom the Good Mind dwelt", this was even pushed so far in the later Avesta that the "Good Mind" or the "Good Citizen" might be even "ceremonially defiled"; see above; Xsa θra even came to represent metals, chiefly bronze—this from the melted metal of Yasna LI, 5; while Aramaiti was "the Holy Earth", so also in the Veda—this doubtless because agriculture could alone save mankind from perennial murder; she was the ara-mind; the ploughshare-zeal; so ar in aratrum, while in the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as little of this last appears except in adumbration: for this reason, again, so emphasizing, we can again the more willingly "support" the various

is the Gāθas were addressed to throngs "coming from near and from afar", they were written in a vernacular spoken at the time; see also there personality; but the Gāθic language could not have been spoken later than 200 years before that of the first Achæmenian Inscriptions, which is its so far degenerated from the Gāθic that 200 years at one can account for the change. If, then, the Gāθas were recited a living language and that language lived only before B.C. 700-900, we have the Ga the within two hundred years, this being as close as we show that the first he date of such ancient matter.

alternatives in the first and second stages of our inquiry, for they do not at all touch this last and third division of our work.

[As is generally known, I endeavoured in my Gāθas in 1892-4 to reproduce nearly every conceivable variation in opinion, ancient or modern—this either in following, or in coincidence with, the advice of the first of our then living Sanskritists in the eighties, which advice was "to reproduce all the possibilities"—this re that book in the eighties; but in SBE xxxi such a mass of collected opinion would have been both mechanically impossible and also artistically out of place.]

5. To resume: Focusing our attention here still more closely—for we are here at the supposed central point of all such study, and we need to fortify, as well as establish, our position against all superficial treatment let the serious reader mark well that these first crucial original ideas—to return for a moment to the "first" section of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic exeges which stand here so apart. held their own also historically, and this at times and places parallel with those in which fantastic supervening growths took place; see this Journal for July, 1910. First, this is obvious in the Religion of the Pahlavi Expositors, almost a separate faith among the various shades of Sasanian Zaraθuštrianism, a matter of most vital historical importance; and this phase most signally shows this persistence of the vitally essential ideas. a phase in the recrudescence of the original essential moral force, as this appears in the $G\bar{a}\theta as$, it cannot be that original force itself, though many an inexperienced inquirer might well think so, for it is one of the most striking resumptions of first principles that ever occurred in any ancient system, going back to its first documents. B.C. 700-900, from such a date as that of 200-900 A.D.

¹ See my study of Yasna I (Leipzig, 1910), Introduction, pp. iv-ix.

a surprising manifestation of incisively energetic, intellectual, and spiritual life-force; and it should be long and carefully considered, all the more because of the exceedingly fantastic side-growths which surround it, predated it, and postdated it; for when the Sasanian Persian commentators first began to develop their comments upon. the Yasna, they for the moment set aside, if they did not actually repudiate, all, or nearly all, of those less interior traditional accretions, and even things like those which we see in the later, but still genuine, Vendīdādin the Avesta text itself—a truly astonishing psychical phenomenon, let me repeat it; that is to say, "remarkable" when we gauge it soberly; for let no beginner suppose that this "tradition" of the commentators predominates as fantastic, or degenerate, like that "tradition" of the later Zoroastrianism which at times loses itself in nonrealistic detail. Aša was Aharayīh in the commentaries, that is to say, it was "sanctity", "holiness", "righteousness", with scarce a thought of "Fire"; Fire was God's Son, not unnaturally, and as the "mode of motion", Vohu Manah had the rarest allusions to "flocks and herds", except with Neryosangh, who only later especially gathered up such items. Where is $\chi \delta a\theta ra$, "bronze," or other metal? in these Pahlavi translations? Somewhere, perhaps, but where? Strangest of all, Aramaiti, plainly the "earth" in Vendīdād, as in Veda, is, forsooth, carefully translated as a word in the Pahlavi, by "perfect thinking", a very noteworthy circumstance, much more so than any "item". Haurvatāt is very seldom "water", and Ameretatāt seldom "plants"; see also this Journal of July, 1910.

We might almost say that insufficient expression has been at times given by the commentators even to those fully justified personifications, whether rhetorical or literal, of the six main $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic ideas, the Ameša Speñtas, as they were only later called, this deficiency appearing even in the Pahlavi of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as, and this

in occurrences where they are beyond all doubt thus personified in the original—this, as if the main interior meaning of the words, as plain language, in these commentaries everywhere enveloped and absorbed all such subordinate association of ideas, for "personification" in the light of philosophical research is, of course, "subordinate", even where such an exalted "personification" as that in question is concerned; and yet all this has been passed over uncoordinated and unobserved by writers who make Orientalism their life's study. whereas it is one of the most practical and extensive manifestations of religious energy in history, vast material interests having been also once involved, and this if but one person per one thousand were inspired by its animus; the force of the ideas continues on unabated, and can well afford to bear discussion.

6. Exactly parallel with this is the still more striking evidence of this interior life of the main Zoroastrian doctrines as reported by the far distant Greeks (see above), one quoting still another of B.C. 378-300; see this Journal for July, 1910. [Plutarch actually reports from Theopompos the abstract ideas as "gods" six in number (with Ahura seven), and in their $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic order of sequence, a startling item 1; this without a trace of the later degenerated accretions. In fact Plutarch himself seems to underrate a faith so abstract, which proves all the more his loyalty; he states the facts apparently as if they were distasteful, and this in a report of "Persia" without distinction as to separate provinces or kingdoms, or even as to closer dates 1; see also Herodotus, who cites the "reproaches" of the Persians against those who lower (!) their ideas of God by "building temples" for

¹ This passage from Plutarch is justly considered to be one of the most "precious" of the kind in ancient literature (see Windischmann), as it reports the greatest and most pointed conservative theistic scheme of religion.

Him.] And this system of ideas survived while halfburied among the rubbish of fantastic growths, and as such it is most wonderful indeed to those who understand such searches: we therefore the more freely welcome the reports of the varying less interior views.

7. Yet while these passages, which so simply and yet so impressively express those primary concepts which alone give the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as their value to us, are thus, as I have shown, so clear, for the purpose mentioned, yet—to return here more fully to what I term "the secondary detail" in exegesis (see above)—though pervaded by the same animus, they are, when regarded as syntactical literary matter, perhaps the most obscure of all relics of antiquity, when we feel constrained to decide as to what precisely may be their exact ultimate incidence of thought. is owing to the extreme meagreness of the $Ga\theta ic$ diction, which so lacked expressive power that the authors of the sentences themselves—or "the author of them himself", if there was but one original composer—would have been baffled, had he, or they, been later asked what precise ideas they had themselves, or he had himself, intended to convey in their own strophes, now some decades old, for he or they would have been unable to answer such a question, unless he, or they, had fallen back upon the acute and strenuous exercise of "memory"; for this reason, again, alternatives seem to me to be the more imperative, here, in this secondary department of Gāθic search.

And further, to explain my point above, not only did those main controlling ideas hold their own as in a clearly separate existence side by side with much later trivial development in the later Zoroastrianism, for Theopompos wrote at a time when this latter was in fullest growth (see above), but in these renderings of this secondary, if hardly

¹ No one of them could have always told what precisely as to minute detail he had himself intended to say.

extraneous, detail in the $G\bar{a}\theta a$ itself—there likewise, as was natural, the interior documentary life, as above implied, vehemently persists almost unaltered from its character in the first section. However multiplied our opinions may be as to the actual ultimate pointing of the detailed ideas—even there, so far as the $G\bar{a}\theta as$ are concerned, the range of possibilities as to the pointing of the sense is likewise *limited* in this secondary section of our exegesis as regards its interior force (see above), for the interior moral ideas in so far dominate the whole situation throughout, especially here, and limit the scope of "possibilities".1 Whichever particular one, then, of two, three, or even of four, different pointings to the sense we may prefer, even here, in this secondary department of our exegesis, as in the first section, no one of these obscure expressions of idea can at all possibly fail to express that supreme value of the moral-religious intellectual life which is the chief, if not the sole element of interest involved.

Readers can also, for this reason, if I have been able to make myself clear, with all the more gratitude study even the multiplied citations of slightly, or radically, differing reported views here at this secondary stage, as they could so freely tolerate them in dealing with the leading words in the "first section", as well as in the later tradition in the "third"; they need not remain, as they might otherwise, under a quasi-cataleptic incubus of alarm, so to speak of it, lest all their treasured theories of $G\bar{a}\theta$ ic life should perish in obscurities; the interior elementary

We have here a crisis, in an armed religious propaganda, complicated with political intricacies, much detailed material interest having been also doubtless involved; Church and State—so to speak of it—were here apparently combined in either a defensive, or offensive, dynastic struggle, widely differing from those in the Veda, where interior religion was seldom a prominent element in the clashing sub-political issues; for this reason all these secondary elements in Gāθic thought feel likewise, as do the primary ones, the incisive religious animus which centres in the expression of the Attributes; see above.

moral force, which is so dear to history, remains here also, almost, or totally, undiminished.¹ The various alternative suggestions here also, however divergent they may be from my own first presented views, as also from one another, cannot fail when combined even to contribute directly, as well as indirectly, toward what we most prize; for the invaluable main ideas loom over the entire representation in their epoch-making and unquestioned power and depth, and every detail of serious discussion brings out the more their force.

8. [The Achæmenian Inscriptions of that Empire also confirm my view; expressing, let us never forget it, these same principles throughout, though similar inscriptions would seem to be the last of all places where one should look for such an expression of interior moral principle.]

IV. NUMERICAL, TERRITORIAL, AND POLITICAL PREDOMINANCE

needs also to some extent to be taken into consideration as a reason for strengthening the claims of close discussion, for as our subject appears even from such causes to come into higher light, we become more docile under extended illustration. Buddhism became, and still remains, a large political and moral power over wide portions of the globe, as did Islam, with Christianity, while Mazdaworship as regards its mere numerical and territorial predominance was fatally checked at Nehavend, A.D. 641, Buddhism having only gradually disappeared from India for other fields, and Islam is still trenchant; but as

¹ These focussed and collected points are, in fact, so needed, even for specialists, that a very able expert in Avesta, a leading teacher of others, actually refrained personally from dealing much in translations of the Avesta because of its occasional or frequent obscurities, whereas in any place one of two, three, or four renderings must of necessity be the right one, while that for which we altogether the most value Avesta can never be mistaken, whichever one of the detailed views we may choose. That supreme interest cannot be avoided either in prima facie reading or in exhaustive study.

searchers in religious intellectual history for the existence of intense epoch-making ideas, we should rise above all consideration of such external circumstances. For how very narrow has been the apparent immediate scope of many another sublime theory;—recall alone the Stoa.

V. PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCE

presents itself as a reason for more thorough examination on the part of eminent non-specialists. Then consider the earlier Avesta influence beyond its native borders. susceptible Jews, who had scarce a dream of a definitive Heaven before the Exile, could not have escaped hearing something of the religion of that Empire of which they became a part for two centuries, in the creed of the great Sovereigns whose edicts of restoration fill Ezra with their spirit, and awoke Isaiah, our Bible sections often dating from their reigns, as was but natural; and while articles of the Exilic creed 1 may have arisen spontaneously in Israel, in parallel development, no sane expert denies their actual identities with those of Iran, aside from all question of reciprocal influence; but could the vast Persian Church, so to speak of its throngs of hierarchy, have failed to foster, encourage, and develop, though it may not have originated, the new-found creed of its cherished Jewish fellow-citizens, on those points where Persia and Israel were already one, if this union were indeed already thus the fact? Then recall the Gnosis (with its often lofty theories, so Avestic); see also the pure creed of Mithra worship; while, as many hold, even modern thought may preserve an echo of Avesta in the Philosophy of limit so dear to Fichte and Hegelthis through Jakob Boehme, possibly (?)—anticipating even the now prevalent acceptance of two first forces in the Universe-"it must needs be that the offence

¹ As to God-unity, Angelology, Satan, Demonology, Immortality, Soteriology, Millennium, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.

come"; all this closes in more and more upon our convictions, even where it may be impossible for us to become close experts.

VI. TRANSLATION OF THE CHIEF TERMS, which I have reserved till this place, is the crucial question of all.

This most urgent point naturally involves the others, as it is also involved in them; it is the immediate treatment of the chief terms in actual translation both when those ideas are, in a sense, personified, whether rhetorically or literally (as actually believed-in Archangelic beings; see above), or also otherwise, when the words occur in their simple, if epoch-making, clear and natural verbal force. Some writers leave the terms entirely untranslated whenever they can be at all regarded as being used, whether rhetorically or literally, as the proper names, but translate them significantly when they incontrovertibly express the interior ideas aside from personification—a very defective usage, as I hold. In SBE. xxxi I hit upon a plan which I can now only partially modify; I translated the words fully everywhere, instead of leaving them at times entirely to themselves, so to say—this, except in a few obvious cases. For Asa I used the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Order", "the Truth", etc.; for Vohu Manah I wrote "the Good Mind", printing with capital initials, however,-and this last for the most part even where the ideas were left as the expressions of the pure mental and moral force not yet personified. As Aša meant the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Law", "the Truth" in the Gātic-Avesta language itself, beyond dispute, and this even when expressing the proper name, and as it was still so used in that sense later on, why should not its equivalent in English be used in the same application? Recall the Puritanic English where persons were called

"Prudence", "Hope", "Deliverance", etc.; see "Sophia". If Asa means "the Divine Righteousness". "the Holy Order", why should not the Archangel Aša be so called "the Divine Righteousness", "Holy Order", "Truth", "Sanctity", etc., which last I used in the $G\bar{a}\theta as$ —Latin verbatim—as being somewhat more realistic, because more ceremonial. [What motives us all here, as critical reproducers, is, of course, our anxiety to be well upon our guard against the imbecility of reporting too much of the interior sense of the words; for it would be fatuous for us to talk about the "Divine Righteousness", "the Holy Law", "the Truth", when there stood before us the mere meaningless name of a non-existent Archangel; and so of Vohu Manah, analogously; yet, on the other hand, to fail in rendering these interior ideas when they are unquestionably present leaves the entire essential force of the $G\bar{a}\theta as$ unexpressed for the non-specialist reader.

To resume: The lurking interior sense of Aša, Vohu Manah, etc., even when the words are used for the proper names, as the "Divine Righteousness", "the Good Mind", etc., is not contested by anyone as being present in the Gā as, and this (even when those words are used as the expression of the proper names); no writer, ancient or modern, so far as I am aware, denies this, for the words so used as proper names were immediately after such an application used in their undisputed interior meaning at the next sentences; see above, see even the distant and late Greek Plutarch, who reported them in this sense; see above; in fact, he, Plutarch, curiously enough, lends us his own assistance in making sure of the meaning of Aša; see his ἀλήθεια, etc.—a most remarkable side-circumstance. Why did he, Plutarch, not also write the untranslated Asa, if we are not to use the corresponding word in our language, as he did in his? If, then, Asa is universally conceded to mean originally "the Divine Righteousness"

in its most interior possible and exclusive sense, with this sense obviously and unmistakably, as also necessarily, applied practically to it in numbers of instances, why should we not use this meaning as being still alive uncancelled in the proper name? Why, again, should we not use the translated Avesta word, even when that word is used as a name, when we are translating the rest of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as into English? How is it also possible that this "lurking sense" should not have been actually felt by some, at least, of the reciters of the $G\bar{a}\theta$ as themselves of old, even when uttered as a proper name, for the same word, as said, was immediately afterwards used in its full interior meaning at the next sentences; and this when (see above) it is often next to impossible in many of these same occurrences for us to decide whether the name, or the idea, is the more immediately intended; and when, even where we fully see the personification, it is also often next to impossible for us to say whether it was intended to be merely rhetorical like "O Death, O Victory" or the literal thing, while the interior tone of the entire Hymns throughout 2 makes it obvious that the words could not have failed to impress upon constant hearers their interior meaning, even in the most doubtful connexions. [Gabriel, God's hero, may have lost its meaning to many a devout Hebrew, as also Michael, "who like God." Recall the most significant possible of all our proper names; how soon they lose their force! But how could Asa and Vohu Manah lose all their meaning in the Gā θ as with their interior sense expressed everywhere as absolutely necessary to an intelligent sentence, and in the next strophe? (Note how fully the abstract ideas retain their vitality as thoughts even in our statuesque representations. Who forgets Justice, Truth, etc., in the pictures of them and the statues? So, in like manner, Aša, Vohu Manah,

¹ One in a thousand would give an important aggregate here.

^{2 &}quot;In thought, in word, in deed."

 $X\check{s}a\theta ra$, and Aramaiti never lose their interior sense in the $G\bar{a}\theta as$, even when used as the Archangel's names, any more than "Justice" loses its sense while holding its scales blindfolded in a picture or as a statue.)]

To conclude: If, then, my innovation was too bold in SBE. xxxi in 1887, in giving the words in intelligent translation in a book which was itself a translation, what was the inadequacy upon which it supervened? Here we have, as all concede, the apex of all historical expression as to interior religion closely searching the utmost recesses of the will as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. and leading the world at its period as to the doctrine of subjective recompense; and yet some writers have treated its chief terms, asa, etc., as mere meaningless names in one line, while, in a closely following sequent, its epochmaking meaning fully appears, so leaving the whole structure with half its keystone, or indeed with half its foundation; and this point is of far profounder import than any other in the subject. I have therefore introduced the words Aša, Vohu Manah, Xša θ ra, Aramaiti, Haurvatāt, and Ameretatat with the same, or slightly varied translations following them, which I used before in 1887.1

¹ I do not at all apologise for having alluded to appreciative notices above, as Avesta, like other branches of Orientalism, has long been notoriously the field for an wholly irresponsible *polemik*.

A NEW VANNIC INSCRIPTION

By the Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE

GENERAL A. HOUTUMSCHINDLER has been kind enough to send me a photograph of a new Vannic inscription discovered by Count Kanitz, an attaché of the German Legation at Teheran, in October, 1910, at a place called Mākū. The stone, however, had been brought from some ruins 10 miles south-west of Mākū. The photograph was given to General Houtumschindler by the discoverer. The inscription, it will be seen, belongs to Ruśas II. In continuance of my previous notation its number will be XCII.

- 1. AN Khal-di-e eurie i-ni E-BARA Ru-śa-s For Khaldis the lord this temple-altar Ruśas
- 2. Y Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s si-di-is-tu-ni AN Khal-di-ni-ni son of Argistis has restored. To the Khaldis gods
- 3. us-ma-si-ni Y Ru-śa-s Y Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s the gracious ones Ruśas son of Argistis
- 4. a-li qar-bi sal-zi ma-nu-u i-zi-e-i says: the stones . . . in front of the . . .
- 5. is-ti-ni si-da-u-ri su-ki AN Khal-di-s the boundary the old one long ago (?) Khaldis
- 6. u-mas-du-du-ni i-e-s si-di-is-tu-bi set as a fence; I restored (them);
- 7. te-ru-bi ti-ni Y Ru-śa-a-i patari TUR

 I erected what is called Ruśas's little city.
- 8. $\begin{tabular}{lll} Ru-$\'a-a-s & \begin{tabular}{lll} Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s & a-li \\ Ru-$\'as & son of Argistis & says: \end{tabular}$
- 9. a-lu-s i-ni DUP-TE tu-li-e a-lu-s whoever this tablet removes, whoever

- 10. pi-tu-li-e a-lu-s ip-khu-li-e
 removes the name whoever conceals,
 tu-ri-ni-ni
 as for that person
- 11. AN Khal-di-s AN Teisba-s AN Ardi-ni-s

 Khaldis Teisbas (and) Ardinis

 AN-MES-s

 the gods
- 12. me ku-o-i ti-ni ma-nu-ni AN Ardi-ni-ka-i his name's record publish before the sun,
- 13. Y Ru-śa-a-ni Y Ar-gis-te-khi on behalf of Ruśas son of Argistis
- 14. erila DAN-NU erila sura-a-o-e the powerful king, king of the world,
- 15. erila MAT Bi-a-i-na-o-e erila erila-u-e king of Biainas, king of kings,
- 16. a-lu-si ALU Dhu-us-pa-e-patari inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.
 - 1. We should probably transcribe É-BARA asi kuludi.
- 4. Perhaps izei means "a trench": "in front of the old boundary trench," like gi istini sidauri, "the old boundary wall" (lxxvii, 7); giei istini manu-ri, "the public boundary wall" (lxxxvi, 9). The word for "old" is sida-u-ri, not sida-gu-ri.
- 5. Suki is an adverb like alu-ki, and is found in lxxxvi, 9. The root is probably su as in su-lis, "day," so that the signification of the word would be: "once upon a time," "long ago." 1 It may, however, be connected with sui, "all," and have the sense of "wholly".
 - 6. Professor Lehmann-Haupt was right in identifying

¹ Suli-manu in lxxix, 15, is replaced by UD-manu in lxxviii, Rev. 7, which fixes the meaning of suli-s as "day". Since -li is a suffix the root would be su. Kurni gunei suli-manu would be "offerers of the daily sacrifice in front of the day", i.e. "in the open air"; esi guni quidide suli-manu, "the place of the daily sacrifice on the altar in the open air."

the first element in the compound verb umasdu-duni with the Assyrian umasu, "an enclosure." Umasdu stands for umastu.

We find a corresponding phrase in lxxxvi, 7–9, where my former translation must be corrected as follows:—
"the open altar-platform (qiurani sule-manu) along with the public boundary wall long ago Khaldis set as a fence; I have planted this vine."

- 12. Kuoi is probably intended to be pronounced koi. In the bilingual inscription lvi, 35, it is rendered by MU, which I was wrong in supposing to signify "gift". It has its more usual meaning of "name", and the passage should be translated: "[whoever] assigns to his own name the [offerings] to Khaldis on the altar-platform." The word may occur in the compound verb kui-gu, "to inscribe."
- 13. The sense of the suffix -ni in the final formula of the inscriptions is made clear by this passage. It denotes what may be called the dependent case, and was probably pronounced -n without the final vowel.

VOCABULARY

A

A-li. 'He says.' 4.

A-lu-s. 'Whoever.' 9, 10.

A-lu-śi. 'Inhabiting.' 16.

Ardi-ni-s. 'The Sun-god.' 11.

Ardi-ni-ka-i. 'Before the Sun.' 12.

Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-s. 'Son of Argistis.' 2, 3, 8.

Ar-gis-te-khi. 13.

R

Bi-a-i-na-o-e. 'The land of Van.' 15.

DH

Dhu-us-pa-e. 'The city of Van (Tosp).' 16.

E

Erila. 'King.' 14, 15. Erila-u-e. 15.

Eurie. 'Lord.' 1.

I

I-e-s. 'I.' 6.

I-ni. 'This.' 1.

Ip-khu-li-e. 'He shall conceal.' 10.

Is-ti-ni. 'Boundary.' 5.

I-zi-e-i. 'Trench (?).' 4.

 \mathbf{K}

Ku-o-i. 'Name.' 12.

KH

Khal-di-s. 'The God Khaldis.' 5, 11.

Khal-di-e. 'For Khaldis.' 1.

Khal-di-ni-ni. 'To those belonging to Khaldis.' 2.

Q

Qar-bi. 'Stones.' 4. Bi is the plural suffix.

Qiurani. 'Altar-platform.' lxxxvi, 7.

M

Ma-nu-u. 'In front of.' 4.

Ma-nu-ni. 'They publish.' 12.

Ma-nu-ri. 'Public.' lxxxvi, 9.

Me. 'Of him.' 12.

P

Patari. 'City.' 7, 16.

Pi-tu-li-e. 'Shall remove the name.' 10.

R

Ru-śa-s. ' 'Ruśas.' 1, 3.

Ru-śa-a-s. 8.

Ru-śa-a-i. 7.

Ru-śa-a-ni. 'On behalf of Ruśas.' 13.

S

Sal-zi. 4.

Si-da-u-ri. 'Old,' 'former.' 5.

Si-di-is-tu-bi. 'I have restored.' 6.

Si-di-is-tu-ni. 'He has restored.' 2.

Su-ki. 'Once upon a time,' 'long ago (?).' 5. Less probably 'wholly', from sui, 'all.'

Su-li-is. 'Day.'

Su-li-ma-nu. 'In the open air.' lxxix, 15.

T

Teisba-s. 'The Air-god.' 11.

Te-ru-bi. 'I erected.' 7.

Ti-ni. 'What is called,' 'a record.' 7, 12.

Tu-li-e. 'He shall remove.' 9.

Tu-ri-ni-ni. 'As for (that) person.' 10.

U

U-mas-du-du-ni. 'He set a fence.' 6. Compounded with the borrowed Assyrian umastu.

Us-ma-si-ni. 'Gracious.' 3.

IDEOGRAPHS

ALU (pataris). 'City.' 7, 16.

AN-MES-s. 'Gods.' 11.

BARA (kuludis). 'Altar.' 1.

DAN-NU (tarais). 'Powerful.' 14.

DUP-TE (armanilis). 'Inscription.' 9.

É (asis). 'House.' 1.

EN (euris). 'Lord.' 1.

(AN) IM-s. 'Teisbas.' 11.

KUR-KUR (suras). 'The world.' 14.

SARRU (erilas). 'King.' 14, 15.

TUR. 'Small.' 7.

(AN) UD-ni-s (Ardinis). 'The Sun-god.' 11.

(AN) UD-ni-ka-i (Ardinikai). 'Before the sun.' 12.

INSCRIPTION OF RUSAS II

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1910-11

By J. PH. VOGEL

THE record of archæological discoveries made during the year 1910-11 must of necessity fall short of the brilliant accounts which Mr. Marshall has been in the habit of publishing in the pages of this Journal with regard to the work of previous years. Mr. Marshall himself was absent on long leave during the whole period, and while I was officiating for him I had to devote myself almost entirely to questions connected with the preservation of ancient monuments and museum administration, and to the duties of office routine.

A series of transfers in the Department, which took place in the commencement of the touring season, was another circumstance that seriously affected the opportunities for research in the different circles. Mr. Cousens retired in the month of September, after being attached to the Survey for nearly thirty years. His work has been mostly connected with the architecture of Western India. It is gratifying to record that his activity in this field of research will not altogether cease with his retirement, the Government of India having entrusted him with the publication of five volumes relating to (1) the Temples of Mahārāshṭra, (2) Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur,

- (3) Chalukyan architecture of the Canarese districts,
- (4) Jain architecture of Gujarāt and Kathiāvār, and (5) Sind ruins.

It will be remembered that in October, 1909, the Survey suffered a severe loss by the lamented death of Dr. T. Bloch. His place in the Eastern (Bengal) Circle has now been filled by Dr. Spooner, who, it is hoped, will find in Magadha as rich a field of research as that

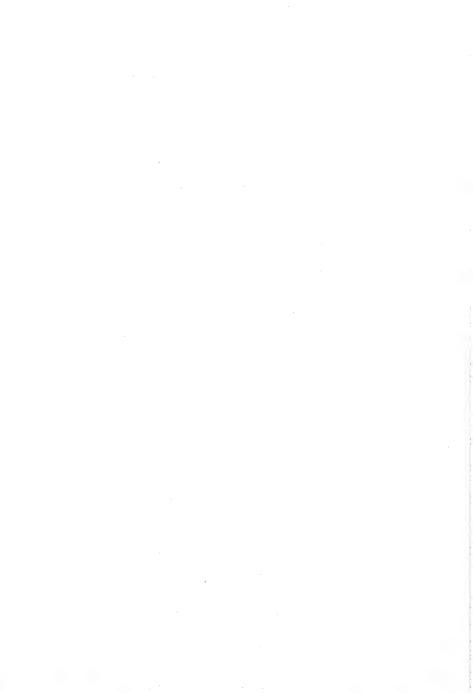
which he has worked with so great success in Gandhāra. For the present, unfortunately, the care of monuments in his new circle has left him no time for spadework. Dr. Stein's appointment to the Frontier Circle offers a guarantee that the work of exploration in Gandhāra will be resumed with vigour. But it is not until December that we may look forward to his return to India.

The sudden death of Mr. R. Froude Tucker, a member of this Society, which occurred on November 1, 1910, on his return from leave, was another calamity which befell the Department, and which added in no small degree to the difficulties which interfered with a successful campaign of research. It is true that Mr. Tucker's duties were mainly concerned with the preservation of monuments—a task which he had accomplished with great devotion during the too short period he was attached to the Department—but immediate measures had to be taken to carry on his work by appointing in his place the officer destined to become Dr. Spooner's architectural assistant, and thus Mr. Tucker's unexpected death affected indirectly the work of research also.

The foregoing preamble seemed to be necessary to account for a deficiency in results during the last year. This does not, however, imply that in the past cold season the work of research has come to a standstill.

In the absence of Dr. Stein on leave I was fortunate in securing the temporary services of Mr. H. Hargreaves for work in the Frontier Circle. One of the works before us was the excavation of the Great Stūpa of Kanishka, which had yielded the famous Buddha relics. This necessary but somewhat thankless task fell to the share of Mr. Hargreaves, who accomplished it with the utmost care. He has favoured me with the following résumé of his operations:—

"The principal work in the Frontier Circle was the continued excavation of Kanishka's Chaitya and the



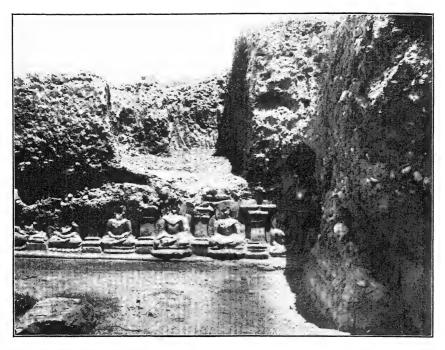
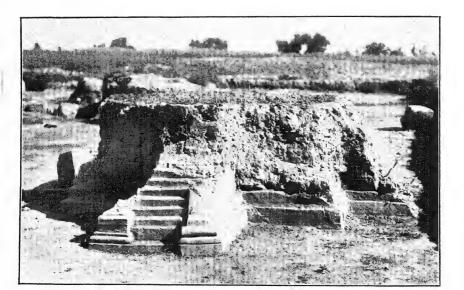


Fig. I. Stupa of Kanishka; stucco frieze of Buddha figures.



adjacent monastery-mound at the site known as $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}h$ -jī-kī-dhērī outside Peshāwar City. The object in continuing the excavation of the $st\bar{u}pa$ mound was to ascertain the complete outline of the monument, to clear the immediate neighbourhood and disclose the adjacent structures; to discover, if possible, the steps $(s\bar{o}p\bar{a}na)$ which must have led to the procession path, and, if in existence, the path itself.

"As anticipated, excavation proved that the monument rose from a square base, whose sides were 180 feet, and that four projections, having a total length of 50 feet, extended from the centre of each of the four main walls. At each corner of the main wall was a circular bastion-like structure.

"Of the main wall on the north only traces remain, but the northern projection was clearly marked, and for 24 ft. 6 in. was covered with stucco ornamentation of seated Buddha figures (of a late Indian type) separated by Indo-Corinthian pilasters with capitals of conventionalized acanthus (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

"On the east the foundations of the projection, in parts ornamented with stucco, were entire; but of the main wall nothing but the merest traces remained, so that Dr. Spooner's previous excavations on the south and west had recovered the best preserved portions.

"The whole outline of the monument has been disclosed; but no steps or path for $pradakshin\bar{a}$ have been discovered, though search was made at all probable places.

"Many small stūpas were found, but very little in the way of sculptures. A number of small terra-cotta and stucco heads of almost grotesque appearance, with large protruding eyes, were discovered on the east, but nothing to indicate their original position.

"Except in one particular the excavations yielded but little that had not been already indicated by the previous investigation of the site. As already mentioned, small $st\bar{u}pas$ had been found near all four faces of the main $st\bar{u}pa$, and these had been, invariably, simple circular or quadrangular structures, but on the east of the monument, 14 feet to the east of what must have been the base of the eastern steps of the main structure, was found a little $st\bar{u}pa$ of uncommon shape, a copy in fact of the main monument.

"This little $st\bar{u}pa$ (Pl. I, Fig. 2), the main sides of which are 6 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, was found less than 4 feet underground, and the roots of grasses and weeds had destroyed three of the four projections, but the one to the south shows very clearly steps rising steeply from the edge of the projection towards the main wall, which rises perpendicularly to the same level as the top of the steps, springing from the second of two narrow platforms, which run along the face of the monument except where they are broken by the steps themselves.

"The interest of this $st\bar{u}pa$ arises from the possibility that it may be one of the two little $st\bar{u}pas$ which Hiuen Tsiang tells us were on the southern side of the steps on the eastern face of the great $st\bar{u}pa$.\text{1} It is, indeed, as the pilgrim says, of the same shape and proportion as the great $st\bar{u}pa$. While it is true that it is built, not 'carved or engraved', and lies more to the east than to the south, and has nothing corresponding to the bastions of the large $st\bar{u}pa$, yet it is by no means certain that $lo\ c'\ ho$ is best translated as 'carved or engraved'; the direction may be considered as south of one edge of the steps, and there is the possibility that the bastions or towers are a later addition to the main structure.

"Be that as it may, the little model helps us to visualize in a manner never before possible the structure on which arose 'the highest of the towers of Jambudvīpa', and also explains why no steps and no path for *pradakshinā* have been discovered. Moreover, it has thrown some light on

¹ Beal, Buddhist Record of the Western World, vol. i, p. 101 and n. 65.

the main structure; for when, on Dr. Vogel's suggestion, search was made above the row of Buddha figures on the northern projection for the platforms shown on the miniature $st\bar{u}pa$, one of them made of thick stucco was found to be still in existence. (Pl. I, Fig. 1.)

"Excavation of the monastery mound resulted in the discovery of seven more of the large brick columns, of which four were found in 1909, of a long brick wall 65 feet in length, of the base of a semicircular structure and of the foundations of what appears to have been a tower. The end of the long brick wall has not been reached, but close to its base were found three interesting articles of Buddhist origin, a well-made temple ornament, part of a triśūl, an ivory (?) seal-die engraved in late Gupta characters with the Buddhist formula 'Yē dharma', etc., and a small copper Buddha figure, with halo, in abhaya $mudr\bar{a}$, of the usual Gandhāra style. It is the first metal image of the Buddha found in excavations in the Frontier It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and seems to be of soft Circle. copper.

"As in previous explorations the finds were not numerous, but at present our excavation seems to be outside the buildings, and it is more than probable that, when the interior of these monastery buildings comes to be excavated, light will be thrown on the fittings and arrangements of a sanghārāma on the plains of Gandhāra.

"The clearance carried out along with other work at Takht-i-Bāhī has proved that the so-called underground chambers are not so in reality. The removal of the debris, lying between them and the main retaining wall, exposed a large courtyard $68\frac{1}{2}$ by 39 feet, to which two arched doorways from two of the cells gave access. These chambers, erected later than the 'Court of many stūpas', are built against the retaining wall of that court, and are not in any way bonded with that structure. The roof of these low-level chambers is covered with 4 feet of earth,

which makes the ground-level above the chambers the same as that of the 'Court of many stūpas'. Built of corbelled arch with walls 4 feet thick and having a roof so covered, these chambers are exceedingly cool and may therefore have been equally useful as tahkhānas, granaries, or places for meditation. During clearance a few pieces of sculpture, a coin (very much worn but apparently of Apollodotos), and a piece of black pottery inscribed in Kharoshthi with seven aksharas were found in these cells, but nothing to enable one to settle definitely their original purpose."

From an historical point of view the most important discovery made during the year was no doubt that of the inscribed sacrificial post $(y\bar{u}pa)$ at 'Īsāpur, near Mathurā (Muttra), on which a preliminary note has already appeared in the pages of this Journal (pp. 1311 ff.). It will, therefore, suffice to recall that the inscription in question, which was discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in the bed of the Jamnā, near the suburb of 'Īsāpur, is dated in the reign of a king called Shāhi Vāsishka, and in the year 24 (expressed both in words and figures). It consequently proves the correctness of Dr. Fleet's assumption that between Kanishka and Huvishka there reigned (at Muttra at least) a ruler of the name of Vāsishka.

This prince is also mentioned in a Sāñchi inscription,1 apparently dated in the year 28. The figure expressing 20 is unfortunately damaged and therefore uncertain. It was read 70 by Cunningham and also by Dr. Bühler, who first felt inclined to read 20. The latter reading, adopted by Dr. Fleet, is most likely correct and would well agree with the testimony of the 'Isapur inscription.

Another interesting point to be noted in connexion with this record is that it is Brahmanical, and is the earliest

¹ Cf. H. Lüders' "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions", Ep. Ind., vol. x, appendix, p. 26, No. 161.

inscription in pure Sanskrit which has hitherto come to light.

The yāpa of Īsāpur was by no means the only discovery made by Pandit Radha Krishna during the year 1910–11. Among the many sculptures acquired by him for the Mathurā Museum I wish particularly to note a Bōdhisattva statuette which bears the following inscription:—

- l.1. [Sam 10+] 7 va . . . ētasa purvāyā Dharmakasa sōvanikasa kutuhiniyē.
- 1. 2. up[āsi]kā Nagapiyā (Skr. Nāgapriyā) Bōdhisvatva² pratithāpēti svakāyā chitā-
 - 1. 3. yā kaṭi ye achāryana Dharmagutakāna pratigrahe.

"In the year 1 (?) 7 . . . on that date Nagapiya, a lay-member and the wife of the goldsmith Dharmaka erected a Bodhisattva [image] in her own sanctuary.3 This work 4 is for the acceptance of the teachers of the Dharmagupta sect."

Of the image unfortunately the whole upper portion above the waist is missing. The remaining part shows that the Bōdhisattva was seated cross-legged, his left hand resting on the knee. We may assume that the right was raised to the shoulder in the attitude of protection (Sanskrit abhayamudrā). The style of the image is similar to that of the Anyor and Khatrā statuettes in the Mathurā Museum. On the base are figures of human worshippers, two men, two women, and two children; all, except the children, carrying lotus-flowers as offerings. On either end is a lion sejant in the typical conventional style of the Kushan period.

¹ Read kutumbinī.

² The anusvāra has been omitted over the final aksharas of Bōdhisvatva, svakāyā, chitāyā, achāryana (read āchāryānām), and Dharmagutakāna (read °gutakānām). The curious akshara sva in Bodhisvatva, evidently a clerical error for sa, has been found elsewhere in Mathurā inscriptions.

³ The word chitā (or chētā?) is apparently synonymous here with Sanskrit caitya.

^{*} The reading kui $y\bar{z}$ is doubtful. I suppose that it corresponds to Sanskrit $krtir\ yam$, and have translated accordingly.

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Under the supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna some trial excavations were carried out on various ancient sites round Mathurā out of funds provided by the Government of India.

The first site examined was that of Mōrā, 7 miles west of Mathurā city, well known to epigraphists as the find-place of the so-called Mōrā well inscription, now in the Mathurā Museum.¹ The expectation that images of the Pāṇḍavas, apparently referred to in that inscription as pañcha vīrānām pratimāh, would come to light, has not been fulfilled.²

The most important discovery made at Mōrā consists of eight fragments of large-sized bricks (16½ by 8 by 2½ in.), bearing dedicatory inscriptions in Brāhmī characters of the Maurya-Śunga period. From the different fragments we obtain the following legend, in which one missing akshara has been supplied (Pl. II, Fig. 1): Jivaputāyē Rājabharyāyē Brihāsvātimita[dhi] tu³ Yaśa matāyē kāritam, "Made by order of Yaśamatā, the daughter (?) of Brihāsvātimita, the king's consort [and] the mother of living sons."

I propose to identify the Bṛihāsvātimita of these inscriptions with Bahasatimita (Sanskrit Bṛihaspatimitra), whose coins have been found at Kōsam, about thirty miles south-west of Allahābād, and at Rāmnagar (Ahichchhatra) in Rohilkhaṇḍ.⁴ His daughter, Yaśamatā, was evidently the wife of the ruler of Mathurā, whose name unfortunately is not mentioned. On account of the character I feel inclined to assign these inscriptions to the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date adopted for Bahasatimita.

 $^{^1}$ Cf. Catalogue of the Archeeological Museum at Mathurā (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 184 ff.

² Cf. JRAS.

 $^{^3}$ The i stroke of the syllable preceding tu is still partly preserved.

⁴ V. A. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Oxford, 1906, pp. 146, 155, 185.



Fig. I. Inscribed bricks from Mora.

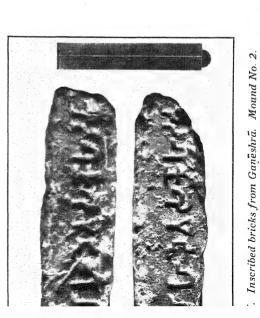


Fig. II. Inscribed fragment from Ganeshra. Mound No. 2.

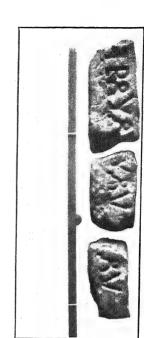
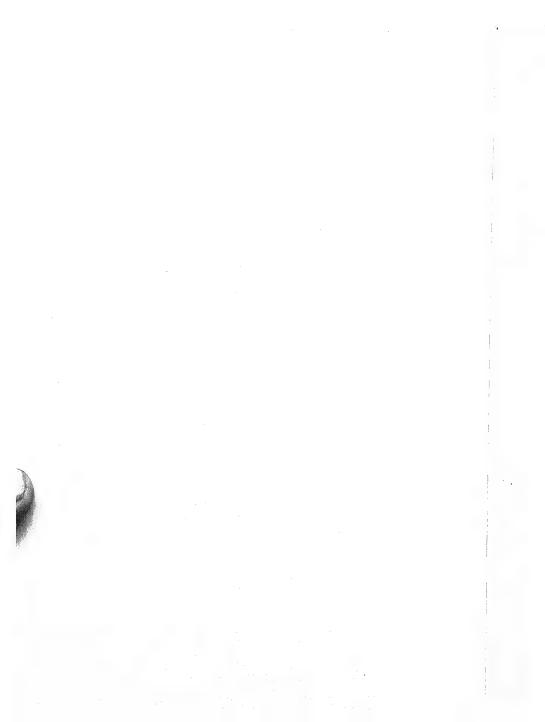


Fig. IV. Inscribed bricks from Ganeshra. Mound No. 2.



The second site examined was that of Gaṇēshrā, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Gōvardhaṇ. It was here that Dr. Führer discovered a very fine Bōdhisattva statue, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum.¹ This statue, I may remark in passing, is especially interesting on account of its evident relationship to the Bōdhisattva type of Gandhāra.

The site of Gaṇēshrā comprises three distinct mounds. The mound nearest the village yielded numerous red sandstone fragments, which must have belonged to a small-sized railing. One of these fragments bears an incomplete inscription in one line which I read *Bhagava prusādā*. The character is Brāhmī of the third or second century B.C.

Another incomplete inscription in two lines on a rounded piece of red sandstone (Pl. II, Fig. 2) found in the second Gaṇēshrā mound reads as follows:—(1) . . . sa Kshaharātasa Ghaṭākasa . . . , (2) . . . ye thupa pati . . . Notwithstanding its very fragmentary state this short record is of interest for two reasons. First of all there can be little doubt that it records the constitution of a stūpa (Prakrit thūpa). The word following thūpa may be safely restored as patiṭhāpita (Sanskrit pratishṭhāpitah). We may add that the monument in question was in all probability Buddhist. A stone parasol which was found lying at the foot of the mound, and which had previously been taken to the Museum, perhaps once surmounted the stūpa referred to in the inscription.

The second point of interest is the word Kshaharāta, which occurs in the first line. This term is well known from some of the Western Cave inscriptions which mention the Kshaharāta king and Satrap Nahapāna. The Kshaharāta clan, according to Mr. V. A. Smith,

 $^{^1}$ It is figured in V. A. Smith, The Jain Stupa of Mathurā, pl. lxxxvii ; cf. also my Mathurā Catalogue, p. 39.

probably a branch of the Śakas, held sway in Western India in the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century of our era. It is of some interest to find a Kshaharāta mentioned here in an inscription from Mathurā. Unfortunately the epigraph is too fragmentary to allow our drawing any certain conclusions from it. It may, however, be assumed that the word immediately preceding Kshaharātasa was kshatrapasa, if we may judge from what remains of the missing letters.

The syllable $y\bar{e}$ preceding the word $th\bar{u}p\bar{a}$ would seem to indicate that the $st\bar{u}pa$ was not founded by the Kshaharāta satrap Ghatāka himself, but by one of his female relations. The name of Ghatāka does not seem to occur on coins or in any other epigraphical documents. The character of the inscription agrees closely with the Brāhmī used in the records of the reign of Kanishka; it may even be earlier.

The same mound produced twenty-four inscribed bricks and brickbats. Two of them are complete (13½ by 10½ by 3 inches), and contain the following legend: Rōhadēvasa Kōhada[sa] (Pl. II, Fig. 3). Portions of the same word, sometimes in reversed order, occur on several of the brickbats. On some of the broken bricks we find the name Gōmita (Sanskrit Gōmitra) or the compound Gōmitāmacha (Sanskrit Gōmitrāmātya), usually in the instrumental case, the word kāritam following (Pl. II, Fig. 4). In one case we have Gōmitasa amach[ēna], and in another . . . chēna Kōhade[na], which I propose to complete as Gōmitāmachēna Kōhadēna kāritam. may infer that Rōhadēva Kōhada (= Kōhala?) was the minister (amātya) of Gōmita, and, as it follows that the latter was in all probability a local ruler, it is very tempting to identify him with the Gomita or Gomitra whose coins have been found at Mathurā.1 The date of

the inscribed bricks must be the third or second century B.C.

The third site examined was that of Jaisinghpura, 3 miles north of Mathurā city, to the west of the road to Brindāban. That this site also marks the spot of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary is evident from the numerous sculptural remains found in the course of excavation. They include fragments of Buddha images and of very elaborate haloes, the former apparently belonging to the Kushan and the latter to the Gupta period, further lions, two Garudas, and fragments of a stone railing.

The Mathurā excavations, though not as productive as might have been hoped, have yielded some interesting results, and Pandit Radha Krishna deserves great credit for his care in supervising them.

The archæological excavations at Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur district of the United Provinces were resumed this year in the month of January and carried on till the middle of April. During this period the Rāmabhār and Nirvāṇa stūpas were examined and several parts of the site excavated. Pandit Hirananda, who was in charge of the work, has sent me the following résumé:—

"After fixing the centre of the Rāmabhār $St\bar{u}pa$,¹ it was found that the shaft that had been sunk by some civil officer long ago was not very wide of the mark. Digging was carried down to a depth of 47 feet from the top of the extant portion of the $st\bar{u}pa$ down to virgin soil, but did not reveal any deposit whatsoever. I came upon water at the depth of 47 feet and had to stop work at a further depth of about 4 feet. To the south of the $st\bar{u}pa$ the basement of a ruined structure was completely opened. This building, the nature of which is not yet clear, must have been very fine, as is evident from the

¹ For the local topography vide V. D. Smith, The Remains near Kasia, Allahabad, 1896, and my notes ASR., 1904-5, pp. 43 ff.; 1905-6, pp. 61 ff.; and 1906-7, pp. 44 ff. [J. Ph. V.].

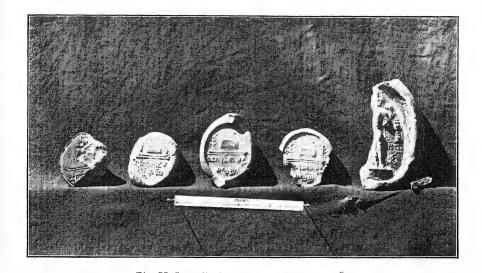
large-sized ornamental bricks found in large numbers on the spot. From the nature of the carving on them it would appear that they were joined in such a way as to form human and other figures (Pl. III, Fig. 1). They are all bored right through either to receive wooden dowels or, what is more probable, for baking purposes, as they do not correspond with one another.

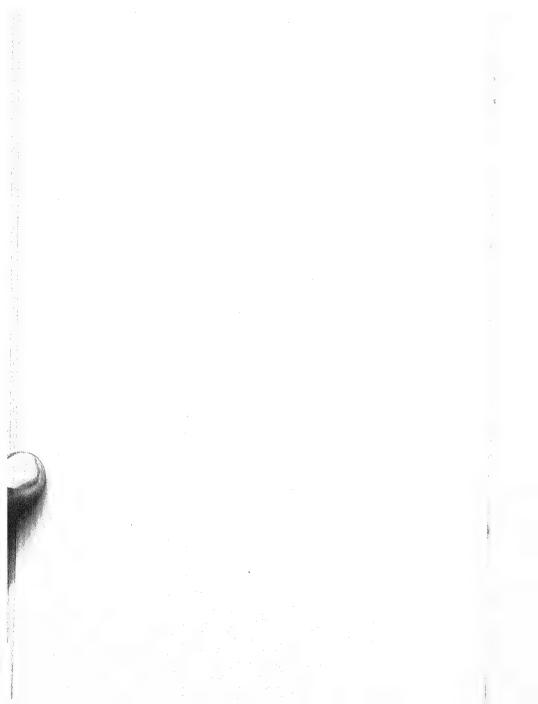
"Near the enclosure wall of the main site towards the north and opposite Monastery E, excavated in previous years, a monastery built on to the latter and evidently co-existent with it was entirely opened. Like E it is paved with large brick tiles. It must have contained several shrines, as is shown by the remains of pedestals in the cells. A large room on the south side (26 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 8 in.) has several fire-places in it, and must have served as a kitchen. At the north-west and south-west corners of this monastery ancient walling running towards the west was partly exposed. This part of the site did not yield any antiquities, except some personal and a few Mahāparinirvāna sealings. Excavation opposite the Nirvāna temple to a depth of some 9 feet revealed a series of monastic cells. The structure of which they form part must, on account of its low level, be one of the oldest on the site. It was here that minor antiquities of considerable interest were found, such as the Mahāparinirvāna seals with Buddha's coffin between the twin sāl trees (Pl. III, Fig. 2), large bricks of unusual size (25 by 14 by 3½ in.), terra-cottas, and a silver coin which appears to be that of a Satrap king. Digging here involved much labour in consequence of the depth at which the building was reached

"In view of a proposal made by the Buddhist community of Calcutta to repair the $st\bar{u}pa$ behind the Nirvāṇa temple, it was thought necessary to ascertain whether it contained any remains that might throw some light on the great topographical problem of the supposed identity of Kasiā



Fig. I. Carved bricks from the Rämabhär Stūpa, Kasiā





with Kusinārā. Consequently the top portion of the drum (about 25 feet high) was dismantled and a shaft sunk in the centre of this structure. At a depth of 14 feet a circular pit, 2 ft. 1 in. wide and deep, was reached, which proved to be a relic chamber. a copper vessel, the mouth covered with a copper-plate, was found placed in a layer of sand containing many small cowries. The plate bears several lines of writing, but its written surface being unprotected and turned upwards it was badly corroded. It is curious that the first line alone is engraved,1 the remaining lines being all written in black ink. The plate has been sent to Dr. Hoernle for examination. The contents of the vessel, excepting the precious stones, etc., are two copper tubes. One contained a white greasy substance and the other some silver coins of Kumāragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta II, some ashes, pieces of charcoal, precious stones, pearls, and a silver tube. The latter enclosed a gold tube which had some minute particles of a brownish substance and two drops of liquid.

"In the supposition that this was perhaps a later deposit, the shaft was continued, though lessened in width, and carried down to virgin soil, which was reached at a depth of 34 feet from the top of the monument. Here near the centre a well-preserved little $st\bar{u}pa$ with a niche enshrining a terra-cotta Buddha facing west was exposed. examination of the interior of this little structure did not yield anything of interest. Evidently this chaitya stood on the site before the large $st\bar{u}pa$ was built over it. difference in their age, however, does not appear to be considerable, as bricks of the Gupta period are used in both.

"It will be remembered that Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle in the course of his Kasiā excavations in 1875-7 discovered a shrine in which originally the colossal Bodhi image

¹ This line is the Sanskrit version of the usual introduction to the Pali sūtras [J. Ph. V.].

locally known as Matha Kuar must have been enshrined. Here he found also a stone inscription, now in the Lucknow Museum, from which it appears that the founder was a scion of the Kalachuri race. The inscription belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century. The recent excavations have revealed the interesting fact that the shrine in question is not a detached building, but is in reality the chapel of a monastery very similar in design to the Sahēth Monastery No. 21, in which the copper-plate of Govindachandra was found in 1908. The pedestal in the chapel was fully laid bare, and the image of Buddha referred to was refixed and restored to its original position. Except a few votive clay seals with the 'Buddhist Creed' formula, and a Kushan copper coin, nothing was found here, a circumstance leading one to surmise that these later buildings were gradually deserted when Buddhism lost its hold on the people and its votaries were no longer worshipped or honoured with gifts."

It is somewhat disappointing that the exploration carried on at Kasia by Pandit Hirananda has not led to the solution of the problem of the supposed identity of the site with that of Kusinārā. The only documents found in the course of last year's excavation which have a distinct bearing on this question, are the three inscribed clay tablets showing Buddha's coffin between the twin sāl trees over the legend: Mahāparinirvāna-bhikshusanghasya, or Mahāparinirvāna bhikshusangha.

The three tablets belong to two different dies. Their date must be the same as that of the similar objects found by me in the season 1905-6,1 but it should be noticed that the latter represent again another die with a somewhat different legend. In each case we find the same emblem: the coffin between the sāl trees. It will be remembered

¹ F. Kielhorn, "Epigraphic Notes," No. 8, in Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Klasse, 1903, Heft 3, pp. 300 ff.

that in the course of my excavations of 1905–6 ¹ one clay tablet was found showing a flaming pyre, with the legend Śrī-Mukutabandhē saṃgha.

Now the all-important question is: what was the use to which these clay tablets were put? Were they attached to letters or parcels addressed to the Convent of Kasiā, or were they mementoes manufactured locally for the use of pilgrims? The tablets themselves do not enable us to answer this question, as in some cases they show traces of having been attached to some object, and in other cases they are perfectly smooth at the back.

The circumstance that, with two exceptions, all the sealings of this kind belong to the Convent of the Great Decease, renders it very tempting to conclude that their find-spot is indeed the Monastery. Unfortunately, no seal-die has been discovered with a similar legend. On the contrary, a seal-die belonging to the Buddhist community of Vishnudvīpa (Pali Vēthadīpa), which was found in my excavation of 1906–7, adds to the uncertainty. In the circumstances it will be wisest to hope that further explorations will yield at last decisive proof.

Owing to the unfavourable circumstances referred to above, no special works of antiquarian research could be undertaken either in the Eastern or in the Western Circle. At Sitahati in the Burdwan (ancient Vardhamāna) district of Bengal a copper-plate was discovered which was examined by Dr. Spooner. It records a grant of land by Vilāsadēvī, the mother of King Ballālasēna, and is apparently dated in the eleventh year of his reign.

Babu R. D. Banerji, of the Indian Museum, reports the discovery of eight inscriptions, seven on copper and one on stone. He has also found three other stone inscriptions, which had only been noticed, but which deserve to be

¹ Cf. this Journal for 1907, pp. 365 ff., and ASR. for 1905-6, p. 83.

published. The kings represented in these eleven inscriptions are—

- (1) Madhyamarāja, of the Śailōdbhava family, whose date is the year 88, probably of the Harsha era.
- (2) Dhruvānanda, of a hitherto unknown family of Orissa, whose date is the tenth century of the Vikrama era.
- (3) Gayādatunga, of the Tunga family, an inscription of whose reign has already been published by Professor Nilmoni Chakravarti in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. 5, p. 347).
- (4) Raṇābhañja, of the Bhañja family of Orissa, who, according to Mr. Banerji, seems to have reigned for not less than fifty-four years.
- (5) Kulastambha, of the Sulki family, of whose time two other grants have been published.
- (6) Asakēndra, of the Nāga family, whose date is Vikrama-Samvat 1336.
- (7) Gōpāla, of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, identified on palæographical grounds with Gopāla III.
- (8) Nārāyaṇapāla, in whose ninth year a Buddhist monk from the Andhra country made a gift of the image on which the inscription is engraved.
- (9) Nayapāla. The inscription is dated in the fifteenth year of the king, and was composed by Vaidya Vajrapāni.
 - (10) Mahēndrapāla, of the Pratihāra family.
- Mr. D. B. Bhandarkar reports the discovery of two Brahmanical temples in Rājputānā. One dedicated to Mātā is found at Nosal in the Kishangarh State. According to Mr. Bhandarkar it belongs to the tenth century, the spire, except the lowermost portion, being modern and plastered. The back niche contains a much disfigured image of the Sun-god, seated, as usual, on a chariot drawn by seven prancing horses. The other temple is found at Khēd, which was the ancient capital of the Rāṭhōṛs before they settled at Jōdhpur. "The porch



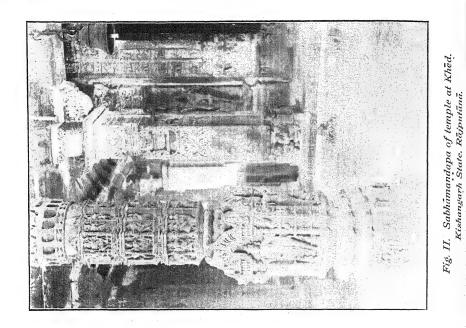


Fig. I. Porch of temple at Khēd. Kishangarh State, Rājputānā

of the temple," Mr. Bhandarkar writes, "contains pillars of the second half of the ninth century, which have been rebuilt (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). The pillars of the sabhāmaṇḍapa (Pl. IV, Fig. 2) represent eleventh century work, and are of the same style as those in the temple of Vimala Śā on Mount Abu. One of the ceilings is an almost exact copy of a similar one in the temple just referred to."

In the Southern Circle Mr. Rea explored the rock-cut caves at Perungalam, nearly eight miles to the south-east of Tellicherry railway station, and the prehistoric site of Kaniyāmpundi, situated at a distance of nearly two miles to the east of Mangalam railway station. He also continued his excavation of the ruined Buddhist Monastery at Rāmatīrtham. As an account of his operations will shortly appear in the Annual Progress Report of the Southern Circle, it will be unnecessary to go here into further detail.

In Burma Mr. Taw Sein Ko resumed his excavations at Yathemyo in the Prome District, but his researches did not result in any such discoveries as would seem to call for immediate publication.

An account of inscriptions discovered in the Northern Circle has been given in the course of these pages. Mr. Venkayya has favoured me with the following résumé of epigraphical discoveries made in the South:—

"In Southern India two 'hero-stones' (vīragal) were found at Oddappaṭṭi in the Salem District. They bear Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of the 7th and 27th year of Śrīpurusha or Śripurushavarman, identical probably with the Western Ganga king Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, who, according to Dr. Fleet, flourished between A.D. 765 and 805.

"At Vellalūr, near Coimbatore, were copied two epigraphs of about the ninth century A.D. One of them belongs to Kōkkaṇḍaṇ Vīranārāyaṇa and the other to Kōkkaṇḍaṇ Ravi. Both of them claim to be 'the sovereign jewels of

the lunar and solar races'. According to the plates of Vīra-Chōla noticed in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6, paragraphs 31 and 32, the Chēras belonged to the solar race. The two kings mentioned in the Vellalur records seem to be Chera kings related to the Pandyas, who belonged to the lunar race. This was probably how the two kings came to call themselves 'jewels of the lunar and solar races'. The inscription mentioning Kokkandan found by me at Tillasthanam in the Tanjore District in February last supports my surmise, originally based on the Vīra-Chōla plates, that, during the period of Chōla ascendancy in Southern India, the Chēras had probably become their feudatories. It is just possible that Kōkkandan Ravi of the Vellalūr inscription is identical with No. 8 Ravi of the genealogical table of the Chēras given on p. 74 of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6.

"At Dharmapuri in the Salem District were discovered two more Nolamba inscriptions which add to our knowledge of the history of the family. Mahendra and his son Ayyapa are reported to have married Ganga princesses. Ammanarava is mentioned as one of the enemies of As the Eastern Chālukya king Chālukya-Ayyapa. Bhīma II claims to have killed Ayyapa between A.D. 934 and 945, we may identify Ammanaraya with Ammaraja I (A.D. 918-25). Ayyapa's Anniga had for his queen the Chāluki princess Attiyabbarasi. His son and successor was Irula, whose date is Saka 853. As his paternal uncle Diliparasa was reigning at the time, it has to be supposed that Irula was governing the eastern portion of the Nolamba dominions in which Tagadai-nādu (Tagadūr being the ancient name of Dharmapuri, where the inscriptions were found) was probably included.

"Another important find of the season is the Vēlūrpālaiyam copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, a brief account of which has already

appeared in this Journal (pp. 521-4). Nandivarman III. also called Kō-Vijaya-Nandivarman in the Tamil portion, was apparently the grandson of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who usurped the Pallava kingdom on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II. It is clear that on the death of Paramēśvaravarman II there was a war of succession in which the Dramila princes (i.e. the Pandyas and perhaps also the Cholas) apparently took up the cause of the descendants of the deceased king. Eventually, Pallavamalla was "chosen" by the subjects, to use the words of the Kāśakudi plates. In the same plates, he is said to belong to the branch of Bhima² (Bhimavargyō), evidently to distinguish him from the other Pallava princes who claimed descent from Paramēśvaravarman II, and some of whom were perhaps living at the time. This Pallavamalla obtained the kingdom by conquest, and his descendants appear to have chosen the epithet vijaya and the suffix Vikramavarman to distinguish themselves from the other Pallava princes, who were defeated in the war of succession, as well as their descendants. The latter could only boast of their descent in the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

"The village of Tiruvadandai in the Chingleput District, one of the 108 sacred places of the Vaishnavites, was examined during the last field-season. An inscription of a certain Rājamārāyar, "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya," was found here along with ancient Chōla records and epigraphs of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III. Perhaps Rājamārāyar was a chief, who, like Pārthivēndravarman, helped the Chōla king Āditya Kankāla in his war against Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

"From the Hoysala inscriptions copied in the Salem District Mr. Krishna Saṣtri determines the initial dates of Vīra-Narasimha II (viz. A.D. 1220), Vīra-Sōmēśvara (viz. A.D. 1223), and Vīra-Rāmanātha (viz. A.D. 1255). The

¹ South Indian Inscriptions, vol. ii, p. 357, verse 27.

² Ibid., verse 30.

initial date of the last king was found by the late Mr. Dikshit to lie between June 16 and July 20, A.D. 1255 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 10).

"In the Burma Circle, two fragments of stone inscriptions were discovered when clearing the debris round the Bawbawgyi Pagoda at Hmawza in the Prome District. The alphabet of these fragments is about the 6th or 7th century A.D. The language is Pali and the subject-matter is evidently Buddhist doctrine.

"During the excavations at Tawadeintha Pagoda at the same place two inscribed clay votive tablets were found. Mr. C. O. Blagden, to whom estampages of the inscriptions were submitted, thinks that the script is Pyu. Mr. Taw Sein Ko adds: 'It seems probable that this language was spoken somewhere on the Northern fringe of the Talaing language sphere, which at that time must have extended nearly to the latitude of Prome.'

"Mr. Taw Sein Ko has been studying, from an impression, the Burmese inscription at Bōdh-Gayā for the purpose of editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. His paper on the subject is now in the press. He thinks there is no doubt that the initial date is 657 = A.D. 1295 and the final 660 = A.D. 1298. From considerations based on Burmese history he concludes that 'the last repairs to the Mahābōdhi temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan'."

THE PICTORIAL ASPECTS OF ANCIENT ARABIAN POETRY

BY SIR CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

(Read November 14, 1911)

FEW months ago I endeavoured to give to an audience in this room some account of an ancient Arabian poet, 'Abid of Asad,' whose remains, recently recovered from the oblivion of the past, are now being printed. I explained the great position which the poet occupied in old tribal Arabia: how his championship in verse was as important to the interests of the clan as the prowess in arms of its men of war; and how in the southern deserts he held a place scarcely inferior to that of the prophet in tribal Israel. It was his business to extol the deeds of the warriors, to inspire the members of the tribe with fortitude and devotion to its interests. to maintain its cause in all contentions, to strike its enemies with biting satire, and to uphold the heroic ideal of conduct to which all should aspire by praise of the worthy, and especially by consecrating the memory of the valiant dead in those noble laments which form the most beautiful and touching monuments of old Arabian verse.

I wish now to dwell for a short time upon another aspect of ancient Arabian poetry, its expression of the artistic life of the race—that "natural magic" which, as Matthew Arnold used to say, is the essential element in all great poetry, the art by which the seer makes others see, and compels, out of common life, the emergence of

¹ See JRAS., April, 1911, p. 581. The paper was not printed, because the information contained in it will shortly be published in an edition of the poems now in the press.

emotion which brings home even to us, so far removed in time and circumstance, the touch of nature which makes all men kin.

Arabia is, and always has been, one of the poorest regions of the earth's surface. It is a land of desert and drought, of hunger and thirst, of rock and sand, of sheets of lava and stony plains; the conditions of life at their best admit of little luxury, and the constant change of place which is required by the necessity of seeking fresh pasture for the herds of camels and sheep in which the tribal wealth consists precludes the growth of those arts which can flourish only in regions of ample livelihood and settled habitation. The Arab's home is "the moving village" (as Doughty calls it) of black haircloth. His possessions, apart from his herds, are such things as he can carry with him on his camels. His furniture is scanty and rude, his raiment none too costly, his ornaments few and insignificant. Almost the only possessions of which he makes his boast are his arms and armour—the slender spear of Indian bamboo, the sword of Indian steel, the mail-coat of Persian make, the peaked helmet (κῶνος) of Roman pattern, the bow and arrows well fashioned of desert-grown woods. With these he ranks that which down to the present day forms the chief glory of Arabia the matchless strain of horses bred there—the Friend brought up in his tents, more to him than his children, and preferred to them in the distribution of the precious camels' milk which forms the daily sustenance of both.

In such a life there was no room for the growth of art in the material sense. Architecture was impossible to those who dwelt in houses of hair; painting and sculpture were admired only as far-off glories of the settled life which lay beyond the bounds of tribal Arabia. Embroidery and textile work, such as existed, were not the product of Arabian fingers, but were brought from abroad, chiefly

from the culture-land of the Yaman. Chased work of silver and gold, of which we hear chiefly in connexion with wine and revelry, came from that great nation of artists, the empire of Persia. When we speak of Arab art, we are speaking of a thing which is, in its essential characteristics, not Arabian at all, but the product of those culture-lands over which, in the great outpouring of the Arab conquest, the race spread itself, and on which not Arabian genius, but the mighty impress of Islam, the new faith of the Prophet of Mecca, stamped itself and gave it character and purpose. Arab art has nothing to do with the period of the ancient poetry.

Yet this life, so poor in material luxuries, so hard in its conditions of comfort, had its compensations. The pure air of the desert was favourable to longevity, and in itself a great source of health. The Arab was of noble breed, handsome and well-knit, and among the women beauty was common. The practice of constant warfare and tribal feud produced a manliness and self-reliance, joined to wariness and self-control, which fitted the people so trained for their great destiny in the conquests of Islam. The enormous leisure of the desert marches, where the means of living had to be gathered from the reluctant soil, stimulated to the highest degree the faculty of observation. In this great monotony of life such things as emerged took a quite exceptional importance. The varying features of the landscape,-mountains and stony plains, black sheets of lava and dunes of shifting sand, the rare springs and pools, the scanty trees and shrubs, the great storms of lightning and rain, which in a short time transformed the face of the wilderness and brought a sudden glory of spring, and especially the wild creatures with which their constant movement made the tribesmen familiar,-all these things were an interest and bore a meaning which, in a richer and more ample condition of life, might not have made themselves felt. Out of this material they

constructed their poetry, and it is of the artistic side of this poetry that I wish to speak this afternoon.

The Arabian ode reflects this monotony, but it also reflects the keen sense of observation with which its authors were gifted. Of the human aspects, of the pictures of life and conduct which it displays, there is much to say, but these are not now my theme. What I wish to set before you are those little landscapes, chiefly of animal life, which appear to me to represent that art which in other lands finds expression in painting, which follows similar methods, and which brings before us the scene with a strength and sudden vividness which can be matched in few other literatures.

As in the Homeric poetry, these passages commonly present themselves as similes, and they are mostly used to illustrate the swiftness of the poet's horse or camel. For this purpose he chooses the fleetest among the fauna of the desert—the swooping eagle, the oryx or white antelope, the wild-ass, or the ostrich and his mate; and of each in its surroundings he makes a picture, as faithful and characteristic as he is able, in which every stroke is intended to heighten the impression of matchless speed which the animal puts forth. The first of these pictures which I wish to set before you is that of the eagle and the fox, taken from 'Abid, a poet who, as I explained before, is one of the earliest of whom we have any remains. He is describing the swiftness of his mare '—

"She is like an eagle, swift to seize her quarry—in her nest are the hearts of her victims gathered.

She passed the night on a way-mark, fasting, still, upright, like an aged woman whose children all are dead:

And at dawn she stood in the piercing cold, the hoarfrost dropping from her feathers.

Then she spied on the moment a fox far off—between him and her was a droughty desert;

^{1 &#}x27;Abīd, Dīwān, i, vv. 35-45.

Then she shook her feathers and stirred herself, ready to rise and make her swoop.

He raised his tail and quailed as he saw her—so behaves his kind when fright takes hold of them.

She rose, and swiftly towards him she sped, gliding down, making for him her prey.

He creeps, as he spies her coming, on his belly: his eyes show the whites as they turn towards her.

Then she swoops with him aloft, and casts him headlong, and the prev beneath her is in pain and anguish;

She dashes him to earth with a violent shock, and all his face is torn by the stones;

He shrieks—but her talons are in his side: no help!—with her beak she tears his breast!"

The words are few, but the scene is presented with astonishing vividness. This poem was probably composed between 510 and 530 A.D.

The next piece I would ask you to consider may be a hundred years later in date. It is taken from the celebrated poem by Labid of 'Āmir, one of the Mu'allagāt. Labid was an older contemporary of Muhammad, and in his old age became a Muslim, but the poem belongs to his pagan days. In it he compares his riding camel, first, to a wild-ass, and afterwards to that beautiful animal of the Arabian wilderness, the white oryx, which the Arabs called the wild-cow. The wild-ass is one of the swiftest of the Arabian fauna, and has not so far (to my knowledge) been observed by European travellers in Arabia. poets are specially fond of taking it as a type of speed, and throughout the old poetry you meet it constantly. Sometimes it is a pair, as here, male and female; sometimes the male has several mates. He grazes with them in the lush meadows filled with springing pasture by the winter rains, having no need to drink, so juicy is their food, until the oncoming of summer dries up the herbage, and they have to seek the water-springs. But the male is wary, and keeps his mates together on a rising ground from which he can scan the country round, until, with the setting of the sun and the coming on of dusk, he thinks it safe to make for the water. In many of these pictures, but not in that which is given by Labid, a hunter lies hid in a booth of reeds by the side of the spring, and, as the wild-ass and his mates come down, shoots at them. In nearly every picture he misses, but the surprise sends the wild-asses galloping away with frantic speed.

- "She is like a wild she-ass great with young, mated to a whitebellied male, thin and spare from his fights with the stallion asses, on whom he has fallen with hoof and teeth.
 - He takes his way with her to the uplands among the hills, his sides all scarred, with jealousy in his heart roused by her rebellion and her desire,
 - To the broken ground of ath-Thalabūt, where he scans from the heights thereof the wilderness of rolling uplands, in dread lest the guide-stones should hide a foe.
 - At last, when they came to the end of the six months of winter—and nought had they need to drink for the long time of their sojourn there,
 - They resolved to turn again, and seek with a steady purpose the water-springs: and the way to gain one's end is to set the heart firm!
 - Their pasterns were pricked by the awns of the barley grass, and there swept over them the fierce blasts of summer, in their swiftness and their heat;
 - And they raised as they galloped along a train of dust whose shadows fleeted like the smoke of a blazing fire with its wood wrapped in ruddy flame,
 - Fanned by the north wind, its dry sticks mixed with moist stems of 'arfaj, with its volumes of rolling smoke that rise over the tongues of flame.
 - He sped along, thrusting her before him—a custom it was of his, when she turned aside from the road, to thrust her on in front.

And they plunged together by the bank of the rivulet into a pool, brimming, set close with rushes, and splashed about its waters:

A pool set round with reeds that screened it from the sun those of them that lay in a tangle on its surface, and those that stood upright."

Then he turns to another simile, that of the oryx. This animal has often been seen by Europeans, and in Mr. Douglas Carruthers' account of his journey in Northern Arabia in the winter (January-March) of 1909, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for March, 1910, there is a photograph (p. 240) of two oryx which he had shot; he obtained five specimens in all. The Arabian animal is, according to the native authorities, of two species, one white, the other dust-coloured, the former inhabiting the mountains, the latter the sands. Both male and female have long and straight horns, most formidable weapons. In the Natural History Museum you may see, in the collection of African antelope, a specimen of the Oryx beisa, which is the African species, differing from the Arabian (Oryx beatrix) in colour, in greater size, and in the horns being curved; but the way in which the specimen is mounted, with the horns couched forward in defence, shows the attitude which Labid describes. The name of this animal in Arabic. ri'm, corresponds with the Hebrew re'em, Assyrian remu (A.V. "unicorn"), but it is believed that the latter denotes the wild-ox, a bulkier and fiercer animal than the oryx. Sometimes the poets describe a solitary male, sometimes, as here, a female left behind by the herd, which generally consists, apparently, of a number of female oryx with only one male in attendance. The picture always includes an attack on the animal by a hunter or hunters with dogs, and, as in the former case of the wild-ass, the attack fails,

¹ Labid, Mu'allagah, vv. 25-35.

and the oryx, after dispatching some of the dogs with his spear-like horns, flies away to vanish into the wilderness.

- "Is she like my camel, or shall I compare her to a wild-cow that has lost her calf, who lingers behind the herd, its leader and its stay?
 - Flat-nosed is she: she has lost her calf, and ceases not to roam about the marge of the sand-meadows, and cry
 - For her youngling just weaned, white, whose limbs have been torn by the ash-grey hunting wolves, who lack not for food.
 - They came upon it while she knew not, and dealt her a deadly woe—verily, when Death shoots, his arrow misses not the mark!
 - The night came upon her, as the dripping rain of the steady shower poured on, and its continuous fall soaked the leafage through and through;
 - She took shelter in the hollow roots of a tree that spread this way and that, on the skirts of the sand-hills, where the fine sand sloped her way.
 - The steady rain poured down, and fell on the ridge of her back, in a night when thick cloud-masses hid away all the stars;
 - And she shone in the face of the mirk with a white glimmering light, like a pearl born in a sea-shell that has dropped from its string,
 - Until, when the darkness was folded away and morning dawned, she stood, her legs slipping in the muddy earth.
 - She wandered distracted about all the pools of Su'ā'id for seven nights twinned with seven whole long days,
 - Till at last she lost all hope, and her full udders shrank—the udders that had not failed in all the days of her suckling and weaning.
 - Then she caught the sound of men, and it filled her heart with fear—of men from a hidden place: and men, she knew, were her bane.
 - She rushed blindly along, now thinking the chase before and now behind her: each was a place of dread,

- Until, when the archers lost hope, they let loose on her trained hounds with hanging ears, each with a stiff leather collar on its neck:
- They beset her, and she turned to meet them with her horns, like to spears of Samhar in their sharpness and their length,
- To thrust them away: for well she knew, if she drove them not off, that the fated day of her death among the fates of beasts had come;
- And among them Kasābi was thrust through and slain, and rolled in blood lay there, and Sukhām was left in the place where he made his onset." 1

(Samhar is said to be the name of a maker of spears; and Kasābi, "the Winner," and Sukhām, "Blackey," are the names of hounds.)

The Arabian poets knew intimately the habits of the ostrich. They describe its manner of laying out its nestby heaping up a ring of sand with its feet. They tell us how the eggs are marshalled in this circle, and how the male ostrich—alone, I believe, among birds—does the principal part of the hatching. They draw for us the male bird, with his heavy black plumage, and small head set on a long featherless neck, comparing him to a young camel, unskilfully laden by the handmaids (who in Arabia to this day do the packing-up and pitching of the tents) with the bundles containing the tents, so that these bundles of black haircloth hang loosely on either side, and seem in danger of slipping off. During the daytime, while a female bird guards the nest, but does not sit on the eggs (which are left to be kept warm by the sun), the male and one of his mates roam over the country, seeking the food on which they live—the seeds of the colocynth or bitter gourd, and other plants known to us only by their Arabic names. Then, in the afternoon, rain begins, at first a drizzle, changing to a heavier shower with lightning and hail, and the ostriches hurry towards the nest. The description of this race against the weather is the occasion which brings them into the poems as a type of unparalleled swiftness. The stride of a male ostrich at full speed is said to reach to 24 feet. I should like to have given you the most ancient passage which draws for us this picture, in a fine poem 1 by 'Alqamah of Tamīm; but unfortunately the text is not in good condition, and the passage contains several words of which the meaning is uncertain. I will give you instead an extract from a famous ode by Ghailān, called Dhu-r-Rummah, of the tribe of 'Adā b. 'Abd Manāt, who died in 735 A.D., aged 40, the last of the classical desert poets.'

- "In the evening the male ostrich sets out to visit his brood; they are neither so far away that he should despair of reaching them nor close at hand.
 - He hastens along under the shadow of a cloud flashing with lightning, driven ever to greater speed by the howling of a fierce rising wind, with its skirts sweeping gravel into the air;
 - And by his side speeds his mate, small-headed, mixed black and white, low in stature, and they swiftly put behind them the space that parts them from their nestlings.
 - She shoots along, like the bucket of a well which the drawer has toiled to raise, till, just when he sees it at the brink, the rope snaps, and down it falls.
 - Ha! what a night journey! the wind blows and whirls them on, and the rain beats noisily down, and the night draws on apace.
 - The twain spare nought of their strength, but push unwearied on, until the skins of both of them are nigh to bursting.
 - And wheresoever they pass through, in the race that they run together, the speed that they accomplish is a marvel.

¹ Mufaddalīyāt, No. cxx.

² Dhu-r-Rummah's bā'īyah, vv. 119-30 (Smend's edition).

They fear for the night-prowling beasts or the danger of the hail, if darkness besets them before they reach their clamouring brood,

That have come forth from the egg with scanty plumage, and nought to shield them but only the level earth, and a mother fond, and a father—

Eggs from which when split they came forth in the wilderness like dry bare skulls, or colocynths emptied of their seeds:

They burst and gave birth to chickens, crook-backed, with limbs bent together, as though their skins were covered with a scab;

Their beaks gape like split billets of lote-wood, set in heads like round balls of clay, on which no down has yet sprouted."

And here I may be permitted a digression. Classical Arabic poetry, as we know it, belongs to the century before Muhammad and the century after, that is, roughly, the period from about 500 to 700 A.D. The earliest poems that we possess come before us full-grown: everything is settled—laws of metre and rhyme, choice of subjects, language, order of treatment. It is impossible to suppose that these poems, so fixed in their conventions and so regular in their style and workmanship, are not the product of long development, of which, however, owing to the fact that they were handed down by memory only, and were not written, no record now remains. But if Arabic literature and its history can give us no information as to the birth and growth of this poetry, we have, in the literature of Israel, as Dr. George Adam Smith pointed out last December in his Schweich Lectures, evidence that a similar treatment of similar themes prevailed among that people, which makes it no extravagant hypothesis to suppose that the commencement of the elaboration of a common Semitic form of poetic treatment may date back to the time when the Northern Arabs and their cousins of Israel dwelt together in the mother country of the Semites. In the early poetry of the Hebrews we have the most striking analogies to the poetry of classical Arabia. On this subject I have only to refer you to Dr. Smith. But I wish to point out here that the four animals which the Arabs selected as types of speed are used for precisely the same purpose in the 39th chapter of the Book of Job. The wild-ass is dealt with in vv. 5-9—1

"Who hath sent out the wild ass free,
or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass,
Whose house I have made the wilderness,
and the salt land his dwelling-place?
The range of the mountains is his pasture,
and he searcheth after every green thing."

The wild-ox, the $re'\bar{e}m$, is depicted in vv. 9-12, and the ostrich in vv. 13-18—

"What time she rouseth herself up to flight, She scorneth the horse and its rider."

The eagle is described in vv. 27-30—

"She dwelleth on the rock and hath her lodging there, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong hold;

From thence she spieth out the prey;
her eyes behold it afar off.

Her young ones also suck up blood,
and where the slain are, there is she."

The next piece I wish to lay before you is a passage from that magnificent poem by ash-Shanfarà of Azd, which is the pride of Arabia and the despair of translators. It has been essayed in French by Silvestre de Sacy and Fulgence Fresnel; in German by Rückert, Kosegarten, Edw. Reuss, and Weil; and in English in the Journal of this Society, many years ago, by Sir James Redhouse, besides another version by a venturous hand which I cannot at present identify. Here there is no question of speed. The poet, a hardy brigand, bent upon the

¹ The quotations from Job are taken from the Revised Version.

destruction and spoiling of his foes, compares himself to the wolf which he draws for us—1

- "I go forth in the morning trusting to but little food, as goes forth a wolf, lean of flank, grey of fell, whom the deserts lead on from wild to wild.
 - He goes forth at dawn a-hungered, lifting his head to scent the breeze as he trips along, darting down the tails of the ravines, and running with long strides.
 - Then, when the hope of food fails him in the place where he looked for it, he lifts up his voice and calls, and there answer him his fellows, like himself lean and spare,
 - Thin and scant of flesh, white in face with eld, restless as though they were arrows in the hands of a player who tosses them to and fro,
 - Or as a swarm of bees on the wing, who have been driven forth from their nest by the rods which the honey-seeker climbing up has thrust therein;
 - Wide and yawning are their mouths, as though their jaws were billets of wood cleft in twain; dreadful and fierce of face.
 - So he howls, and they howl after him in the empty wilderness, as though he and they were wailing women on a hill weeping for children dead.
 - He is silent, and they hold their peace; he takes comfort from them, and they from him—starving wretches whom one as poor consoles, a wretch strengthened by comrades as forlorn:
 - He complains, and they plain with him; then he forbears, and they alike forbear; and sooth, when complaining brings no help, to bear is the fairest thing.
 - So he returns to his lair, and they to theirs, vying one with another in speed; and each of them, in spite of his gnawing hunger, puts a good face on that which his heart hides."

The next scene I wish to set before you is very different. It is the work of one of the most interesting

JRAS. 1912.

¹ Lāmīyah of ash-Shanfara, vv. 26-35 (Constantinople ed., 1300, with commentaries of az-Zamakhsharī and al-Mubarrad).

of the personalities of the Prophet's own time, Maimun al-A'shà, of the tribe of Qais ibn Tha'labah, who died in 629 A.D., and whose home was in the mountains of Central Arabia, near the modern Riyad, the capital of the Wahhābī rulers of the House of Sa'ūd. Al-A'shà was a travelled man of much experience, who spent his life in journeys from place to place, praising those who entertained him well, and reaping rich rewards. He knew the style of Persian banquets, and draws them for us, with their wealth of flowers, in a manner which shows that the luxury denounced by Horace survived to his day. He was familiar with the Court of al-Hirah in the north, and with the Christian Bishops of Najran in the south; he had heard talk of religion and philosophy, and was ready to set his verse to the taste of those he had to praise. One chief, for instance, he extols for his Christian charity, because he successfully rescued from death a hundred of his hereditary enemies (who had raided a caravan destined for the Persian king, and had been trapped by the governor of the frontier fortress), as "an Easter offering before God". The poem of which I shall give you a specimen is a panegyric upon a Kindite prince, Qais son of Ma'dikarib, of Hadramaut in the far south of Arabia, the father of al-Ash'ath, a personage who figures rather conspicuously in the early establishment of Islam in the Yaman. The poem opens, as all these odes do, with the praise of the poet's mistress, a lady of the tribe of Mālik-1

"Like a silvery pearl is she which a man has won—
a diver deft, from the tumbling Ocean's wave:
One stout of heart, the chief of a crew of four,
men diverse in colour, diverse in stock and kin;
They had striven together, until at last they joined
in casting on him the collar of captaincy.

¹ The passage will be found in the Khizānat al-Adab, vol. i, p. 544.

They sped on a bark well-balanced, fleet as the wind,1 that bore them swiftly into the Ocean's trough: Until, when their hearts grew cold with their labour lost, and month after month sped by, and nothing won, He cast the anchors right o'er a perilous deep the anchors held, and the craft lay still in the flood. Then plunged he, long and lithe, his hair a shock, his teeth clenched firm, determined to brave the worst: He touched the bed, spitting oil from his mouth, and groped. athirst, his heart ablaze with the fire of want: This pearl had slain his father: he said, 'And I will follow his road, or win to the World's Desire.' Full half a day the waters covered him up: his comrades knew not what he wrought in the deep; Then won he his longed-for prize, and upward he bore the Pearl in its shell, that shone like a burning coal. Full heavy the price they offered: he would not sell; 'Wilt thou not deal with us?' said they; he answered, 'No!' There mightst thou see the chapmen worshipping bow, while he clutched close to his throat the precious prize. E'en such is my Lady of Mālik's stock, what time she shows us the glory of her bright face unveiled." Once more a comparison with Job suggests itself;

al-A'shà seeks a fit similitude for his lady's face in a pearl, and straightway tells us the story of how this pearl was won from the deep. Job, in chapter xxviii, has to extol Wisdom, and compares it to other things most precious—

"Surely there is a mine for silver,

and a place for gold which they refine."

Then follows that marvellous passage which sets before us in detail the craft of mining, as practised in the lands known to the poet. Is it fanciful to trace the same impulse in both authors—the tendency to digress and to describe, or, as I should rather say, to draw and paint pictures, when a word suggests a theme out of which a picture may be made?

¹ Reading hādhimah (or khādhimah) for the unsuitable khādimah of the text, as suggested by Professor Bevan.

The last of the passages which I shall bring forward in proof of my proposition is the great description of a storm which closes the Mu'allagah 1 of Imra'al-Qais, the Prince of Kindah, "the Standard-bearer of the Poets in Hell," as the Prophet called him. Storms bringing much rain occur, though rarely, during the winter in Northern Arabia and when they come great masses of water fill the wādīs or valleys, at other times dry, which score its surface. In January 1910, as we read in the newspapers, such a storm came while the Khedive of Egypt was travelling on the pilgrimage between Mecca and Medina, and detained his caravan for three whole days before the waters subsided. An Indian friend of mine, who was making the pilgrimage that year, and was waiting at Mecca for carriage to take him to Jeddah, experienced the same storm, and I should like to quote his account of it-

"Early on the morning of the 5th January there was a heavy downpour of rain for about an hour, and then a little later water rushed down in torrents from the surrounding hills. The whole town was inundated, and the Harām was deluged, the water round the Kabah being in places eight or nine feet deep. The Black Stone and the Zamzam Well lay for some hours submerged in water, and it was not till next day that the Harām was completely drained, partly by manual labour and partly by opening out the old underground passages, which had become choked. The vast deposit of silt, however, took more than a week to remove."

Later, the same pilgrim, on February 25, on his way from Medina to Yambo', encountered another rain-storm; and though little rain fell in his immediate neighbourhood, he had again the sight of torrents of water coming down from the higher hills, and at almost every turn of the

¹ Mu'allaqah, vv. 71-82. The version is quoted from my Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, published in 1885.

valleys saw great collections of hail by the roadside. Such phenomena, in droughty Arabia, naturally strike the beholder with wonder and admiration, and afford apt material for poetry. Imra'al-Qais's poem may be dated at about the same time as that of 'Abīd, the first of my extracts, between 510 and 530 A.D. Both poets have many passages descriptive of storms.

- "O Friend, see the lightning there! it flickered, and now is gone, as though flashed a pair of hands in the pillar of crowned cloud.
 - Nay, was it its blaze, or the lamps of a hermit that dwells alone,
 - and pours o'er the twisted wicks the oil from his slender cruse?
 - We sat there, my fellows and I, 'twixt Dārij and al-'Udhaib, and gazed as the distance gloomed, and waited its oncoming.
 - The right of its mighty rain advanced over Qaṭan's ridge; the left of its trailing skirt swept Yadhbul and as-Sitār:
 - Then over Kutaifah's steep the flood of its onset drave, and headlong before its storm the tall trees were borne to ground;
 - And the drift of its waters passed o'er the crags of al-Qanān, and drave forth the white-legged deer from the refuge they sought therein.
 - And Taimā—it left not there the stem of a palm aloft, nor ever a tower, save one firm built on the living rock;
 - And when first its misty shroud bore down upon Mount Thabīr,
 - he stood like an ancient man in a grey-streaked mantle wrapt.
 - The clouds cast their burden down on the broad plain of al-Ghabīţ,
 - as a trader from al-Yaman unfolds from the bales his store;
 - And the topmost crest on the morrow of al-Mujaimir's cairn was heaped with the flood-borne wrack like wool on a distaff wound.
 - At earliest dawn on the morrow the birds were chirping blithe, as though they had drunken draughts of riot in fiery wine;

And at even the drowned beasts lay where the torrent had borne them, dead,

high up on the valley sides, like earth-stained bulbs of squills."

Here, it seems to me, is true pictorial art of the finest kind, and I must confess to wonder at those scholars who, like Wellhausen, deny to the ancient Bedouin poetry poetic interest, or, like Professor D. B. Macdonald, tell us that "the idea that the Arab tribes respected their poets [for the beauty or vigour of their verses |--in the first instance at least—because of their keen artistic sense, their appreciation of the beauties of poetry, must be given up".2 Whatever may have been the origin of poetry among the Arabs, or the Semites in general, it appears to me to be clear that, by the time when the classical poets flourished —the two centuries from 500 to 700 A.D.—it was precisely for their literary qualities that their work was admired, and that poets were ranked in the order of merit. Professor Macdonald, basing his theory on Professor Goldziher's treatise on the origin of Arabian Satiric poetry, in Part I of his Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, imagines that the Arabs thought, and that the poets themselves thought, that "their verses came to them, out of the sky apparently, apart from their labour and will"that they were the product of a kind of cataleptic seizure, "from which the poet returned with strange words in his mouth." "The Oriental poet," he says, "cannot rid himself of the faith that verses come from without." these utterances appear to me to proceed from a misapprehension of Professor Goldziher's meaning in the treatise referred to. That great scholar recognizes as fully as anybody else³ that the works of the classical age of Arabic poetry must be regarded as products of art,

³ See p. 16.

¹ The passage is in Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, i, p. 105.

² The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, Chicago, 1909, p. 23.

and not of external inspiration. The anecdotes of the connexion of the Jinn with the work of the poets, as he notes on p. 2. are to be ascribed to the humorous imagination of ingenious literary speculators of later ages, who had no real touch with the times of heathenism. Many of them are collected in a work, the preface to the Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, which is a pseudonymous compilation of late date and of no authority whatever. They are, moreover, without exception stories told about the poets, not utterances of the poets themselves, who again and again boast of their skill in composition, and undoubtedly take the credit of their work to their own account. It is in the past, before the beginning of the age of which the poetry has come down to us, that Professor Goldziher seeks the facts on which he bases his contention that the Arabs thought that poetic creation, and especially the inspiration of satire, was the work of higher powers, external to the poet. On p. 42 he expressly states that no specimen of such inspiration has descended to us from that ancient time. He proceeds, however, to argue, from the story of Balaam in the Book of Numbers, that such a belief must at one time have existed. Whether it did or not the materials gathered by him relate to a field of poetry—that of satire (hijā)—which is outside our present subject, and have little or no bearing upon those presentments of artistic workmanship which I have been endeavouring to lay before you. I repeat that, in the age of the classical poetry, whatever may have been the case centuries before, the poet was valued for his art, and, as in Roman poetry of the golden and silver ages the carmen of the early time had lost its religious or magical import and become a product of pure literature, so it was in Arabia from the days of Imra'al-Qais to those of Dhu-r-Rummah.

When I spoke of 'Abid in February last, one of my critics observed that the Prophet had said that poetry was magic. This is not precisely the form of the tradition,1 which uses the word magic (sihr) not of poetry (shir), but of eloquence ($bay\bar{a}n$). The words are related to have been spoken after hearing some verses recited which extorted Muhammad's admiration: "Verily in eloquence there is a magic, and in verse there is a compelling power" (hukman, or according to another reading, hikmatan, "a mighty skill"). It seems to me evident that by these words the Prophet meant no more than to express his wonder and delight at the verses he had heard, and that he used the word "magic" in no other sense than that in which we might use it ourselves. He had grievances against the poets, and in the Qur'an 2 they are denounced as liars, inspired by the Devils, wandering in every valley distraught as they compose their verses. But to argue from such a passage that there was no appreciation of poetry as literature and artistry among the Arabs, seems to me to press the words far beyond what they will bear. We possess the poetry and can test it for ourselves; we know from innumerable anecdotes how poets were esteemed and judged by their hearers; and I am convinced that, in the times of the classical poetry, the decision dealt with artistic merit, just as it did at Rome in the days of Augustus, or does among ourselves at the present time.

¹ See the preface to Tibrīzī's commentary on the *Hamāsah*, p. 1, ll. 12-19; also Maidānī, *Proverbs*, i, 1.

² Chap. xxv, vv. 221-7.

ON SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LUCKNOW PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS

TN a recent number of the Ep. Ind., vol. x, p. 106 ff., Mr. R. D. Banerji has edited twenty-one Brāhmī inscriptions of the "Scythian" period, of which nine had been already published by him, under the name of R. D. Bandhyopadhyaya, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, N.S., vol. v, pp. 243 f., 271 ff. certainly owe a great debt of gratitude to him for making these records accessible, although the way in which he has acquitted himself of his task cannot meet with unreserved praise. I do not undervalue the difficulties which beset these inscriptions. I know that it cannot be expected that the first reading and interpretation of an inscription of this class should be always final. But what may be reasonably expected, and what, I am sorry to say, is wanting in Mr. Banerji's paper, is that carefulness and accuracy that have hitherto been a characteristic feature of the publications in the Epigraphia Indica. It would be a tedious and wearisome business to correct almost line for line mistakes that might have been easily avoided with a little more attention. The following pages will show that this complaint is not unjustified.

All the twenty-one inscriptions are in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow. Of eight of them the find-place is unknown; nine are, or are said to be, from Mathurā; while four are assigned by Mr. Banerji with more or less confidence to Rāmnagar. Among the Mathurā inscriptions there are three, No. 7 = B, 42; No. 10 = B, 66;

 $^{^1}$ B refers to my "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions" in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, appendix, where the full bibliography is given.

No. 11 = B, 75, which were previously edited by Bühler. As far as the dates are concerned, Mr. Banerji's readings are undoubtedly an improvement on those of his predecessor (astapana instead of 40 4 hana in No. 7, hamava 1 instead of hana va 1 in No. 10, sam 90 9 and di 10 6 instead of sam 90 5 and di 10 8 in No. 11). But the rest of his new readings seems to me only partly correct. I will quote here only one point which is linguistically interesting. In No. 11 the name of the nun at whose request the gift was made, read Dhāma[thā]ye by Bühler, is read Dhama[śi]r[i]ye by Mr. Banerji, who adds that the reading of the third syllable is certain though the crossbar of the śa is not distinct in the impression. Mr. Venkayya has already remarked in a note that in the plate the reading appears to be Dhāmadharaye. The impression before me leaves no doubt that it really is Dhārmadharāye. This is a new instance of the lengthening of an a before r + consonantin the Mathura dialect, on which I have commented, Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen, p. 31.

Of the rest of the Mathurā inscriptions, No. 2 = B, 88, and No. 6 = B, 52, were brought to notice by Growse, and No. 13 = B, 140, by Dowson; No. 14 = B, 109, was read by Mr. V. A. Smith; No. 18 was mentioned by Bühler, Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 311. I will pass over Nos. 2, 6, and 18, as I have no impressions of them. But of the very interesting inscription No. 13, which is engraved on a large slab of red sandstone, there is an impression among the materials collected by Dr. Hoernle for the intended second volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. It is not a very good one, but it is nevertheless very valuable as it was taken at a time when the inscription was in a more complete state than at present. I read it:—

āpavane 1 Śrikunde 2 svake 3 vihāre Kakatikānam pacanah niyatakah 4 nāñatra vastussi 5 samkkālayitavyah sanghaprakitehi vyavahārihi upathapito yesam ni[pa]⁶.

- 2. . . [ya]⁷—Sthāvarajātra—B[u]d[dh]arakṣita—Jivaśiri —Buddhadāsa—Sangharakṣita
- 3. Dhārmmavarmma⁸ Buddhadeva Akhila⁹
- 1. Bn. $\bar{n}avan[e]$. As to the first letters, the impression entirely differs from the collotype. The impression reads as above, but the vowel of the lost aksara may have been an o of which only the right half is preserved. Above the last aksara there is a short stroke which I should take to be meant for the $anusv\bar{a}ra$ if this were not grammatically impossible.
- 2. Bn. reads $\acute{Srikande}$, adding that "the word may be taken to be kanthe". This, of course, is impossible as the nde is just as distinct as the n of ku.
- 3. Bn. reads *stake*, adding that the word may be read as *svaka*. The reading *svake* is beyond doubt.
- 4. On this word Bn. makes a note which really seems to apply to the ya. However, it is superfluous as there is no e-stroke at the top of the ya. The two large horizontal strokes left unnoticed by Bn. I take to be the $anusv\bar{a}ra$, though they are rather below the line.
- 5. Bn. has wrongly separated these words. Perhaps the true reading is $v\bar{a}stussi$.
- 6. The last akṣara is uncertain. It may have been also ha or la.
 - 7. The ya is mutilated and uncertain.
- 8. Bn. $Dharmma^{\circ}$, but the \bar{a} -stroke is distinct; cf. above, p. 154.
 - 9. Bn. $su[kh\bar{a}]la$. The vowel-sign of the kha undoubtedly is i.

Mr. Banerji has not translated this inscription, because "it contains some peculiar words". I venture to offer a translation, although owing to the mutilated state of the inscription the connexion between the first and the second line is not clear, and moreover the exact meaning of some terms cannot yet be settled—

"The fixed cooking-place of the Kakatikas, not to be put up in any other house, . . . in the grove . . . at Śrikuṇḍa (Śrīkuṇḍa), in their own Vihāra, has been set up by the merchants entrusted with (taking care of) the Order, whose . . . Sthāvarajātra, Buddharakṣita, Jivaśiri (Jīvaśrī), Buddhadāsa, Saṅgharakṣita, Dhārmmavarmma (Dharmavarman), Buddhadeva, Akhila"

The pacana which forms the object of the donation apparently is the slab itself, and I do not see how the word can have any other meaning but "cooking-place", although the Sanskrit dictionaries assign that meaning only to pacana as a neuter. The words nānātra vastussi samkkālayitavyah, which apparently stand in contrast to niyatakah, seem to represent Sanskrit nānyatra vāstuni samkalayitavyah, but I am by no means sure that in translating them I have hit the right meaning. The term sanghaprakrta occurs several times in the Buddhist inscriptions of Mathurā edited by Dr. Vogel in the Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā.

Probably the names in lines 2 and 3 are the names of these sanghaprakrtas. It is more difficult to say who is meant by Kakatikānam. I take this to be a proper name, and as a cooking-place in a Vihāra can hardly be intended for anybody but the monks living there, Kakatika would seem to be the name of those monks, though I cannot say why they were called so. Śrīkunḍa, where the Vihāra was situated, is mentioned as the name of a tīrtha in the Mahābhārata (iii, 5028), but, of course, it does not follow that the two localities are identical.

No. 14, incised on the waistband of a female figure, was read by Mr. Banerji:—

- 1. Puśabalāye dāne Dhama-
- 2. vadhakasa [bha]yāye

But in the impression as well as in the plate the first word is clearly $P\bar{u}\hat{s}abal\bar{a}ye$ (= $Pu\hat{s}yabal\bar{a}y\bar{a}h$) and the last $bhary\bar{a}y\bar{a}$.

We next turn to the inscriptions of unknown origin, Nos. 3, 5, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21. In No. 3, incised on the base of a Jaina image, the arrangement of the lines is irregular. It seems that it was intended at first to record only the gift and that the statement about the *nivartana* was added afterwards to the left. I read the inscription from an impression:—

- siddham sam 9 he 3 di 10 Grahamitrasya dhitu Avaśirisya 1 vadhue Kalalasya 2
- 2. kutubiniye³
- 3. Grahapalaye 4 dati —5
- 4. Koleyāto 6 gaņato 7
- 5. Thaniyato kulato Vairato⁸ [śākha]to
- 6. Arya-Taraka[s]ya 9
- 7. [n]iva[r]tanā
- 1. Bn. reads $\acute{S}\bar{\imath}va\acute{s}irisya$ and adds that "the first syllable of the word $\acute{S}\bar{\imath}va\acute{s}iri$ may also be read as $Ava\acute{s}iri$ " [sic!]. The first syllable of the word is undoubtedly a.
- 2. Bn. reads vadhu Ekradalasya and remarks that the last word may also be Ekradalasya. There is certainly no subscript ra, but there is a small horizontal stroke which makes the ka almost look like kka. As, however, the word cannot begin with a double consonant, it is apparently accidental. The second letter of the word is la; see my paper on the lingual la in the Northern Brāhmī script, above 1911, pp. 1081 ff.
 - 3. Bn. kutu[m]biniye, but there is no trace of the anusvāra.
- 4. Bn. $Gahapal\bar{a}ye$. The subscript ra is quite distinct, but there is no \bar{a} -stroke attached to the la.
 - 5. Bn. does not take any notice of the sign of punctuation.
 - 6. Bn. Kottiyāto. Cf. note 2 above.
 - 7. Bn. ganāto. There is no trace of the ā-stroke.
- 8. Bn. Thaniyāto kulāto $Vair[\bar{a}]to$. There is not the slightest trace of an \bar{a} -stroke in the three words.
- 9. Bn. Tar[i]ka[s]ya. The *i*-sign is not visible in the impression.
- "Hail! In the year 9, in the 3rd month of winter, on the 10th day, the gift of Grahapalā (*Grahapālā*), the

daughter of Grahamitra, the daughter-in-law of Avaśiri $(Avaśr\bar{\imath})$, the wife of Kalala, at the request of the venerable Taraka out of the Koleya gana, the Thaniya $(Sth\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}ya)\;kula$, the Vairā $(Vajr\bar{a})\;\delta\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$."

Of the short inscription between the feet of the statue I have no impression. It seems to refer to Grahapalā and to characterize her as the pupil of some Jaina monk.

No. 5 is engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina statue. I read it from an impression:—

- mahārājasya Huvekṣasya¹ savacarā² 40 8 va 2 d[i] 10 7 etasya puvāyam K[o]l[i]ye gaṇā³ Bama⁴.
- [si]ye k[u]le ⁵ Pacanāgariya ⁶ śākhāya ⁷ Dhañāvalasya ⁸ śiśiniya ⁹ Dhañāśiriya ¹⁰ nivatana
- Budhikasya ¹¹ vādhuye ¹² Śavatrātāpotriya ¹³ Yaśāya ¹⁴ dāna ¹⁵ Sa[m]bhavasya prodima ¹⁶ pra-
- 4. t[i]stapita 17
 - 1. Bn. Huvaksasya, but the e-stroke is quite distinct.
- 2. Bn. sa[m]vacar[e]. There is no trace of the anusvāra in the impression, and the last letter is distinctly $r\bar{a}$.
- 3. Bn. K[otti]ye [gane]. Regarding the first word see note 2 on p. 157. The last letter is clearly $n\bar{a}$, not ne, though gane, of course, would be the correct form. Above the line, between the ye and the ga, there is a small ta. Perhaps the engraver intended to correct Koliye $gan\bar{a}$ into the ordinary $Koliy\bar{a}to$ $gan\bar{a}to$, but gave the task up again.
- 4. The ma is missing in the impression, but distinct on the plate. Read $Bamad\tilde{a}^{\circ}$.
 - 5. The ku is very small and has been inserted afterwards.
- 6. Bn. nagariye, but there is no trace whatever of the e-stroke. Read Ucanāgariya.
- 7. Bn. śākāya. This certainly was the original reading, but the $k\bar{a}$ has been altered afterwards to $kh\bar{a}$.
- 8. Bn. Dhujhavalas[ya]. The second letter is as clearly as possible $\bar{n}a$, and there can be only a doubt whether the small stroke at the top is to be read as \bar{a} or not. The first letter may be dhu, but as the prolongation of the vertical line in the dha occurs again in Budhikasya, where it cannot denote u, and as

 $Dhu\bar{n}avalasya$ would be an etymologically unaccountable form, I am convinced that it is dha.

- 9. Bn. sisin[i]y[e], but the e-stroke is quite improbable.
- 10. Bn. Dh[ujhas]iriy[e]. The remarks on the first two aksaras of Dhanāvalasya apply also to the first two aksaras of this word. There is no \bar{e} -stroke on the ya.
 - 11. Bn. [Bu]dhukasya. See note 8; the i-stroke is distinct.
 - 12. Bn. vadhuye. The \bar{a} -stroke of $v\bar{a}$ is perfectly clear.
- 13. Bn. Śavatrana(?)potr[i]y[e]. The \bar{a} -stroke of $tr\bar{a}$ is distinct. The fourth aksara is clearly $t\bar{a}$; cf. e.g. the word nivatana. There is no e-stroke on the ya.
 - 14. Bn. Yaśāy[e]. There is no e-stroke on the ya.
 - 15. Bn. dana. The ā-stroke is distinct.
- 16. Bn. protima, but the second aksara is undoubtedly di; pro, of course, is a mistake for pra.
- 17. Bn. ${}^{\circ}ta(ti)stape(pi)ta$. The *i*-stroke of *ti* is rather indistinct.

"In the year 48, in the 2nd month of the rainy season, on the 17th day, of $mah\bar{a}r\bar{a}ja$ Huvekṣa, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of Dhañaśirī ($Dhany\bar{a}śr\bar{\imath}$), the female pupil of Dhañavala ($Dhany\bar{a}vala$) in the Koliya gana, the Bama[dā*]siya ($Brahmad\bar{a}sika$) kula, the Pacanāgarī ($Ucc\bar{a}n\bar{a}gar\bar{\imath}$) $ś\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$, an image of Sambhava was set up as the gift of Yaśā, the daughter-in-law of Budhika, the granddaughter of Śavatrātā (Śivatrātā?)."

Mr. Banerji takes $Pacan\bar{a}gar\bar{\imath}$ as a Prakrit form of $Vajranagar\bar{\imath}$. Leaving aside the phonetical difficulties, this interpretation is impossible as the Vajranāgari, or rather Vārjanāgari, $\delta \bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ is a subdivision of the Vārana gana, not of the Koliya gana. There can be no doubt that $Pacan\bar{a}gariya$ is a mistake of the engraver for $Ucan\bar{a}gariya$.

The remaining inscriptions of unknown origin are but small fragments. No. 12, which consists of but two words and a half, is correctly read. No. 15, incised on the fragment of a slab, is read by Mr. Banerji:—

Gośālasyā dhitā Mitrāye [danam*]

Linguistically and palæographically the form $Gos\bar{a}lasy\bar{a}$ is striking. In $s\bar{a}$, $t\bar{a}$, $tr\bar{a}$, the \bar{a} is expressed by a long slanting line, whereas in $sy\bar{a}$ the sign would seem to consist of a short and perfectly vertical stroke. Now, on the reverse of the two impressions before me just this stroke is entirely invisible, whereas the rest of the inscription is quite distinct. I have therefore no doubt that it is only an accidental scratch. Why, at the end, danam should be supplied instead of $d\bar{a}nam$, is unintelligible to me. I read:—

Gośālasya dhitā Mitrāye . . .

"[The gift] of Mitrā, the daughter of Gośāla."

Of Nos. 17, 19, 20, and 21, I have no impressions. But in the case of No. 19 even the collotype is sufficient to show that Mr. Banerji's readings are incorrect. He reads:—

- 1. . . . sya [v]ṛta Ku[ṭu]kasya ku[ṭu][mbini*] . . .
- 2. . . . na putrehi dhitihi natti pau[ttrehi*] . . . The collotype shows:—
 - 1. . . . sya . rtakundakasya kutu . . .
 - 2. . . . na putrehi dhītīhi nattipau . . .
- "... of the wife of [Gh]rtakuṇḍaka, ... sons, daughters, daughter's sons (or great-grandsons?) and son's sons ..."

It is extremely unlikely that the second aksara of the first line should have been vr, as the base of the letter is far too long for a va. Nor will it appear likely to anybody familiar with these inscriptions that the husband of the donatrix should bear the epithet "the chosen" as supposed by Mr. Banerji. I would restore the name to Ghṛtakuṇḍaka.

On No. 20 Mr. Banerji remarks—"The inscription is of some interest as it contains the number 800 expressed both in words and by numerical symbols, viz. by the symbols for 8 and 100 [sic/]." This statement refers to the second line of the fragment, which runs—

 \dots m = astasata 100 8 gandhi \dots

The two symbols are not joined in any way, and it therefore appears to me impossible that they should represent 800. The term astasata is ambiguous. It certainly may mean 800, but just as well it may mean 108, as proved by the passages quoted in the PW. sub voce astan. Under these circumstances I cannot admit that we have here an instance of the symbol for 800.

The most important inscriptions, from an historical point of view, would seem to be that group which is supposed to come from Rāmnagar. Before we can discuss them, it will be necessary to enter into the history of the Rāmnagar excavations, though I do so reluctantly. It certainly is an unpleasant task, but it must be performed as we cannot allow science to be led astray by statements which apparently are not true.

In the Progress Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for 1891-2, Epigraphical Section, Dr. Führer gives a short account of the excavations at Rāmnagar in the Bareli District. He first describes the remains of two Saiva temples. With these we are not concerned here, as no inscriptions were found in them. He then speaks of the excavation of a mound which "brought to light the foundation of a brick temple, dedicated to Pârśvanâtha, . . . dating from the Indo-Scythic period". These statements rest on epigraphical finds about which Führer says—"During the course of the excavations a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74, or A.D. 96 to 152. An inscription on the base of a sitting statue of Neminâtha records the following: - Success! The year 50, second month of winter, first day, at that moment, a statue of divine Neminâtha was set up in the temple of the divine lord Pârśvanâtha as a gift of the illustrious Indrapâla for the worship of the Arhats and for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures."

In my opinion there can be no doubt that this inscription has been invented by the author of the Report. The date has been copied from the Mathura inscription, Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, which is dated [sam] 50 he 2 di I asya purvvaya. The name of the donor and the phrase "for the worship of the Arhats" have been taken from the Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 201, No. 9, which records the gift of Idrapala (Indrapala), the son of a Goti (Gaupti), for the worship of the Arhats. And the phrase "for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures" has probably been taken from the Buddhist Kāman inscription, Ep. Ind., vol. ii. p. 212, No. 42, which ends: mātapitrnām sarvvasa ta nā ca hitasukhārttha, "for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures" (Bühler's translation).

The account of the excavation of the Jaina mound is followed by the description of "another extensive mound, ... which on exploration was found to hide the remains of a very large Buddhist monastery, called Mihiravihâra, and dating from the middle of the first century A.D. . . . Externally the temple was decorated with elaborate brick carvings and numerous figures of terra-cotta, representing scenes from the life of Buddha, some of which bear short inscriptions and masons' marks. . . . An inscription on the base of a terra-cotta statue of Buddha records the following: Success! In the year 31 (A.D. 109), in the first month of the rainy season, on the tenth day, at that moment, a statue of divine Sâkyamuni was set up within the precincts of the Mihiravihara as a gift of the monk Nâgadatta, for the acceptance of the Sarvâstivâdin teachers, for the welfare and happiness of the donor's parents and of all creatures."

In this case, also, the document supposed to give evidence for the name and the date of the building has been manufactured by Führer. The date comes from the Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind., vol. ii, pp. 202 f., No. 15, which is dated sa 30 1 va 1 di 10. The rest, with the exception of the name of the donor, is an almost literal copy of the Kāman inscription just mentioned, or rather of Bühler's translation of that inscription: "... at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (Śākyamuni, was set up as) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi (Sarvāstivādin) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (the donor's) parents and of all creatures."

Führer next announces the discovery of another Buddhist monastery:—"The carved bricks found on the spot are of the same period as those of the Mihiravihâra, as they show the same patterns and bear short donative inscriptions." And he reports that "during these excavations 1,930 relics of antiquities have been exhumed and deposited in the Lucknow Provincial Museum", and again he states that the collection comprises among other things "numerous carved bricks and terra-cotta statuettes of Buddha and Siva, inscribed", and "inscribed Jaina images of red sandstone".

To the inscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas he devotes a special paragraph, where the audacity of the author emulates the clumsiness of his fabrication. The whole paragraph is nothing but an abstract of Bühler's introduction to his edition of the Sāñci inscriptions, Ep. Ind., vol. ii, pp. 91 ff., with a few alterations necessary to serve the new purpose. In order to show that this is not saying too much I put the two accounts side by side—

Führer

Bühler

Theinscriptions on the carved bricks and terra-cottas offer, in spite of their brevity, a good Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, many points of interest. Some record donations by corporate bodies or families, others give the names of individual donors, as monks, nuns, or laymen.

As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for constructing the large temples and monasteries of Adhichhatrâ. This was, no doubt, permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings adopted by the Jaina ascetics of Mathurâ and Adhichhatra, who as a rule were content to exhort the laymen to make donations, and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions.

Among the individual monks named there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in Buddhist scriptures. As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank

a good many points of interest . . . there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies of families. The remainder give the names of individual donors . . . we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay-members of the Buddhist sect . . . As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions ... Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures . . . As regards the persons who are not marked as monks. and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest.

belongs Indrapâla¹; descending lower in the social scale, we have a village landholder, gahapati; next we find numerous persons bearing the title sethi or alderman; simple traders, vânika; a royal scribe, râjalipikara; a professional writer, lekhaka; a royal foreman of artisans, âvesani; a trooper, asavârika; and a humble workman, kamika, are mentioned.

The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists. that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. mention of professional writers is of some importance account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title pajāvatî, literally "a mother of children", is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.". that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy

To the highest rank belongs the Vakaladevi . . . Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *aahapati* or village landholder . . . Next we find numerous persons bearing the title sethi, sheth, or alderman . . . Simple traders, vanija or vânika, are mentioned . . . A royal scribe, rájalipikara, occurs . . a professional writer. lekhaka a (royal) foreman of artisans, âvesani, . . . a trooper, asavārika, . . . and a humble workman. kamika . . . The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate. what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title pajavati, literally "a mother of children". . . . is not without interest. and the fact that some females are named merely "the mother of N.N.", and that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own, is worthy of note . . . The

¹ Indrapâla apparently refers to the donor of the inscription of Samvat 50. The author has entirely forgotten that he has represented this man as a Jaina layman.

of note. The names of various lay donors and of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurânik worship during the second and first centuries B.C.

There are some names, such as Agnisarmâ. Brahmadatta, Visyadeva, Yamarakshitâ, etc., which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, as Nâgâ, Nâgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brâhmanists and the heterodox Finally, names like sects. Vishnudattâ, Balamitra, furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandigupta, Kumâradatta, Sivanandin, do the same service to Saivism. The occurrence amongst the Buddhists of Adhichhatra of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Saivism, has, no doubt, to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion. and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families.

names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks, furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurânik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. . . . There are further some names, such as Agisimâ (Agniśarma). . . . Bahadata (Brahmadatta), . . . Visvadeva, Yamarakhitâ, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship: and some, Nâgâ, . . . Nâgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snakeworship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukâ, an abbreviation for Vishnudattâ . . . Balamitra furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nadiguta (Nandigupta), . . . Sâmidata (Svâmi-, i.e. Kumara-datta), . . . Sivanadi (Śivanandi) do the same service to Saivism. The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received

The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax amongst the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay, the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the second and first centuries B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism.

their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism.

I have quoted this paragraph at full length in order to establish clearly the nature of this Report. It is highly desirable that some competent person should give us an account of the real results of the excavations of Rāmnagar. Meanwhile, as all statements about epigraphical finds that admit of verification have proved to be false, it is very probable that no inscriptions at all have turned up at that

¹ At first sight my assertion would seem to be in conflict with the fact that Führer's Report is dated July 16, 1892, whereas parts x and xii of Ep. Ind., vol. ii, containing Bühler's papers on the Sāñci and Mathurā inscriptions, were issued in August and December, 1892, respectively. But it must be borne in mind that Führer was assistant editor of the first two volumes of the Ep. Ind., and in this capacity knew Bühler's papers before they were published.

place. At any rate, it seems to me impossible to make this Report the base of any identification as Mr. Banerji does. On p. 107 he says:—"None of the inscriptions from Ramnagar have ever been properly edited. Translations of three of them have appeared in Dr. Führer's Report of the Epigraphical Section for 1901-2, out of which only one has been found. The rest could not be traced either in the galleries or the Tahkhana of the Lucknow Provincial Museum." These remarks are full of inaccuracies. In 1902 Führer could write no reports, because he was no longer in the Government's service. So Mr. Banerji apparently refers to the Report for 1891-2. This Report, however, contains translations of only two inscriptions, and that the originals of these cannot be traced will cause no surprise after what has been said above. Now from the introductory remarks on No. 9, dated in Samvat 74, it appears that this is the inscription that Mr. Banerji supposes "to have been found". He says:—"The discovery of this inscription was announced by Dr. Führer in his Progress Report for the year 1891-2. But all the details have been omitted." there is no particular reference to this inscription in the Report, Mr. Banerji's statement can refer only to the general phrase quoted above, that "a great number of fragments of naked Jaina statues were exhumed, of which several are inscribed, bearing dates ranging from Samvat 18 to Samvat 74". I need not repeat why this identification carries no weight. There is, moreover, an internal reason that makes it almost impossible that the inscription should come from Ramnagar. The inscription, which is engraved on the four sides of a pedestal of a sarvatobhadrikā i image of a Tīrthamkara, runs according to an impression :--

¹ Mr. Banerji calls it a *caturmukha* image, referring to Bühler as his authority. Bühler, it is true, occasionally used this term (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol.i, p. 382, n. 51), but as far as I know it is not warranted by the inscriptions.

- A. 1. [sain 70] ¹ 4 gr ² 1 di 5 aya-Varaṇato gana[to]
 2. [ku]lāto³ Vajanākarito⁴ śākhato aya-Śirikā[to] . . .
 B. 1. . . nadhanasya vācakasya śiśiniye ⁵ a[ryya] . . .
 2. susa ⁶ . .
 C. 1. G[r]ahavilaye⁷ paṇatidhariye śiśiniye A[r]hadāsiy[e]⁸
 2.
 D. 1. . . . sya ⁹ kutubiniye ¹⁰ Dharāvalāye ¹¹ dāti ¹²
- 1. The sa and the symbol for 70 are indistinct in the impression.
 - 2. Bn. gra; but the r is as distinct as possible.
 - 3. Bn. [ku]lato; but the \bar{a} -stroke is quite distinct.
- 4. Bn. Vajanakarito. Here, again, the \bar{a} -stroke of $n\bar{a}$ is distinct. As there is a flaw in the stone below the ja, the true reading may be $Vajra^{\circ}$.
- 5. The stroke to the right on the top of the ya seems to be accidental.
- 6. Bn. sasa; but the *u*-stroke of the first letter is beyond doubt. The second *akṣara* may be se.
- 7. Bn. $Gahaval\bar{a}ye$. The subscript ra is not quite distinct, but probable. The i-stroke of the third aksara is certain. The impression does not show an \bar{a} -stroke attached to the la.
- 8. Bn. $Aryad\bar{a}siye$. The second aksara is not quite distinct, but it cannot possibly be rya.
 - 9. Bn. [deva]sya.
- 10. Bn. kutu[m]biniye; but there is not the slightest trace of an $anusv\bar{a}ra$.
- 11. Bn. Dharavalāye. The \bar{a} -stroke of $r\bar{a}$ is distinctly visible.
- 12. Bn. dati. The \bar{a} -stroke attached to the middle of the $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$ is perfectly clear.

"In the year 74, in the first month of summer, on the fifth day, [at the request] of Arhadāsī (Arhaddāsī), the female pupil of the paṇatidharī Grahavilā . . . venerable . . . the female pupil of the preacher . . . nadhana out of the venerable Varaṇa (Vāraṇa) gaṇa, the . . . kula, the Vajanākarī (Vārjanāgarī) sākhā, the venerable Śirika

 $(\acute{S}r\bar{\imath}ka)$ [sambhoga], . . . the gift of Dharāvalā, the wife of . . . the mother-in-law (?) . . ."

The style of this inscription is exactly the same as that of the Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā. The inscription closely agrees in particular with Ep. Ind., vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, where Bühler's reading of the third line . . vasya Dinarasya śiśini ayya-Jinadasi-paṇatidharitaya śiśinia . . has to be corrected to . . vasya Dinarasya śiśini ayya-Jinadasi paṇatidhari tāya śiśini a[yya]¹ . . . Of greater importance and almost decisive is the mentioning of the Śirika sambhoga. The Śrīgrha or Śrīka sambhoga has hitherto been found only in Mathurā inscriptions, and as it is probably the name of a territorial division it is extremely unlikely that it should ever be found outside of that territory. If, in the absence of all outward testimony, internal evidence may claim any credit, the inscription has to be assigned, not to Rāmnagar, but to Mathurā.

A second inscription that Mr. Banerji supposes to come from Rāmnagar is No. 4 of his paper. He says:—
"Nothing is known about the provenance of this image. It is now standing on a masonry pedestal without a label close to the entrance of the Jaina section. In his report for the month of April, 1892, Dr. Führer, as the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, reports the presentation of '1 pedestal [sic] of a statue of a Tirthamkara, inscribed Saka-Samvat 10, excavated from the ancient site of a Digambara temple at Ramnagar in Rohilkhand.'2 It is possible that our image is referred to by these words of Dr. Führer." I am quite at a loss to understand how it is possible to arrive at such a conclusion. The report speaks of a pedestal with an inscription of Samvat 10. Here we have the statue of a seated Jina

² N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Museum Minutes, vol. v, p. 6,

Appendix A. This book is not accessible to me.

¹ This passage shows that also in the inscription above panatidhariye is the epithet of Grahavilaye and not of sisiniye Arhadāsiye. The real meaning of panatidharī has not yet been found.

completely preserved with the exception of the left arm, and the inscription which is engraved on the upper and lower rim of the throne is dated in Sanvat 12.¹ I may add, perhaps, that I should consider it a waste of time to search for that inscription of Sanvat 10. We may rest assured that it existed just as little as the inscriptions mentioned in the Progress Report. Mr. Banerji's inscription itself is interesting as being of an unusual type. I read it from an impression:—

- 1. . . . sa[m] 1 10 2 va 4 d[i] 10 1^2 eta[s]ya purvv[ā]yam³ Koļiyāto 4 gaņāto 5 Ba[m]bha[d]āsiyāto kulāto U[ce]- 6
- 2. nagarito ⁷ śā[kh]āto gaṇi[s]ya Aryya-Puśilasya śiśini De[vā] paṇatiharī Nānd[i]sya ⁸ bhaginīye ⁹ ni[va]- ¹⁰
- rtanā sāvikāṇam ¹¹ vaddhaddhininam ¹² Jinadāsi Rudradeva ¹³ Dāttāgāli ¹⁴ Rudradevasāmini ¹⁵ Rud[r]ad. . . ¹⁶ dātā ¹⁷ Gahamitr[ā] ¹⁸ [Rud]ra . . n.ā ¹⁹
- - 1. There is an indistinct symbol before sam, not noticed by Bn.
 - 2. The last figure is possibly 2.
- 3. Bn. $purvv\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$. There is no \bar{a} -stroke on the ya in the impression.
 - 4. Bn. Kottivāto. Regarding my reading see note 2 on p. 157.
 - 5. Bn. [ga]nato. The \bar{a} -stroke is visible in the impression.
- 6. Bn. U[cena]-; but the na stands clearly at the beginning of line 2.
 - 7. Possibly onagarito.
- 8. Bn. Datila . ti Harinan[di]sya. There is a distinct vowel-stroke on the first da, but it may be i. The $v\bar{a}$ is not certain. In the $r\bar{\imath}$ the length of the vowel is not quite certain, but probable. The \bar{a} -stroke of $n\bar{a}$ is pretty clear, but the i-stroke of ndi is indistinct.
- 9. Bn. *bhaginiye*. The length of the vowel of the third syllable is very probable.

¹ The symbol for 2 is quite distinct.

- 10. Bn. $ni[var^*]$. The va is not visible, but the r is quite distinct at the top of the ta of the following line.
 - 11. Bn. sāvikānām. There is no ā-stroke in the last aksara.
- 12. Bn. reads vaddha[ki]ninam, assuming that the ki was corrected from ku by the engraver himself. The second aksara shows at the top a long stroke to the left which may be accidental. The third aksara bears no resemblance whatever to ki, although the reading ddhi cannot be called absolutely certain.
- 13. Properly Rudradova, but the second stroke of the da may be accidental.
- 14. Bn. $D\bar{a}tt\bar{a}g\bar{a}l\bar{a}$. The vowel-sign of the last letter is clearly i or possibly \bar{i} . The third aksara may be $rg\bar{a}$.
 - 15. Bn. sami[na]. The reading ni is certain.
 - 16. About four aksaras are missing.
- 17. Bn. omits these two aksaras, which are distinct in the impression.
 - 18. Bn. [Gahami]tra. The ā-stroke is not quite certain.
- 19. Bn. omits this word. Only the lower portion of the first two akṣaras is preserved.
- 20. Bn. reads *Kumāraśiri*, *Grahaśiri*, *Jayadāsi*, *Mit*[r]aśiri, but in all these cases the length of the final vowel is distinct in the impression. Bn. besides *Vamadasi*. The ā-stroke is distinct.

"In the year 12, in the fourth month of the rainy season, on the eleventh day, on that (date specified as) above, at the request of Devā, the paṇatiharī, the sister of Nāndi (Nandin), the female pupil of the venerable Puśila (Puṣyala), the gaṇin out of the Koliya gaṇa, the Bambhadāsiya (Brahmadāsika) kula, the Ucenagarī (Uccairnagarī) śākhā, [a gift] of the female lay-hearers, the vaddhaddhinīs(?), Jinadāsī, Rudradevā(?), Dāttāgālī(?), Rudradevasāminī (°svāminī), Rudrad. dātā (°dattā), Gahamitrā (Grahamitrā), Rudra . . n.ā, Kumāraśirī (°śrī), Vamadāsī, Hastisenā, Grahaśirī (°śrī), Rudradatā (°dattā), Jayadāsī, Mitraśirī (°śrī) . . . "

For $paṇatihar\bar{\imath} = paṇatidhar\bar{\imath}$ cf. paṇatihara in Ep.~Ind., vol. ii, p. 209, No. 36, line 4, and the remarks

above. The term vaddhaddhinī I cannot explain. It may be a family name or the designation of a caste or profession or a geographical name. I have remarked already that Mr. Banerii's reading vaddhakininam cannot be upheld, and even the supposition that vaddhaddhininam is a clerical error for vaddhakininam is quite improbable as the word in the Prakrit dialects always shows a lingual ddh. In the list of the $\hat{s}r\bar{a}vik\bar{a}s$ the names from Rudradevato Rudradevasāmini present some difficulties.\(^1\) Perhaps Rudradeva and Dāttāgāli form one word, and dāttāgāli has some meaning unknown to me. At any rate, if Rudradeva was the name of a śrāvikā, we ought to expect Rudradevā, and Dāttāgālī sounds rather strange as a proper name. Mr. Banerji's translation "Rudradevasāmi (Rudradevasvāmin) of Dāttāgāla", partly based on wrong readings, of course is impossible. The name of a male person would be quite out of place in this list of female lay-hearers. Rudradevasāmini possibly belongs to the following name, now lost, and means "the wife of Rudradeva."

The third inscription that Mr. Banerji assigns to Rāmnagar is his No. 16. In the heading he speaks of a "fragment from the lower part of an image from Rāmnagar", but on p. 107 he says with regard to the inscription: "while another inscription (No. xvi) evidently from the same place refers to the name of the capital city [Adhi]chchhattra. The identity of Rāmnagar with Adhichchhatra seems to be certain." From these words it appears that the find-place is by no means warranted by any original document, but is merely conjectural. And the only reason why the inscription is held to

¹ Mr. Banerji thinks it possible that the two names Jinadāsi and Rudradevā have to be taken as one name, Jinadāsi-Rudradevā. He says: "The mother's name might have been prefixed to distinguish her from others bearing the name Rudradevā." I am not aware that anything of this kind ever occurs in the inscriptions, and it is therefore hardly necessary to discuss this opinion.

come from Rāmnagar seems to be the mentioning of Adhicchattra, which is supposed to be identical with Rāmnagar. Before we can examine this argument, we must turn to the text of the record itself. Strange to say, Mr. Banerji expressly states that "the inscription consists of a single line", while immediately afterwards he gives the text as standing in the original in two lines. He reads:—

- 1. . . naka gana (?) Dhananyanasya ta . . . aya[ye] . . . [ye A]dh[i]cchatrakaye
- 2. [nivar*]tanā.

It is self-evident that this cannot be correct. The first words yield no sense at all, and it requires but a very slight familiarity with the language to see that a form like *Dhananyanasya*, with a guttural *n* before *ya*, is simply impossible. My own reading, based on an impression, is:—

- 1. . . . m[i]kat[o]¹ ku[la]t[o² Vajra]nāgar[i]to³ [śākhāt]o⁴ āyaye⁵ . . . t.[s]iy[e]⁶ [A]dh[i]cchatrakaye ⁷
- 2. [nivar]tana[m]—8
- 1. The first $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$ is doubtful. On the reverse of the impression it looks like ma. The i-sign is indistinct.
- 2. The first sign of this word has been simply omitted by Bn. I take it to be ku, with the u-sign attached to the right horizontal bar of the $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$. The last sign is certainly not dha as read by Bn., as it is quite different from the dha occurring later on.
- 3. Only the first two aksaras of this word are not quite distinct. On the reverse of the impression the first letter looks like va, but I admit that in itself it might also be na, as read by Bn. The second letter I take to be jra. The upper horizontal line of the letter is indistinct. Below the letter there are some scratches that give the subscript ra the appearance of a subscript ya. Bn.'s reading sya, instead of gari, is impossible.
 - 4. Only the upper half of this word is preserved.
- 5. The \bar{a} -stroke of the first letter is quite distinct. Also the reading $\bar{a}ryaye$ is possible.

- 6. The sa is not certain.
- 7. The vowel-signs are destroyed and the original reading may therefore have been Adhicchatrikāye.
- 8. The r and the $anusv\bar{a}ra$ is not certain, but the last aksara is certainly not $n\bar{a}$. The sign of punctuation has been omitted by Bn.

The translation would be—"The request of the venerable . . .t.sī, the native from Adhicehatra, out of the [Petivā]mika (*Praitivarmika*) kula, the Vajranāgarī śākhā . . . "

In my opinion the mentioning of Adhicehattra in this case by no means proves that the inscription comes from Adhicehattra. On the contrary, if any conclusion is to be drawn from the fact, it is rather apt to show that the inscription is not from Adhicehattra, as the characterizing of a person as the native of a certain place would certainly seem superfluous in that place itself.

The fourth and last inscription which, according to Mr. Banerji "most probably" came from Rāmnagar, is No. 1, found on the top of a split coping-stone. Here, also, Mr. Banerji's arguments do not convince me. refers again to the Curator's (i.e. Führer's) Report for the month of April, 1892, which mentions "1 coping stone with inscription of the Saka era (dated Samvat 5) . . . Excavated from the old site of a large Buddhist temple at Ramnagar, Rohilkhand". Even apart from the fact shown above that the statements of that Report are liable to grave suspicion, I do not see how that description can be said to suit the stone bearing the present inscription. The inscription contains nothing to indicate that it belonged to a "Buddhist temple", and it is certainly not dated in Samvat 5. In order to remove this latter objection Mr. Banerji assumes that "Dr. Führer most probably took the word Pāmchālāye, 'of Pamchāla,' in line 8 for a date". To me it seems incredible that anyone able to read that script at all should not have recognized

that the date stands in Il. 3 and 4. In these circumstances I think that, until fresh evidence has been brought forward, this inscription also has to be classed as being of unknown origin, which is to be regretted all the more because, in spite of its mutilated state, it has some historical interest. Not being in possession of an impression, I do not wish to enter into details, but I think it quite possible that it records the donation of some $r\bar{a}jan$ of Pañcāla.

For reasons that will appear later on I have reserved the inscription No. 8. It is engraved on a Jaina image which is supposed to come from Mathura. According to Mr. Banerji the discovery of this image was announced by Führer in his Annual Progress Report for the year 1890-1 (p. 17), and in his Annual Report of the Provincial Museum for the year 1891-2. As neither of these reports is accessible to me, I cannot decide whether the identity of the inscription is established. Palæographically this is a most remarkable inscription.2 The whole writing is extremely clumsy, showing that the engraver certainly was not accustomed to such work, and there are a number of peculiar signs. In the beginning of l. 2 we find an e, of which Mr. Banerji says that it is unlike any Brāhmī letter, but resembles the Kharosthi va. I cannot discover any resemblance to the Kharosthi va, but the letter is nevertheless peculiar, as it is a common e with the base line omitted. The same line contains an ordinary pu with a large hook placed below the letter. This seems to be meant to represent \bar{u} , though it can hardly be paralleled in the Mathura inscriptions of this time. At the end of the line we find a ha with an abnormal downstroke and what appears to be the left half of a ya, the right half of which

¹ According to the list printed at the end of the Annual Reports, a special Progress Report for the year 1890-1 does not exist. The list mentions only a Progress Report from October, 1889, till 30th June, 1891.

² My remarks are based on two impressions.

can never have existed. The second letter of the third line, which puzzled Mr. Banerji, may be taken as a ya with the left curve touching the middle vertical, but it differs from the same letter as it appears twice in 1. 2. strangest sign is the fourth one of the third line. Mr. Banerji transcribes it by the guttural na, without adding any remark. How the sign can ever be thought to represent na I am unable to see. I do not believe that any similar sign can be found in a Brāhmī inscription, though it is just possible that the engraver intended to write a ligature, the first part of which was $\tilde{n}a$. The last sign of the third line seems to be again the left half of a ya. In the fourth line we find a sā with the right horizontal prolonged. Mr. Banerji thinks we ought to read so, the o being formed by the combination of a and u, but I am afraid there will not be many palæographers able to follow him in his bold flight of fancy. The last sign of l. 4, read tu by Mr. Banerii, seems to be meant for ttr, but the ligature is formed in an extraordinary way, a small ta with the serif being placed inside a ta of the ordinary size. The first letter of the last line is read he by Mr. Banerji, which is possible only on the assumption that the e-stroke may be turned also in the opposite direction, and that we have here an entirely new type of ha not found hitherto in any other inscription. To me it seems that instead of he we have before us two signs, the second of which bears a certain resemblance to da, whereas of the first it can only be said that it shows an \bar{a} -stroke at the top. The last two signs, read saya by Mr. Banerji, may just as well be anything else.

As far as it can be read at all the inscription runs:—1

- 1. sa¹ 70 1 va 1 di 10 5
- 2. etaya ² pūvāyā ³ gaha[ya] ⁴
- 3. tiyamu . . . śiminā[ya]⁵

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ In the notes I have not repeated those of Mr. Banerji's different readings which I have discussed above.

- 4. maniravasusātidhittr 6
- 5. . ādamadāva 7 . . .
- 1. Bn. $sa[\dot{m}]$, adding that the anusvāra is indistinct. In the impression there is no anusvāra at all.
 - 2. Bn. etaye, but there is no e-stroke at the top of the ya.
- 3. Bn. puvaye, but the \bar{a} -strokes of the two last letters are quite distinct.
- 4. Bn. reads only ha, but there is a distinct letter, which I take to be ga, before the ha.
 - 5. Bn. condotation the last letter.
 - 6. Bn. mi° , which is possible.
 - 7. Bn. deva, but the vowel stroke goes to the right.

Mr. Banerji has attempted to translate this text. does not shrink from explaining susoti, with the help of modern Bengali, as "an apabhramsa of the Sanskrit svasrīyā". I am not sure whether the pages of the Epigraphia Indica are really the proper place for such linguistic jokes. I confess my inability to extract any sense out of that portion of the inscription which follows the date. Of course, it is possible that dhittr. ādamadāva was meant for something like dhitrā patimā datā, but I think that we shall never advance beyond such guesses. Considering the state of the script and the text, I distinctly doubt the genuineness of this inscription. And there are some more facts that point to the same conclusion. The inscription is engraved on a piece of sculpture which is undoubtedly genuine. It is a fragment of a standing naked figure of a Jaina. The preserved portion reaches from the loins to the knees. At the back there is a piece of a pilaster or of the shaft of an umbrella. The inscription is engraved at the lower end of this extant portion of the pilaster, with a roughly cut arch at the top. As far as I know, there is no other instance at any rate not for that time—of a votive inscription being placed at the back of a statue. And if really, out of modesty or for some other reason, the donor

selected that side for his inscription, why did he not have it engraved as usual on the pedestal, but rather on the statue itself? This certainly looks suspicious, and our suspicion will increase if we examine the condition of that portion of the stone that bears the inscription. From the photograph and the impression it appears that a good deal of the surface, especially on the right side, has peeled off. In these places the inscription ought to be indistinct; but that is not the case, the letters standing out here just as clear as in the rest of the inscription. In these circumstances I cannot help declaring this inscription to be a forgery. The decision of the question who is responsible for it I leave to the readers of this paper.



DR. M. A. STEIN'S MANUSCRIPTS IN TURKISH "RUNIC" SCRIPT FROM MIRAN AND TUN-HUANG

PUBLISHED AND TRANSLATED BY VILHELM THOMSEN

IN the highly valuable collection of MSS. which Dr. M. A. Stein brought home from his remarkable expedition to East Turkestan, some are found written in the "runic" script we now know from inscriptions in Mongolia and Siberia, and of which the recent investigations in Turfan and the adjacent localities also have brought interesting specimens to light. Dr. Stein has done me the honour to request me to publish the MSS. in this kind of script found by him, and it has been a pleasure to me to do so in this preliminary paper, trusting that in a later, final paper I shall succeed in clearing up several of the mysteries and doubts which I have been obliged to leave unsolved here. It has been of great assistance to me that owing to Dr. Stein's kindness I have been able to make use of the two original MSS., here designated I and II, in one of our public libraries in Copenhagen.

In the transcription, wherever I have thought necessary, I have—as in my first paper, "Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséi, Notice préliminaire" (Bull. de l'Acad. R. des sciences et des lettres de Danemark, 1893)—designated such consonants as are used only in connexion with back and mixed vowels by a small figure ¹, and those which are connected only with front vowels by a small ². The signs used to separate the words I have designated everywhere by colons (:). Characters, especially vowels, which are not expressed in the original script but must be

¹ M. Aurel Stein, "Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8," in Geographical Journal for July and September, 1909 ("Reprint").

understood, I have placed in (). Lacunæ I have indicated by [], and the approximate number of missing characters by dots.

MS. I

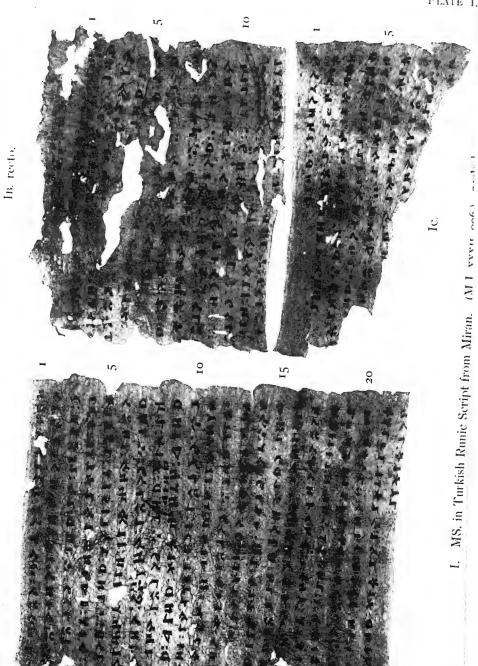
M.I. xxxii, 006. (Plate I.)

This MS. was found in the ruins of Fort Miran, in Dr. Stein's words, "a stronghold intended to guard the direct route from the southern oases of the Tarim basin to Tun-huang," on what "must have been a main line of communication into China from the last centuries B.C. onwards". It consists of three pieces.

The first of these pieces, which Dr. Stein has marked a, is an almost entirely preserved sheet, $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 inches (32 to 33 cm.) high and about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches (26 cm.) broad. It is written only on one side.

The second piece, b, is a fragment which constitutes the lower half of an exactly similar sheet written on both sides ("b recto" and "b verso"). This, in addition to its being a fragment only, is also far from being in so good a state of preservation as a. It appears at one time to have been exposed to damp for a considerable period. This has firstly resulted in the characters becoming more or less effaced in several places; upon the reverse side ("b verso") to such an extent that it has not been possible to obtain a photograph of this side. But while damp, the sheet must moreover have been subject to a great pressure or tension which has produced several ruptures, a considerable one slightly above the centre, in particular, and some smaller ones, while the upper part of the paper has become highly distorted. After having become dry and rigid again the lines in this part are very much displaced and undulating, which in connexion with the partial effacement of the writing renders the reading extremely difficult.

¹ Stein, loc. cit., pp. 29 seqq.





The third fragment, c, consists of the upper, obliquely torn off part of a sheet, undoubtedly not the same as the one to which fragment b has belonged; partly because c's paper is apparently somewhat wider than that of b, and partly because the sheet, if it contained both c and b, would be considerably longer than the sheet a.

The paper in all three fragments is homogeneous. is a very coarse, brown, hand-made paper, bearing distinct traces of having been beaten out upon a board. I have had a quite small piece of it analysed in V. Stein's Analytical-Chemical Laboratory in Copenhagen. Unfortunately the piece was so small — I did not venture to take a larger piece - that it was not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion as regards the amount of glue or starch contained in it; it must at any rate have been inconsiderable, and probably irregularly distributed, which is also in accordance with the fact that the writing in many places strikes distinctly through the paper. analysis of the paper proved that "the sample consisted of highly flossy fibres which must be explained as pertaining to hemp and perhaps also to flax; moreover, the presence of a single hair of hemp has been detected. A small quantity of fragments (epidermis and bast-cells) of grasses has also been found, the presence of which can scarcely be interpreted as originating from an intentional admixture, but must be owing to an accidental contamination".1

The writing is large and distinct—so far as it is not effaced. The instrument used for writing was a brush, and not a reed-pen. With a pointed instrument "blind" lines have been drawn with an intermediate space of about $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch (14–15 mm.), and from these lines the characters depend. Their forms resemble nearly those

¹ As to paper from East Turkestan cf. J. Wiesner, "Ein neuer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papiers" (Sitzungsber. der kais. Akad. der Wiss., Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl., cxlviii, 1904).

in other MSS, from Turkestan written in this kind of characters. It may be noted that the sign for iq has the form 4, also frequently used elsewhere, with the angle turned towards the left and not reversely, as is partly the case in the Turfan MSS.2 Before this character it is quite usual to insert a, strictly speaking, superfluous i, as u (0) before the sign uq (oq). It is, perhaps, by chance that the signs for ld(lt) and nd(nt) are absent, whereas $n\tilde{c}$ occurs. Nor does the sign for the syllable up 3 which is characteristic of these regions occur. No distinction is made between the sounds s and s. Two signs are used to designate both of them: the one in connexion with back (and mixed) vowels (s1), and the other with front vowels Consequently, none of the modifications or new formations met with in certain Turfan MSS., as also, though differently, in inscriptions, occur to distinguish s from 5.4 The sign: is used to separate the words. Lastly, some designations of numerals occur: a relatively short and thick stroke, sometimes placed in the lower half of the line, and sometimes in the upper half of it, = 1, and two such strokes = 2.

As regards the contents, we here have the fragments of a register or lists of persons who may be presumed to have been either in the act of leaving the fort after having stayed there, or of having only passed by it in the one or the other direction and to whom a kind of passport had been granted or assistance given for their further journey. That the traffic was fairly brisk is proved by the fact that fragment a, at least, though it only deals with a single day, yet comprises a somewhat considerable number of names. It is natural that military persons appear to be mostly

¹ See especially A. v. Le Coq, "Köktürkisches aus Turfan" (Sitzungsber. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1909, pp. 1047 seqq.), and V. Thomsen, "Ein Blatt in türkischer Runenschrift aus Turfan" (ibid., 1910, pp. 296 seqq.).

² Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1050, 1052.

³ Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1050 seq.; Thomsen, loc. cit., p. 299.

⁴ Cf. v. Le Coq, loc. cit., pp. 1054, 1059; Thomsen, loc. cit., p. 298.

mentioned, and the possibly turbulent conditions then existing may be an additional reason. This careful registration is in itself of no slight interest as regards the history of civilization. Linguistically, special interest attaches to the store of personal names here contained. Several of them are known from elsewhere, especially from the Old-Turkish inscriptions from Mongolia and Siberia; but, in addition to this, many new contributions are added to our knowledge of the Old-Turkish manner of naming. ¹

Now, there remains to be discussed the question regarding the age of the manuscript. The only direct indication of time contained in the manuscript itself is the date which occurs in the beginning of a: "The fourth month, the twenty-ninth." But we get no information at all regarding the year. It is evident, however, that it is written by a Turkish clerk who held an appointment at a Turkish or essentially Turkish garrison, and among other things it is unquestionable by reason of several Chinese titles (and names?), such as Sangun, Chigshi, etc., that the fort and the country have been under Chinese rule. On the other hand, there appears to be no trace whatever of Tibetan in the MS. From this we may be justified in concluding that it is older than the time when the Tibetans, in the eighth century, established themselves here, remaining as late as the ninth century, when the fort was completely ruined.2 Consequently, the MS. undoubtedly cannot be later than the middle of the eighth century A.D.; if anything, it is perhaps of somewhat earlier date, and the form of the letters as well as the texture of the paper corresponds fairly well with this supposition.

I shall now give the text with the translation.

 $^{^1}$ Cf. also Houtsma, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, Leiden, 1894, pp. 25 seqq. 2 M. A. Stein, loc. cit., p. 30.

a

1. Törtině 1 : (a)y : tooquz : otuzga

2. $un(a)\gamma(a)n \ \check{e}ur : y(a)r\ddot{u}\ddot{q}\ddot{u} : ur(u)nu : tudu$

3. $n : \check{e}ig\check{s}i : k\ddot{a} : y(a)rl(\ddot{i})\gamma : bolt\ddot{i} :$

4. (a)l(a)nī: ičirāki: y(a)rīïqī: čik:

5. bilgā : čigšikā : y(a)rl(i)g : boltī :

6. otga : könmiš : qil[i]č : özikä :

7. $y(a)rl(i)\gamma:bolti:külüg:ur(u)nu$

8. $qa:bir:y(a)rl(\ddot{\imath})\gamma:bolt\ddot{\imath}:k\ddot{u}p\ddot{a}:$

9. $y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{i}q:\ddot{u}\ddot{c}\ddot{u}n:bir:y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{i}q:y(a)r$

10. $l(i)\gamma$: bolti: (a)l(a)ni: $i\check{c}r\ddot{a}k\dot{i}$: $s\ddot{u}d\ddot{a}$

11. k(ä)lürmiš: üč: y(a)riiq: da: ügäkä

12. : $bir : y(a)rl(\ddot{i})\gamma : bolt\ddot{i} : k(\ddot{a})dim : ur(u)nu$

13. $qa:1:(\ddot{a})d[\check{c}]\ddot{u}^3 s(a)nun:tir\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}:1:$

14. suyču: b(a)liiq: da: kirmiš: y(a)ri

15. $\ddot{i}q:da:b(a)\ddot{y}\ddot{i}r^2qular:qa:(a)lt\ddot{i}:y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{i}q:$

16. $\overline{tigink\ddot{a}}: \cdot : b(a)rs \ g(a)n \ s(a)nunga: \cdot :$

17. qutuz : ur(u)nu : qa : 1 : kül : čigši : i|||4

18. $nisinä:1:s(a)r(i)\gamma čirga:1:k(ä)nsig:q$

19. a [sie]: $l: t(\ddot{a})nlig(a)pa: qa: l: qutluy: qa: l:$

20. süčürkä: 1: ur(u)nu: s(a)nun: ga: 1:

21. b(ä)čä (a)pa : ičräk : ikä : bir : y(a)rïïq : yo

22. suug : birlä :

b recto

1. $\ddot{\imath}n^2al^1:ur(u)\dot{\imath}u:y(a)r\ddot{\imath}\ddot{\imath}\ddot{\imath}:[\bullet]mas:q[a:]$

2. y(a)rl(")γ : bolt" : yurta : (a)t : üčon [sic 5]

 $^{^{1}}$ An \ddot{o} which was first written has run and has been blackened over, after which a new \ddot{o} was written.

² Written thus between the lines; to be inserted in 1. 8 after bir.

³ The missing character has run; it resembles e if anything, not g.

⁴ At the end of the line, after i, there is no character, but either a blot of ink or a character $(n^2?)$ which had been commenced and then effaced.

⁵ Or clerical error for üčün?

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3. k(\ddot{a})lmi\ddot{s}: y(a)r\ddot{i}q: y(a)\gamma mi\ddot{s}: tutuuq
 4. qa: y(a)rl(i)\gamma: bolti: bindir:
 5. k\ddot{a}: y(a)r[\ddot{i}g:y](a)rl(\ddot{i})\gamma:bolt\ddot{i}:
 6. yolta: (a)t: kögürm(i)š: (ä)rkä: 1: y
 7. (a)riq: y(a)rl(i)\gamma: bolti: külüq: s(a)n
 8. un : qa : 1 : yos^2uuq : y(a)rl(i)\gamma : boltii
 9. küräbir : ur(u)nu : s(a)nunga : 1 :
10. q\ddot{\imath}l\ddot{\imath}\dot{\epsilon}: 1: b(a)rduuq: y(a)rl(\ddot{\imath})\gamma: bolt
11. \ddot{i}: qo\check{e}u: b(a)l\ddot{i}\ddot{i}q: da: k(\ddot{a})lmi\check{s}: q\ddot{i}l
12. i\check{e}: k\check{u}\check{e}: q[(a)r]a: qa: y(a)rl(i)\gamma: bolti:
                                     b verso
 1. \lceil \ldots \rceil : | : ki \lceil \ldots \rceil
 2. qdi \ y^2ul[uq \ or \ a] : ur(u)nu : y(a)r[...]
 3. [.] y^1\ddot{i}r^2u[\ldots]k\ddot{a}\ ur(u)\dot{n}u:qa:y(a)r[l(\ddot{i})\gamma]
 4. bolti: lač[...] b(a)yluuq: čq(or a)s^2[y(a)r]
 5. \ddot{i}\ddot{i}\ddot{q}\ddot{i}:b(a)rs:ur(u)\dot{n}u:qa:y(a)rl(\ddot{i})\gamma:bo
 6. l\overline{t}\overline{i}:\lceil.\rceil r^2kin^2\lceil:\rceil s(a)nun:t^2ir^2\lceil...\rceil
 7. y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{q}in^2:\ddot{i}n^2al^1:u[r](u)nuqa:y[(a)r]
 8. l(i)_{\gamma}:bolti:
 9. ut s(a)nun : y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{q}\ddot{i}n : q\ddot{i}y(a)\gamma(a)n : ur
10. (u)\dot{n}u : qa : b(\ddot{a})rdi
 1. bučurga: y(a)riiq:
 2. bir : ügäkä : bir : y(a)riiq : b(a)rdi :
 3. t\ddot{u}zmi\ddot{s}: k\ddot{a}: 1: y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{q}: q\ddot{i}y(a)\gamma(a)n: qa: bi[r]
 4. y(a)r\ddot{i}\ddot{i}q:qulapa:ur(u)nuqa:1:y(a)r\ddot{i}[\ddot{i}q...?]
 5. qo\tilde{n}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\imath}: l^2(\tilde{a})r^2k\tilde{a} [sic!]: ||:y(a)r\tilde{\imath}\tilde{\imath}q: t(a)y\tilde{u}[...]
 6. bir : k\"{o}k\"{u}zm\"{a}k : y(a)r\"{i}[\ddot{i}q : y(a)rl(\ddot{i})\gamma ?]
```

7. $bolt\ddot{i}: (\ddot{a})l\ddot{a}k\ddot{u}l[\dots,y(a)r\ddot{i}]$

8. $\ddot{i}g: \ddot{i}n^2an\dot{c}u[----$

9. ür [-

The fourth month, the twenty-ninth. To Unagan Chur's varig Urungu Tudun Chigshi a yarlig was (granted). To Alani Ichiräki's yariq Chik Bilgä Chigshi a yarlig was (granted). To Otga Könmish Qilich himself a yarlig was (granted). To Külüg Urungu were (given) one yariq and a varlig. Concerning the yariq Küpä one yariq and a yarlig were (given). Of the three yariqs sent by Alani Ichräki from the army (there) was (granted) one yarlig to Ügä, 1 to Kädim Urungu, and 1 to Äd[ch?]ü Sangun Tirä. Of the varies arrived from the town of Sugchu (there) were (given) six varies to the Bayirqus, 1 to Tigin, 1 to Bars Khan Sangun, 1 to Qutuz Urungu, 1 to the younger brother of Kül Chigshi, 1 to Sarig Chir, 1 to Känsig, 1 to Tänglig Apa, 1 to Qutlug, 1 to Süchür, 1 to Urungu Sangun, and to Bächä (?) Apa Ichräki one varig together with a yosuq.

b recto

To Inal Urungu's yariq [.]mash (?) a yarlig was (granted). To [Yag?]mish Tutuq, the yariq who had come from the camp (?) with thirty horses (?),¹ a yarlig was (granted). To B(?)indir were (given) a yariq and a yarlig. To a man whose horse had dropped dead (?) on the way were (given) 1 yariq and a yarlig. To Külüg Sangun were (given) 1 yosuq and a yarlig. To Küräbir Urungu Sangun were given 1 sword (?) and 1 yarlig for going (?) (or: after he had gone?). To Qilich Küch Q[ar?]a a yarlig was (given).

b verso

To the yar[iq of ?——] Urungu [——] Urungu a yar[lig] was (granted). To Lach[in?] Bayl(?)uq[—]'s

¹ Or "for the sake of horses"?

yariq Bars Urungu a yarlig was (granted). To Inal U[ru]ngu, a yariq of [.]ärkin Sangun Tir[—], a yarlig was (granted).

Ut Sangun gave a yariq of his to Qiyagan Urungu.

c

To Buchur a yariq.

To Bir (?) Ügä one yariq went.

To Tüzmish 1 yariq, to Qiyagan one yariq, to Qul Apa Urungu 1 yariq, to the shepherds 2 yariqs. To Tai [—] one — (?) yariq [and a yarlig?] were (given). [To] Äläkül [— —] Inanchu [— ——].

Notes to I

a, l. 2. Yariq is a hitherto unknown word. Here, apparently, it is used, on the one hand, to designate an officer (?) dispatched for a special purpose by another and superior officer or by a man of rank. But, on the other hand, when it is stated in the list that to so-and-so one or more yariqs from the fort have been given it appears to me that it rather suggests a military personage provided as an escort. The common, primary signification is no doubt "one who is detached", and I believe the word is nothing but a derivative from the verbal root yar-, "to split" ("to detach"). As, however, the sense is somewhat uncertain, and I have not been able to find a word which completely expresses the conjectured significations, I have retained the Turkish word in the translation.

a, 1. 3. The Turkish $yarli\gamma$ is very much the same as that now frequently expressed by the better-known Persian word farman, "a decree, an edict, an open letter which serves as a passport or introduction to other authorities." This word also I have retained in the translation.

a, l. 14. Suγču is the town Su-chou (肅州) in the Chinese province of Kansuh, Marco Polo's Succiu, Sukchu (H. Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, London, 1871, i, p. 196). The old pronunciation of the syllable su (肅) was suk.

a, 1. 15. The Bayirqus were a Turkish tribe nearly related to the

Uigurs and living north of the great desert.

a, Il. 21/22. Yosuq (see also br., l. 8; cf. Chagatai, Eastern Turkī yosun, Teleut. yozoq, a rule, institution, custom) appears to denote one or more military persons of lower rank than a yarīq (?). Possibly "an orderly", "sergeant", or some such person; or possibly a command or detachment?

br., l. 6. I assume that kögür- is related to the Eastern Turkī kökrü-, "to thunder," Osmanli gürlü- = (1) idem, (2) "die a sudden death".

br., l. 11. Qoču, Chinese Huo-chou (火州), called later Qara-Khōja, near modern Turfan.

MS. II

CH. 00331. (PLATES II AND IIIA.)

This MS., which was found in the wonderful deposit in the "Halls of the Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang, must decidedly be characterized as the most remarkable, comprehensive, and also best preserved of all the MSS. found hitherto written in the Turkish runic script.

It is in the form of a little book, written upon excellent, thick and strong Chinese paper, yellow in colour. It consists altogether of fifty-eight leaves of equal size, or twenty-nine small sheets, about 5½ inches (13.6 cm.) high, and about 3½ inches (about 8 cm.) wide. The sheets are not stitched together, but glued together at the back, one by one. The glue has been so durable that, practically, it has not yet loosened. As there is no binding at all on the book, and as it has evidently been much read, the corners and the outmost leaves are somewhat worn and creased; but otherwise, owing to the excellent quality of the paper, it is as well preserved throughout as if it had been lately written.

The Turkish text begins upon the reverse page of the fifth leaf (I reckon this as p. 1; the original has no pagination) and ends upon the front page of the fifty-seventh leaf. As, with the exception of these two leaves, all the others are written upon both sides, the text comprises 104 pages in all. The two last pages (103 and 104) contain a postscript or colophon written in red ink. The first nine and the last three pages of the book had originally been blank; but afterwards, not only have these twelve pages been closely filled with writing in Chinese, but also the last three pages (102-4) of the Turkish text, together with the margin of the last but four (p. 101) and of p. 1, have been entirely covered with

¹ M. A. Stein, loc. cit., pp. 39 seqq.

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Chinese writing, partly owing to which it is rather difficult to read what is written beneath—especially on pp. 103 and 104. Dr. Stein tells me (I myself am unable to verify it adequately) that these additions in Chinese are not in any way connected with the Turkish text.

The written column is rather small, about $3\frac{1}{3}$ to 4 inches $(8\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 cm.) high and about 2 to $2\frac{1}{6}$ inches (5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ cm.) wide. Upon a page written in full there are nine lines only, each line consisting of as many as eight to ten characters, including the signs for separating the words.

The writing is elegant and clear, and bears evidence of a practised hand. The writing materials used have been a brush and excellent, black Indian ink. On the other hand, what is written with red colour is more or less decidedly faded. On the whole, the characters agree in form with those in MS. I, as also with those which are met with in the fragments of manuscripts found in Turfan. It may be noted that the sign for iq (see p. 184) is not used at all (uq, on the other hand, occurs frequently). With regard to the sounds s and s, the case here is the same as in I: there are the signs s^1 and s^2 only, both expressing both s and s.1 As in I, so also here, we find none of the modifications of certain characters, by the addition of diacritical lines, which are found in some of the Turfan fragments. On the other hand, we often find the sign for the sound-combination up, hitherto known from the Turfan MSS. only, and before which a superfluous u is sometimes written, as before ug (compare p. 184). Moreover, we find a new sign, not hitherto known from elsewhere, for the syllable ot (and ut?), viz. #; it occurs three times, and only in the word ot, "grass." Of signs for consonantal compounds, are found nd (nt) and nt; before the latter is often added a superfluous n $(nn\ell)$; but ld

¹ As in other sources, s^2 is often written after $\ddot{\imath}$ instead of s^1 ; thus always in the verbal affix $-m\ddot{\imath}s$. After $\ddot{\imath}$ n^2 likewise sometimes occurs for n^1 , and, before $\ddot{\imath}$, y^2 for y^1 , e.g. $y^2\dot{\imath}s^2=y\ddot{\imath}s$ (XVII, p. 25).

 (\underline{t}) does not occur. To separate the words two fine lines (\underline{t}) surrounded by a red circle are used (here expressed by :).

The book consists of sixty-five short, unnumbered chapters or paragraphs. Each of them is headed by a line composed of small, black circles filled with red and occurring in continually alternating combinations, e.g. 00 00 00, 0000 0000, 00 0 00, etc. In the following I designate these chapters by Roman numerals.

Each paragraph contains a small story, or, strictly speaking, it describes quite shortly some or other simple situation or mood in which nature, and especially animals, usually play a part. They may be compared more nearly to a series of small lyrical poems in prose. Almost every paragraph (except IV, X, XIII, XIV, XXI, XLVIII, and LI) ends with a kind of ethical decision: "This is good," or "This is evil", or the like.

Now what is the meaning of this? And what, on the whole, is the object of the book? According to pp. 103 and 104 (the colophon) it is written for the use of two young students or schoolboys; therefore we may be justified in regarding it as a kind of moralizing reader.

¹ The only corresponding instance that I know of, which, however, can scarcely be interpreted similarly, is that from a Christian fragment from Turfan, published by v. Le Coq ("Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan," Sitzungsber, Kgl. Preuss. Akad., 1909, pp. 1206, 1207), in which one of the two chapter headings preserved has the addition "This is good" ("adg" ol) and the other "This is evil" (yavlag ol). Dr. v. Le Coq translates it: "dies ist gut, übel (anzuhören)." As here on p. 101, "this book is good (to read, for obtaining wisdom from)." Furthermore, the above-mentioned final decision is usually preceded by the words: "(he or it) says. Know ye this." As these words occur also when no such decision is added, and, on the other hand, are often separated from it by repeated punctuation marks or a blank space, I think that they do not really preamble the final decision, but only mark the conclusion of the story itself. As to the subject for tir. "(he or it) says," or "(they) say", I do not know, for example, whether it is the author or the principal person in the paragraph in question who is meant. In the translation I have omitted this word throughout.

I suppose also that it is some such book; but, on the other hand, I do not believe that this explains it fully.

In the postscript on p. 101 it is designated as bu irg bitig, "this irg writing" or "book", and from the postscript to LVII it is seen that irq is the designation of every single paragraph. This word I can only regard as being identical with the Osm. in irq, a rare, and now, no doubt, obsolete word, which is stated to signify the same as مغرباً oyur, "(good) fortune, luck, chance." 1 This again is unquestionably related to the irim, "divination, omen," which occurs in several northern Turkish dialects (Altai, Teleutic, etc.).2 If we add to this what we read on pp. 101 and 102, that by the help of this book "every one becomes master of his own fate", then there appears to be but little doubt that the real or at least the secondary object of the book was of a superstitious nature; it has not only been a moral or moralizing book, but also an irq-bitig, "a fortune-book." Therefore, when it is said every time that this or that is good or evil it undoubtedly signifies, in particular, that it is either the one or the other regarded as an omen—wherefore the individual chapter itself is called an irg, an omen—and not, strictly speaking, according to a moral standard. This is confirmed by the fact that according to our conceptions, at least, there often appears to be so slight a connexion between the contents of a story and the moral thereof; or, also, the

¹ Zenker, Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan, Leipzig, 1866, i, p. 29 (referring to Hindoglu), and referring to Zenker, Radloff also, in his Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte, i, p. 1370. (The possibility of there being a connexion between our irq and the yir or ir, "a song," which occurs in several Turkish languages—should this occur to anybody—must be definitely dismissed.)

² Hence *irimla-, irimda-,* "tell fortunes"; *irimči*, "a soothsayer.'' Compare also Altai, Teleutic, Kirghiz, etc., *iris*, "fortune, chance." See Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, pp. 1368, 1370; V. Verbitzki, *Slovar' altaiskago i aladayskago narėčiy tiurkskago yazīka*, Kasan, 1884, p. 458 seq.

latter may be so vague ("both evil and good," or "either evil or good", see paragraphs V, XI, XVIII, LV, LVII, and LXIV) that it can only with difficulty be regarded as a real moral criticism of the contents. The basis for the signification of the warning, the short story or the situation narrated, may be supposed either to be a dream 1-although the description is usually so specialized that it would be very remarkable for anyone to dream just in such a manner—or sometimes, perhaps, something that directly meets one in life, or it may also undoubtedly be, and perhaps as a rule is, but a shifting framework for an oracular response which is sought, for instance, by opening the book at random. Analogous instances undoubtedly occur in abundance in the literature of Central and East Asia; but I must leave it to others to point out more closely all details in that respect. I only want to emphasize the fact that several of the details are so closely connected with the mode of living of the Turks that, as far as these paragraphs are concerned, it is impossible to conceive that they are translations from another language.

The book is written in a somewhat brief and concise style, undoubtedly in prose; at least, I have not been able to trace any real metre. As characteristic features I may mention, on the one hand, the frequent occurrence of parallelism of sentences 2 (that in this case the two parallel phrases, usually, also have the same or almost the same number of syllables, is quite natural and cannot be alleged as a proof of a metre). On the other hand, I want to draw attention to the marked endeavour towards alliteration

¹ Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, to whom I had orally mentioned the contents of this remarkable book before the signification of *irq* had become clear to me, immediately advanced the supposition that it might probably be a dream-book of similar nature to those known from the Chinese.

² Cf. Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées par Vilh. Thomsen, Helsingfors, 1896, p. 96.

met with in several places. This alliteration—which may often occasion a somewhat far-fetched choice of words—is found especially, but not exclusively, in connexion with the above-mentioned parallelism, so that it connects every single one of the two parts more closely together to a unity and distinguishes it more decidedly from the other part, e.g., sarïy—sabči, yazï(?)y—yalabač (XI); yarïn yanrayur, kičä känränür (XXII); öküš—ögrünčün, qobï—qorqïnčin (XXXVI); sïnuqïnïn säpär, üzükinin ulayur (XLVIII); tïy—tigrät, yazï(?)y—yadrat (L); yašïl—yaylayïm, qizïl—qišlayïm (LI); yayaq—yaylayïm, qušluy—qišlayïm (LVI); yilqa—yiditmayïn, ayqa—artatmayïn (LIX); etc.

Linguistically, considerable interest attaches to the book, especially on account of the rich supply of words contained in it. Many of the words I have not as yet succeeded in explaining; therefore, in this preliminary note I have either been obliged to leave them untranslated, or have only been able to supply a conjectural translation of them according to the context. There are other words, mostly concerning daily life, which can, with more or less certainty, be compared with familiar words from the modern Turkish languages; but many of these words, as far as I know, have not previously been demonstrated at so early a linguistic stage or in the older forms we have here before The fact should be emphasized that some of the words of this nature now appear to be retained only in the more remote, northern Turkish dialects, or, at any rate, to agree more closely with forms occurring in them. Some examples illustrating this will be given in the notes.

Unfortunately, nothing can be stated with certainty regarding the time when the book was written, only it was, no doubt, written later than the MS. M.I. xxxii, 006, and later than the middle of the eighth century A.D. More probably, perhaps, it dates from the beginning of the ninth century. The note contained at the end of the book (p. 103),

that it was written in "the year of the tiger", explains nothing. It is the third year of the twelve-years cycle in use in East and Central Asia, and "the year of the tiger" was e.g. 750 A.D., and every twelfth year before and after that time, as for instance 810,822, etc. Nor can it be definitely settled whether the book is of Buddhistic or of Manichæan origin; but most outer and inner criteria speak in favour of the latter. Judging from the other documents we have from East Turkestan, in the runic script, it also appears as if this script has been used chiefly in Manichæan circles.

I shall now give a transcription of the text (where the numbers in the margin indicate the pages of the original), with the translation placed opposite to it. As I think it unnecessary to print each of the short lines of the book separately, I use | to designate the beginning of a new line, and || to indicate the beginning of a new page.

In the text I make no special reference to the notes which follow, merely arranging these according to the numbers of the paragraphs. Therefore, with each paragraph, I beg the reader to compare the notes concerned.

- 1 I. $T(\ddot{a})n:si:m(\ddot{a})n:|y(a)r(\ddot{i})n:$ $ki\check{c}\ddot{a}:|(a)ltun:\check{o}rgi|n:\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}:$ $olu|rup(a)n:m(\ddot{a})n\ddot{i}(\ddot{a})y|\ddot{u}r:$ $m(\ddot{a})\overline{n}:(a)\underline{n}\dot{c}a:|bilinl(\ddot{a})r:|$ $(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:ol:$
- 2 || II. $ala:(a)tli\gamma:y|ol:t(\ddot{a})nri:$ $m|(\ddot{a})n:y(a)r(\ddot{i})n:ki|\check{c}\ddot{a}:$ $(\ddot{a}?)\check{s}\ddot{u}r:m(\ddot{a})n|:utru:(\ddot{a})ki:|$ $(a)yl(\ddot{i})\gamma:ki\check{s}\dot{i}:|o\gamma l\ddot{i}n:$
- 3 soq|ušmiš: kiši: || qorqmiš: || qorqma:t|im(i)š:qut:b|irg(ä)y:
 män: | timiš:(a)nča: bilin: |
 (ä)dgü: ol:
- 4 III. (a) $ttun: q(a)n(a)tt||(i)\gamma:$ $t(a)t(i)m: q(a)r|a: qu\check{s}: m(\check{a})n: t(a)n(\check{i})m: t\ddot{u}si: t(a)q\ddot{i}: t\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}: t$

- I. I am Ten-si (i.e. the Chinese Emperor). Early and late I enjoy sitting on the golden throne. Know ye this. This is good.
- II. I am the Way-God on a piebald horse. Early and late I amble (?) along. He met a two-month-old child of man. The man was afraid. "Fear not; I will give you blessing," said he. Know this. This is good.
- III. I am a golden-winged, bold (?) black - eagle. The appearance of my body may

 $m(\ddot{a})zk(\ddot{a})n: t(a)l|uyda: y(a)t (\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(a)_{\mathcal{D}}: t(a)_{\mathcal{D}}|(a)_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{\mathcal{D}}|(\ddot{\imath})_{$ 5 $tu||t(a)r:m(\ddot{a})n:s(\ddot{a})b|d\ddot{u}k(i)min:$ $vi|v\ddot{u}r: m(\ddot{a})n: (a)nd|a\gamma:$ $k\ddot{u}\check{c}l\ddot{u}g: \mid m(\ddot{a})n: (a)n\check{c}a:$ bi | linl(a)r : : | (a)daü : ol :

6 || IV. $\ddot{o}r\ddot{u}\dot{n}$: $s(\ddot{a}?)ri$: | toy(a)n: $qu\check{s}\mid :m(\ddot{a})n: \check{c}\ddot{i}nt|(a)n:\ddot{i}\gamma(a)\check{c}:$ $\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}$ | : oluruup(a)n : | $m(\ddot{a})\dot{n}il$ -7 (\ddot{a}) $y\ddot{u}r: |m(\ddot{a})n: (a)n\ddot{c}a: bi||lint-$

(är):

V. $|b(\ddot{a})q:(\ddot{a})r:yont|\ddot{n}(a)ru:$ b(a)rmi|š: aq: bisi: | qulunla $m\ddot{\imath}|\ddot{s}$: (a) ltun: tu|yuy|lug: 8 $(a)d\gamma |(i)rl(i)q : y(a)ra\gamma ||(a)y :$ $t(\ddot{a})b\ddot{a}si\dot{n}|(\ddot{a})r\ddot{u}:b(a)rm\ddot{i}\dot{s}:$ örün : in a(a)ni : butu lamiš: $(a)ltu|n:budll(u)\gamma:|bu\gamma ral(i)q:$ $y(a)ra\gamma(a)y : (\ddot{a})bi|\dot{n}(\ddot{a})r\ddot{u} :$ 9 k(ä)lm||iš: üčünč: q|unčuyi:

uri(l(a)nmiš : b(a)ql(ik : y(a) $ra\gamma(a)y : | tir : m(a)nili|g :$ $b(\ddot{a})g : (\ddot{a})r : (\ddot{a})rm|i\check{s} : a\tilde{n}i\gamma :$ $(\ddot{a})dg | \ddot{u} : ol :$

10 || VI. $(\ddot{a})d(\ddot{i})\gamma l\ddot{i}$: $to\dot{n}|uzl\ddot{i}|$: $art : | \ddot{u}z\ddot{a} : sooq(u)\check{s}|m\ddot{i}\check{s} :$ $(\ddot{a})rmi\ddot{s}: (a)d(\ddot{i})\gamma(\ddot{i}\dot{n}): q(a)r$ $n|\ddot{\imath}:y(a)r(\ddot{\imath})lm\ddot{\imath}\dot{s}(:)|tonuzu\dot{n}:|$

11 $(a)zi\gamma i: sinm||is:tir:(a)nča|:$ bilin : | y(a)bl(a)q : ol :VII. $(\ddot{a})r$: $t(\ddot{a})rkl(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}$:

 $k(\ddot{a})lir:(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:|s\ddot{o}z:s(a)b:$ 12 (a)lt|i:k(a)lir:ti||r:(a)nča:

 $bili|nl(\ddot{a})r::|(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:ol:$

VIII. (a) $ltun : b(a) š li \gamma \mid :$ yil(a)n : m(a)n : | (a)ltun : not yet be fully developed. Lying (in wait?) near the sea I preserve those I am fond of; those I love, I feed on. strong am I. Know ye this .-This is good.

IV. Iam a white—(?) falcon. I enjoy sitting on the sandalwood trees. Know ye this.

V. A prince went to his stud-horses. His white mare had brought forth a colt. stud of golden-hoofed stallions will thrive. He went to his camels. His white she-camel had brought forth a young male camel. stud of golden--ed (?) hecamels will thrive. He came to his house. Thirdly, his wife had brought forth a male "The princely house will thrive," says he. prince was happy. This is evil and good.

VI. A bear and a wild boar had met in a mountain pass. The belly of the bear was torn open; the tusks of the wild boar were broken. Know this.—This is bad.

VII. A man comes running. He comes bringing good words and messages. Know ve this.-This is good.

VIII. I am a golden-headed snake. When they had cut

- 13 $quru|\gamma s(a)q(\ddot{\imath})m\ddot{\imath}n: ||q\ddot{\imath}l(\ddot{\imath})\ddot{c}\ddot{\imath}n: k(\ddot{a})s|ip(\ddot{a})n:\ddot{o}z\ddot{u}m: ||yol:in^2t^2i|n^2:b(a)\ddot{s}(\ddot{\imath})m\ddot{\imath}n: ||yol:(\ddot{a})bint|(i)n:tir:(a)n\ddot{c}a:|bilint|(\ddot{a})r::|y(a)bl(a)q:ol::$
- 14 || IX. $ulu\gamma : (\ddot{a})b : \ddot{or}|t(\ddot{a})nmi\ddot{s} : q(a)t\ddot{i}|na : t(\ddot{a})gi : q(a)t|m(a)-du\underline{q} : b\ddot{o}ki|n\ddot{a} : t(\ddot{a})gi : qod|m(ad?)u\underline{q}^1 : tir : (a)n\ddot{c}a : |bilinl(\ddot{a})r : |y(a)b\overline{l}(a)q : ol : :$
- 15 || X. $s^2n^2g(\ddot{a})n^2$: b(a)rs : | $m(\ddot{a})n$: $q(a)mu\check{s}$: | ara : $b(a)\check{s}(\ddot{i})m$: $(a)\underline{nd}|(a)\gamma$: (a)lp : $m(\ddot{a})n$: | $(\ddot{a})rd(\ddot{a})mlig$: $m|(\ddot{a})n$: $(a)n\check{c}a$: $bili|nl(\ddot{a})r$: :
- 16 || XI. $s(a)r(i)\gamma$: $(a)tl(i)\gamma$: $s(a)b\check{c}i$: $y(a)z(i\ ?)\gamma$: $(a)t|l(i)\gamma$: $y(a)l(a)b(a)\check{c}$: $(\ddot{u})dg|\ddot{u}$: $s\ddot{o}z$: s(a)b : $(\ddot{u})l|ti$: $k(\ddot{u})lir$: ti|r : $(a)n\check{c}a$: $bilin\mid (a)\check{n}\check{i}\gamma$: $(\ddot{u})dg\ddot{u}$: ol :
- 17 || XII. $(\ddot{a})r:(a)bqa:b(a)rm\ddot{a}|\ddot{s}:t(a)\gamma da:q(a)ml|(a)m\ddot{s}:t(\ddot{a})\ddot{n}rid|\ddot{a}:(\ddot{a})rkl(i)g:ti|r:(a)n\ddot{c}a:bilin|l(\ddot{a})r::|y(a)\ddot{b}(\ddot{i})z:ol:$
- 18 || XIII. t(a)nrilig : | $qurt\gamma a$: yu|rt(d)a : q(a)lm \ddot{i} : $|y(a)\gamma l(\dot{i})\gamma$: q(a)m \ddot{i} | : $bulun(\ddot{i})n$: y(a)l γ |- (a)yu : tirilm|i : \ddot{b} : \ddot{b} l \ddot{u} m \ddot{d} : |
- 19 ozmiš : tir : || (a)nča : bilinl(a)r| : : |

XIV. $quz\gamma unu\gamma : | i\gamma(a)\check{c}qa : bam|i\check{s} : q(a)t(i)\gamma t\check{i} : b|a : (\check{a})dg\check{u}t\check{i} : ba | : tir : (a)\underline{n\check{c}}a : b|ilinl(\check{a})r : :$

open my belly with a sword I myself (was thrown) out of the way (?), my head (they threw out?) from the houses (?) on the way. Know ye this. This is bad.

IX. A large house was burnt down. Not even a layer (?) of it remained, not even its enclosure (?) was left. Know ye this.—This is bad.

X. I am a —(?) tiger. My head is between the reeds. So brave am I, so clever am I. Know ye this.

XI. A messenger comes upon a yellow horse, an envoy upon a lazy (?) horse, bringing good words and messages. Know this. This is evil and good.

XII. A man went hunting. Upon a mountain he performed shaman tricks (?) and (became) powerful in heaven. Know ye this.—This is ill.

XIII. A pious old woman stayed at home. By licking the edges of a greasy spoon she lived and escaped death. Know ye this.

XIV. They tied a raven to a tree. Tie it tightly, tie it well. Know ye this. 20 || XV. üzä: tum(a)n: | turdï: (a)sr|a: toz: t|urdï: qu|š: οη(l)ï¹: uč|a: aztï: | kiyik:
 21 ο|ηlï: yügü||rũ: aztï: | y(a)na: t(ä)nri |: qutïnta: | üčünč: yïl|ta: qop: (ä)s|(ä)n: tükäl: yü|ta: qop: ögir|är: s(ä)binür |: tir: (a)nča: | bilinl(à)r: | (ä)dqü: ol:

23 || XVI. turuq:(a)t:s|(ā)mriti:
yi|rin: öp(ā)n: | yügürü:
b|(a)rmiš: utr|u: yirdā: |
24 orri: sooq|ušup: tut||uup(a)n:
minm|iš: yilinā|: qudursur|
innina: t(ā)g|i: y(a)rrip(a)n: |
q(a)mš(a)yu: um|atīn: turu|r:
tir:(a)nča:b|ilin:y(a)bl(a)q(:)|
ol:
25 || XVII. özlük: (a)t: ön |:

 $\begin{array}{c} yird\ddot{a}:(a)r(\ddot{i})p:onu\underline{u}p:turu:|\\ q(a)lm\ddot{i}\ddot{s}:t(\ddot{a})\dot{n}r|\dot{i}:k\ddot{u}\ddot{c}\dot{i}\dot{n}\ddot{a}:\\ t|(a)\gamma:\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}:yol:|sub:k\ddot{c}r\ddot{u}p|(\ddot{a})n^2:y\ddot{i}\ddot{s}:\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}:|\\ 26\ y(a)\ddot{s}:o\underline{t}:k\ddot{c}r\ddot{u}|p(\ddot{a})n:yor\ddot{v}yu|:\\ b(a)r\ddot{v}p(a)n:sub(:)|i\ddot{c}ip(\ddot{a})n:ya\ddot{s}|:yip(\ddot{u})n:\ddot{c}l\ddot{u}|md\ddot{a}:ozm\ddot{i}\ddot{s}|:\\ tir:(a)n\ddot{c}a:bi|linl(\ddot{u})r::|(\ddot{a})dq\ddot{u}:o\overline{l}:\\ \end{array}$

27 | XVIII. k(ä)räkü : iči : |
nä : t(ä)g : ol : | tügünüki : |
nä : t(ä)g : ol : | köz(ü !)nükki : |
nä : t(ä)g : kör|üklüg : ol :

XV. The fog was hanging above, the dust was lying below. The young bird went astray while flying; the young deer went astray while running; the child of man went astray while walking. By the blessing of Heaven they all met again in the third year, hale and hearty. They all rejoice and are glad. Know ye this. This is good.

XVI. A lean horse rushed off having bethought itself of the place where (it had previously been) fattened. There a thief met it, caught it, and mounted it. Galled even to —— (?), he stands incapable of movement. Know this. This is bad.

XVII. A riding horse remained standing at the first (?) place, exhausted and languishing. Thanks to Heaven's power it saw way and water upon a mountain, and upon the forest-clad hills it saw fresh grass and went thither. By drinking the water and eating the fresh grass it escaped death. Know ye this.—This is good.

XVIII. How is the interior of the tent-trellis? How is its vent for smoke? How beautiful is (the view from?)

¹ MS. ογϊ, υγϊ, no doubt clerical error for ογίϊ.

² The writer has omitted the lower oblique line in k.

28 (à)g|ni : $n(\ddot{a})t(\ddot{a})g$: $(\ddot{a})dg||\ddot{u}$: ol : $b(a)\gamma(\ddot{i})\breve{s}\ddot{v}(:)$ | $n\ddot{a}$: $t(\ddot{a})g$: b(a)r | : ol : tir : $(a)\underline{n}\breve{c}|a$: $bilinl|(\ddot{a})r$: $(a)\breve{n}\ddot{i}\gamma$: $(\ddot{a})d|g\ddot{u}$: ol : :

29 XIX. aq : (a)t : q(a)rš||(i-)
sin : üč : b|oluγta : t|(a)lulap(a)n : (a)γ|(a?) nqa : ötü|gkä :
idmi|š : tir : qor|qma : (ä)dgüt|i :
30 ötün : (a)y|inma : (ä)dgü||ti :
y(a)lb(a)r : t|ir : (a)nŏa : bili|n :
(ä)dgü : ol :

XX. titir : bwγ|ra : m(α)n :
 ör|ün̂ : köpük|ümin : s(a)č(a)r : ||
31 m(α)n : üzα : | t(α)nrikα : |
 t(α)gir : (α)sr|α : yirkα : | kirür :
 t|ir : udïγm|(α)γ : odγur(u)¹ : |
 y(α)t(ῖ)γlῖγ : | turγ(u)ru : ||
32 yorïyur : | m(α)n : (α)nd(α)γ :
 k|üčlüg : m(α)n (:) | (α)nčα :
 bilint|(α)r : (α)dqü : ol :

XXI. $q(a)ra : \ddot{o}pg\ddot{u}|k : y\ddot{i}:$ $y(a)ru : |m(a)zq(a)n : t(\ddot{a})d\dot{i}:||$ 33 $\ddot{o}dm(\ddot{a})\dot{n} : k\ddot{o}r|m(\ddot{a})\dot{n} : \ddot{u}rk(\dot{i})tt| (\dot{i})\dot{n} : tir : (a)n\underline{\check{o}}a : b|il(\dot{i})\dot{n} : :|$

XXII. $uzuntonlu|\gamma: k\ddot{u}z(\ddot{u})\dot{n}$ 84 $\ddot{u}s\dot{i}|n:k\ddot{o}lk\ddot{a}:||\ddot{v}c\gamma(\ddot{v})nm\ddot{v}s:|$ $y(a)r(\dot{v})n:y(a)\dot{n}ray|ur:k\dot{v}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}:$ $k|(\ddot{a})\dot{n}r\ddot{u}n\ddot{u}r:ti|r:(a)\dot{n}\ddot{c}a:$ $bili\dot{n}|l(\ddot{a})r:mu\dot{n}lu\gamma|:ol:$ $a\ddot{n}\ddot{v}:|y(a)bl(a)q:ol:$

35 $\|XXIII. \ o\gamma l(a)n : k(\ddot{a})k\ddot{u}k : |$ $t(\ddot{a})zkin : bu|lt\ddot{i} : \ddot{c}u(?)k : | ti\dot{n} :$ its window (?)? How good is its roof (?)? How is its cordage? Know ye this. This is evil and good.

XIX. A white horse, intending to reform its antagonist (?) in (the?) three existences (?), referred it to penance (?) and prayer. It says: "Fear not! Pray well! Do not be afraid! Implore well!" Know this. This is good.

XX. I am a — (?) male camel. I disperse my white froth. It reaches to heaven above, and penetrates the earth beneath. It says: "I go on my way awakening those who sleep and causing those who rest to arise. So strong am I." Know ye this. This is good.

XXI. A black hoopee (?) may not become domesticated (literally "brightened") in a year. It said: "Do not —(?), and do not look at me; you have frightened me." Know this.

XXII. A monk dropped his bell into a lake. In the morning it tinkles, in the evening it jingles. Know ye this. This is painful. It is evil and bad.

XXIII. A boy found a cuckoo(?) roaming about — (?).

¹ MS. odyur, which cannot be right.

 $qut|lu\gamma:bol|zun:tir:|(a)\underline{n}\underline{\check{c}}a:bilin|l(\ddot{a})r:(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:ol:$

 $y(a)b(\ddot{\imath})z: ol:$

XXV. (a)ki: \ddot{o} küz|üg: \ddot{b} ir: 38 \ddot{b} |uq(a)rsiqa: || $\ddot{k}\ddot{o}$ lm(i)š: \ddot{q} (a)m|š(a)yu: \ddot{u} mati|n: \ddot{t} urur: | \ddot{t} ir: (a) \ddot{n} ča: \ddot{b} i|lin: \ddot{y} (a) \ddot{b} l(a)q: | \ddot{o} l: |

XXVI. $t(a)\dot{n}: t(a)\dot{n}l(a)rd|\ddot{\imath}:$ 39 $udu: yir: || y(a)rud\ddot{\imath}: ud|u:$ $k\ddot{u}n: to|\gamma d\ddot{\imath}: q(a)m(\ddot{\imath})\gamma: || \ddot{\imath}z\ddot{a}: y(a)r\underline{u}q: || bolt\ddot{\imath}: tir: || (a)n\ddot{\imath}a: bili\dot{n}: |(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}: ol: :|$

40 $\|XXVII.\ b(a)y:(\ddot{a})r:qo\ddot{n}i:|$ $\ddot{u}rk\ddot{u}p(\ddot{a})n:|\ b(a)rm\ddot{s}:b\ddot{o}|rik\ddot{a}:$ $sooq|u\ddot{s}m\ddot{s}:b\ddot{o}|ri:(a)\gamma z\ddot{i}:$ $(\ddot{a})m|simi\dot{s}:(\ddot{a})s(\ddot{a})n:|\ t\ddot{u}\ddot{u}k(\ddot{a})l:$

41 $bolm | m\ddot{i}\ddot{s} \quad [\text{sic !}] : tir : | (a)\underline{n}\check{c}a : \\ bilin | l(\ddot{a})r : (\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u} : | ol : |$

43 tir : $(a)\underline{n}\check{c}a$: \parallel $bilinl(\ddot{a})r$: \parallel $(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}$: $oldsymbol{o}l$: \parallel

XXIX. $oyma: (\ddot{a})r: |o\gamma l(a)n$ - $\ddot{i}n: |ki \ddot{s} i \dot{s} i \dot{n}: |tutu \gamma: ur| up(a)n:$ $u\ddot{s}\ddot{c}: |oy(u)\gamma: (a)l(\ddot{i})p:$ $44 ||b(a)r\ddot{m}\ddot{s}: o\gamma|l\ddot{i}n: ki \ddot{s} \dot{s}|in:$ utuz|m(a)dug: y(a)na: |tooquz-

Would that it might be happy! Know ye this. This is good.

XXIV. An afflicted foal applies to a male horse to be healed. In the middle of the day being loaded, in the middle of the night being bloody, in which (condition) is it to be? Know ye this. This is ill.

XXV. Two oxen were bound together with one fetter. They stand without being able to move. Know this. This is bad.

XXVI. The morning dawned. Then the earth brightened. Then the sun rose and the light shone over everything. Know this. This is good.

XXVII. A rich man's sheep took fright and went away. It met a wolf. The wolf's mouth (still) sucked (?). (The sheep) was hale and hearty. Know ye this. This is good.

XXVIII. After having ascended the throne, a Khan built a capital. His kingdom remained firm. The best and cleverest (?) from the four quarters of the globe enjoy gathering there, and adorn it. Know ye this. This is good.

XXIX. A gambler (?) staked his son(s) and his servants. He went away after having won the hazardous (?) game. Without losing his son(s) and

¹ i.e. yontda.

on: | boš: qoñ: | utmïš: oq|li: 45 yutuz|i: qop: ög||ir(ü)r: tir: | (a)nča: bilin|l(ü)r: (ü)dgü | : ol:

XXX. $\ddot{c}\ddot{c}\gamma(a)\ddot{n}:(\ddot{a})r:o|\gamma l\ddot{i}:$ $q(a)z\gamma|(a)n\ddot{c}qa:b(a)rm|\ddot{i}\ddot{s}:yol\ddot{i}:$ 46 $y||(a)ram\ddot{i}\ddot{s}:\ddot{o}g|ir\ddot{a}:s(\ddot{a})\ddot{b}\ddot{i}n|\ddot{u}:$ $k(\ddot{a})lir:ti|r:(a)n\ddot{c}a:bili|nl(\ddot{a})r:$ $(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}(:)|ol:$:

XXXI. b(a)rs : kiyik : ||
47 (ä)nkä : m(ä)nk|ä : b(a)rmïš : |
(ä)nin : m(ä)ni|n : bulmïš : |
bulup(a)n : u|yasïnaru : | ögirä :
s(ä)b|inü : k(ä)lir | : tir :
48 (a)nča : || bilin : (ä)dg|ü : ol : : |
XXXII. bir : t(a)b(ï)lau : |

 $y\ddot{u}z : bolt|\ddot{i} : y\ddot{u}z : t(a)b|(\ddot{i})lqu : \ 49 \ mi\dot{n} : | bolt\ddot{i} : mi\dot{n} : || t(a)b(\ddot{i})lqu : \ t\ddot{u}|m(\ddot{a})n : bolt\ddot{i} : || tir : (a)\underline{nca} : \ b|ilinl(\ddot{a})r : :|(a)s(\ddot{i})\gamma\ddot{i} : b(a)r :|(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u} : ol : :|$

50 XXXIII. $ki[d]izig^1 : || subqa : su|uqmïš : t(a)qï : |ur : q(a)t(i)\gamma-dï : |ba : ti[r]^2 : (a)nča : |bilinl(a)r : |y(a)bl(a)q : ol : VXXIII.$

XXXIV. q(a)n : $s\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}$: 51 $b\|(a)rm\ddot{s}$: $y(a)\gamma\ddot{v}\|\gamma$: $s(a)nn\ddot{c}$ - $m\ddot{s}$: $|k\ddot{o}\ddot{c}\ddot{u}\ddot{v}\ddot{u}$: |qonturu : $|k(\ddot{u})lir$: $\ddot{o}z\dot{u}$ | : $s\ddot{u}s\dot{v}$: $\ddot{o}g\dot{u}|r\ddot{u}$: $s(\ddot{u})bin\ddot{u}$ | : $ordus\ddot{u}n|(a)ru$:

52 $k(\ddot{a})lir: ||tir:(a)n\check{c}a:bi|lin-l(\ddot{a})r::|(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:ol:|$

his servants he won again ninety stray sheep. His son(s) and his attendants all rejoice. Know ye this. This is good.

XXX. A poor man's son sallied forth in search of gain. His journey was successful. He comes rejoicing and glad. Know ye this. This is good.

XXXI. A tiger went out in search of game and prey. It found its game and prey, and after having found it comes to its den rejoicing and glad. Know this. This is good.

XXXII. One spiræa becomes a hundred; a hundred spiræas become a thousand; a thousand spiræas become ten thousand. Know ye this.—There is profit hereby. This is good.

XXXIII. The felt is put into water. Still beat it, tie it tightly. Know ye this. This is bad.

XXXIV. A Khan went to the army (i.e. in war) and conquered the enemy. He comes home permitting them to nomadize and settle down (wherever they please). He himself and his army come to his capital rejoicing and exceeding glad. Know ye this.— This is good.

XXXV. A man proceeded to the army. His horse got tired h. ² MS. *tii*,

XXXV. $(\ddot{a})r: s\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}: b|(a)rm\ddot{u}s:$ $yol|ta:(a)t\ddot{u}:(a)rm|\ddot{u}s:(\ddot{a})r:$ 1 See the note to this paragraph.

53 qoγ|u : qušqa : || soqušm(ï)š : | qoγu : quš : | q(a)natina : | urup(:) (a)nïn¹ : | q(a)lïyu : b(a)r|ïp(a)n : ögin|ä : q(a)nïna : | t(ä)gürmiš : | ögi : q(a)nï : || 54 ögir(ä)r : s(ä)b|inür : tir | : (a)nča : bilin|l(ä)r : : | (ä)dgü : ol :

XXXVI. $\ddot{o}k\ddot{u}\ddot{s}:(a)tl(\ddot{i})\gamma:|$ $\ddot{o}gr(\ddot{u})\underline{n}\breve{c}\ddot{u}\ddot{n}:y|ooq:qob\ddot{i}:|$ 55 $(a)tl(\ddot{i})\gamma:qor|q(\ddot{i})\underline{n}\ddot{c}\ddot{i}\dot{n}:yooq:|$ $u\ddot{c}ru\gamma lu\gamma|:qutu\dot{n}:y|ooq:$ $tir:(a)\underline{n}\ddot{c}a|:bilinl(\ddot{a})r|:(a)\ddot{n}\dot{i}\gamma:$ y(a)bl(a)q|:ol::|

XXXVII. $bir: q(a)r\ddot{i}: \parallel$ 56 $\ddot{o}k\ddot{u}z\ddot{u}g: \parallel bilin: bi|\ddot{c}\ddot{u}:$ $qomu|rs\gamma a: yi|mi\ddot{s}: q(a)m\ddot{s}|(a) yu: umat\ddot{i}|n: turur: \parallel tir:$ $(a)n\ddot{c}a: b|ilinl(\ddot{a})r: \parallel y(a) bl(\overline{a})q: ol:$

57 || XXXVIII. $q(a)m\ddot{s}: ar|a:$ $q(a)lm\ddot{s}: |t(\ddot{a})\ddot{n}ri: una|m(a) duq: (a)b\ddot{n}\underline{o}|u: q(a)tun:$ $b|olzun: ti|r: (a)n\ddot{o}a:$ $bil|inl(\ddot{a})r: (\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}(:) |oli::$

58 || XXXIX. $[(a)t]i\gamma^2 : t(a)r|$ $tr\ddot{u} : ki\ddot{s}\ddot{a}|mi\ddot{s} : q(a)m\ddot{s}a|yu:$ $umat\ddot{u}|n:turur:|tir:(a)n\ddot{c}a:$ $bi|linl(\ddot{a})r::|y(a)bl(\overline{a})q:$ ol(:)

on the way. The man met a swan. The swan placed him upon its wings and flew up with him. It brought him to his mother and father. His mother and his father rejoice and are exceeding glad. Know ye this.—This is good.

XXXVI. The fact of having many horsemen will give you no satisfaction; you have no (reason to) fear wanting horsemen. Your luck is not (dependent upon) the extreme (?). Know ye this. This is evil and bad.

XXXVII. An old ox was being eaten by ants, by their gnawing around its body. It stands without being able to move. Know ye this. This is bad.

XXXVIII. She lives among the reeds. I wish she may have the consolation of becoming queen (or mistress), (though) not favoured by Heaven. Know ye this. This is good.

XXXIX. A horse was fettered awkwardly. It stands without being able to move. Know ye this.—This is bad.

¹ MS. urupnin, read urup (a)nin, or better urup[(a)n:] (a)nin.

² The MS. has $t(\alpha)\gamma i\gamma$, "the mountain," which makes no sense whatever. I have supposed that it is a clerical error for $(a)ti\gamma$, "a horse." The writer has perhaps first written $t\gamma$, i.e. $(a)t(i)\gamma$, which he afterwards intended to alter to the more distinct $(a)ti\gamma$, but then he forgot to efface the first γ .

59 || XL. t(a)l(i)m : uri : | y(a)r(i?)nča : y(a)s|ičin² : $y(a)l|(i)m : q(a)y(a)\gamma : y|(a)ra :$ uruup(a)n | : y(a)lnusun | : $yoriyur : | tir : (a)nd(a)\gamma : |$ 60 (a)lp : (a)rmiš : | (a)nča : bilin|l(a)r : : | (a)dai : ol : |

XLI. $\ddot{o}r\ddot{u}\dot{n}: s^2r^2i: |ing(\ddot{a})k:$ 61 $boz|a\gamma ul(a)\ddot{c}\ddot{i}: b||olm\ddot{a}: \ddot{o}lg(\ddot{a})y:$ $m(\ddot{a})n: tim|(i)\ddot{s}: \ddot{o}r\ddot{u}\dot{n}: s^2|r^2i:$ $irk(\ddot{a})k: |boza\gamma u: k(\ddot{a})l|\ddot{u}rmi\ddot{s}:$ $\ddot{i}d|\underline{u}qluq: y(a)ra|\gamma(a)y: \ddot{u}l\ddot{u}gd|\ddot{a}:$

62 ozmīš : || tir : (a)nča : bil|in : (ä)dgü : ol : |

XLII. $uzuntonlu|\gamma:idišin:|$ (a) $y(a)q\ddot{u}n:qod|up(a)n:b(a)r-$

63 $m\ddot{i}\dot{s}$ | : y(a)na : $(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}t||\dot{i}$: $s(a)q\ddot{i}nm\ddot{i}\dot{s}$: | $id\dot{i}\dot{s}(i)mt\ddot{a}$: | $(a)y(a)q(\ddot{i})mta$: $\ddot{o}\dot{n}|\dot{i}$: $q(a)nn\breve{o}a$: $b(a)r|\ddot{r}r$: $m(\ddot{a})n$: ti|r : y(a)na : $k(\ddot{a})l|mi\ddot{s}$: idisi|n : $(a)y(a)q\ddot{i}n$:

64 $(\ddot{a})s(\ddot{a})n|$: $t\ddot{u}\ddot{u}k(\ddot{a})l$: $bul||m\ddot{i}\ddot{s}|$: $\ddot{o}\ddot{g}\ddot{v}r|(\ddot{a})r$: $s(\ddot{a})bin\ddot{u}r|$: tir : $(a)n\check{c}a$: $|bilinl(\ddot{a})r|$: $|(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}|$: ol : |

XLIII. $to\gamma(a)n : iig|iiz : quši :$ 65 || qušl(a)yu : b(a)rmiš : utr|u : t(a)l(i)m : q(a)r|a : quš : qo|pu- p(a)n : b(a)rm|iš : tir : (a)nča | : bil(i)nl(ä)r : | y(a)bl(a)q : ol :

66 || XLIV. $to\gamma(a)n: qu\check{s}: |$ $t(\ddot{a})nrid(i?)n: q|odi: t(a)b(\ddot{v}) \check{s}\gamma|(a)n: tip(\ddot{a})n: q|(a)pm\ddot{s}:$ $to\gamma|(a)n: qu\check{s}: t\ddot{v}r|\dot{n}(a)\ddot{q}:$

toy $|(a)n:qu\check{s}:t\ddot{r}|\dot{n}(a)qi:$ 67 suču $l|unm\ddot{s}:y(a)na:||t\ddot{r}t\ddot{r}n-m\ddot{s}:|toy(a)n:qu\check{s}|u\dot{n}:t\ddot{r}n\dot{n}(a)q|\ddot{i}:\ddot{o}gu\check{s}\ddot{u}p|(\dot{a})n:q(a)l\ddot{r}yu(:)|b(a)rm\ddot{s}:t(a)b|(\ddot{s}-\ddot{s}\gamma(a)n:t(\ddot{a})risi|:\ddot{o}n\ddot{u}\ddot{s}(\ddot{u})p(\ddot{a})n:|$

XL. A bold (?) youth — (?) hit a steep rock with his arrow and cleft it. He goes along quite alone and says: "Such a gallant achievement it was." Know ye this.—This is good.

XLI. A white — (?) cow was going to calve. It said: "I shall die." They brought (her) a white — (?) bull-calf. Destiny will be fulfilled. She escaped the (supposed) fate. Know this. This is good.

XLII. A monk departed leaving his cup and his bowl. He again reflected well. He says: "Wherever else am I to go, away from my cup and my bowl?" He returned and found his cup and his bowl safe and sound. He rejoices and is exceeding glad. Know ye this.—This is good.

XLIII. A falcon, the bird of the river (?), went out hawking. A bold (?) black-eagle rose and went towards it. Know ye this. This is bad.

XLIV. A falcon from heaven fell on it, saying: "A hare!" The claws of the falcon slipped (?), and were held in check. The falcon flew up after having had its claws worn (?). The hare ran away after having had its coat torn off (?). "Thus!" it says. Know

68 yügürü : b||(a)rmïš : (a)nd(a)γ : | tir : (a)nča : b|ilinl(ä)r : | y(a)b(ï)z : ol : |

70 XLVI. $t(\ddot{a})b\ddot{a}$: $titi||gk\ddot{a}$: $t\ddot{u}\check{s}m|i\check{s}$: $b(a)s\ddot{i}nu$: $|yimi\check{s}$: $\ddot{o}z|in$: $tilk\ddot{u}(:)$ $|yimi\check{s}$: tir : $|(a)n\check{o}a$: $bil(i)nl|(\ddot{a})r$: $y(a)b-(la)\overline{q}$ (:) |ol :

71 || XLVII. $(\ddot{a})r:\ddot{o}m\ddot{u}l(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}:|$ $b(a)rm\ddot{u}\dot{s}:t(\ddot{a})\dot{n}|rik\ddot{a}:sooq|u\ddot{s}$ $m\ddot{u}\dot{s}:qu|t:qolm\ddot{u}\dot{s}:|qut:$ $birm|\dot{u}\dot{s}:(a)\gamma(\ddot{u})l(\dot{u})nta:|y\ddot{u}|q\ddot{u}\dot{n}:$

72 $bo||lzun : \ddot{o}z\ddot{u}|\dot{n} : uzun : b|olzun : ti|miš : (a)n\check{c}a : b|il(i)nl(\ddot{u})r : |$ (\ddot{a}) $dg\ddot{u} : ol$:

XLVIII. q(a)ra : yol : ||73 $t(\ddot{a})\dot{n}ri : m(\ddot{a})n : | \dot{s}\ddot{n}uq\ddot{n}\ddot{n}ri : ||$ $s(\ddot{a})p(\ddot{a})r : m(\ddot{a})n : | \dot{u}z\dot{u}\dot{u}k\dot{n}\dot{n}n : ||$ $ulayur : | m(\ddot{a})n : ilig : | itmiš :$ $m(\ddot{a})n : | (\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}\dot{s}i : bo|lzun :$ 74 $tir : || (a)n\check{c}a : bil(i)nl|(\ddot{a})r : : ||$

XLIX. 1 b(a)rs : kiyi|k : $(\ddot{a})\ddot{n}l(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}$: $m(\ddot{a})\ddot{n}|l(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}$: $b(a)rm\ddot{i}\ddot{s}$ | : ortu : $yir|d\ddot{a}$: 75 $m(a)\gamma(a)qa$: $|sooqu\check{s}m\ddot{i}\ddot{s}$: $|s^{2}r^{2}i$: $m(a)\gamma a$: $|y(a)l(\ddot{i})m$: q(a)yaq|a : $\ddot{o}n\ddot{u}p$: $b|(a)rm\ddot{i}\ddot{s}$: $\ddot{o}l\ddot{u}|mt\ddot{a}$: $ozm|\ddot{i}\ddot{s}$: $\ddot{o}l\ddot{u}mt\ddot{a}$ (:) |ozup(a)n : $\ddot{o}g|ir\ddot{a}$: $s(\ddot{a})bin|\ddot{u}$: $yor\ddot{i}yur$ (:) |

ye this. This is ill.

XLV. "I am a young deer. Without grass and without water how shall I be able (to manage)? Whither shall I go?" Know ye this. This is ill.

XLVI. A camel fell into a pit (?). Reassuring itself, it ate; but it itself was eaten by a fox. Know ye this. This is bad.

XLVII. A man went creeping along. Then he met God and asked him for blessing. He gave him his blessing and said: "Would that you might get horses in your horse-fold! May your life be long!" Know ye this. This is good.

XLVIII. I am the black Way-God. What is broken off for you, I put on; what is torn for you, I piece together. I have organized the kingdom. Would that it might fare well! Know ye this.

XLIX. A tiger went out to search for game and prey. On its way it met a — (?). The — — (?) ascended a steep rock and was saved from death. After having been saved from death it roams about rejoicing

¹ The writer had here begun to rewrite the first 3-4 lines of paragraph XLVIII. He has, however, carefully scraped it out again and written this paragraph above it; but that which had first been written is still faintly discernible beneath the new script.

76 tir : (a)nča : b|ilin : (ä)dg|ü : ol: :

L. $ti\gamma$: (a)t: qu druuqin: $t|\ddot{u}\ddot{q}\ddot{u}p:tiq|r(\ddot{a})t:y(a)z(\ddot{i}?)\gamma:$ 77 qodi: y(a)dr(a)t: tooquz: $g(a)t : \ddot{u}\check{c}(\ddot{u})rg\ddot{u}|\dot{n} : topu ul|(u)\gamma$ (a)nč a^1 : $t(\ddot{a})$ rit $|z\ddot{u}n$: tir: (a)nča: bilinl(a)r: y(a)b(la)q: $o[[l]^2:$

78 LI. $t(a)l(\ddot{i})m : q(a)ra :$ $qu\ddot{s} : m(\ddot{a})n : | y(a)\ddot{s}(\ddot{i})l :$ $g(a)ya : y(a)yl(a)\gamma(i)m$ $q\ddot{\imath}|z\ddot{\imath}l:q(a)ya:|q\ddot{\imath}sl(a)\gamma(\ddot{\imath})m:|$ 79 ol : $t(a)\gamma da$: || turup(a)n :

 $m|(\ddot{a})\dot{n}il(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}r:m|(\ddot{a})n:(a)n\dot{c}a:$ $bili|nl(\ddot{a})r::$

LII. $(\ddot{a})r$: bosuš $l|u\gamma$: $t(\ddot{a})\dot{n}r\dot{i}$: 80 $bulitl(i)\gamma$: | bolti: ar | a: $k\ddot{u}n$: to miš : bos anno : (a)ra : $m(\ddot{a})\dot{n}i : k(\ddot{a})lmi\dot{s} : | tir :$ (a)nča: b|ilinl(a)r: |(a)dqii: ol:

81 | LIII. boz : bulīt : | yorīdī : bud $|un: \ddot{u}z\ddot{a}: y(a)\gamma d|\ddot{i}: q(a)ra:$ buli t: yoridi : $| q(a)m(i)\gamma |$: $\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}: |y(a)\gamma d\ddot{i}: t(a)r\ddot{i}\gamma: bi\check{s}di:$

82 $||y(a)\tilde{s}:ot:\ddot{o}nd|i:y\ddot{i}lg\ddot{i}ga:||$ kišika : (a)dg | ii : bolti : t | ir : (a)nča : bil|inl(a)r : (a)dga : |ol :

83 | LIV. qul: s(a)bi: b | äqin(ä)rü : ötü nür : quz yun : s(a)bi : $t \mid (\ddot{a})\dot{n}rig(\ddot{a})r\ddot{u} : y(a)l \mid b(a)rur :$ $\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}$: $t(\ddot{a})\dot{n}ri$: $(\ddot{a})\dot{s}idt|i$: 84 (a)sra : $ki\check{s}i$: ||bilti:ti|r :

(a)nča : bil(i)n : (\ddot{a}) dg \ddot{u} : ol ·

2 MS. o o.

and exceeding glad. Know This is good. this.

L. Let a spirited (?) horse run round after having tied its tail (into a knot). Throw a lazy (?) horse upon the ground, strap nine layers of thy rugs (upon it), and thus let it sweat strongly. Know ve this. This is bad.

LI. I am a bold black-eagle. A green rock is my summer abode, a red rock is my winter abode. I enjoy staying on that mountain. Know ye this.

LII. Men were troubled, the sky was cloudy. In the meantime the sun rose. In the midst of sorrow came happiness. Know ye this. This is good.

LIII. A grey cloud passed; it rained over the people. A black cloud passed; it rained over everything. The crop ripened; the fresh grass sprouted. It was good for horse and man. Know ye this. This is good.

LIV. The slave's call prays to his master: the raven's call implores Heaven (or God). Heaven (or God) above has heard it: men below have understood it. Know ye this. This is good.

¹ MS. without separation, topuul|\gammanca:, which must be three words.

LV. (a)lp : (ä)r : oqlī | :
sükä : b(a)rm|ĭš : sü : yiri|ntä :
85 (ä)r(i)klig : || s(a)bčī : tür|tmiš :
tir : | (ä)bin(ä)rü : k(ä)ls|(ä)r :
özi : at|(a)nmïš : ögr(ü)nč|ülüg :
(a)tī : | yitiglig : | k(ä)lir :
86 tir : | (a)nča : bilint||(ä)r :
(a)ñĭq : (ä)dgü : |

LVI. $\ddot{o}grin\ddot{a}: q|utlu\gamma:$ $(a)d\gamma|(\ddot{i})r:m(\ddot{a})n:y(a)\gamma(a)q:|$ $\ddot{i}\gamma(a)\ddot{e}:y(a)yl|(a)\gamma\ddot{i}m:$ $qu\ddot{s}lu\gamma:|\ddot{i}\gamma(a)\ddot{e}:q\ddot{i}\ddot{s}l(a)$ 87 $\gamma(\ddot{i})m:||(a)nda:turuup|(a)n:$ $m(\ddot{a})\ddot{n}il(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}r:|m(\ddot{a})n:tir:|$ $(a)n\ddot{e}a:bilinl|(\ddot{a})r:(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:$ ol:|

LVII. $q(a)n\gamma\ddot{\imath}$: $\ddot{o}lm|(i)\ddot{s}$: 88 $\ddot{k}\ddot{o}n\ddot{a}k\dot{i}$: \parallel $tonm\ddot{\imath}\ddot{s}$: $q|(a)n\gamma\ddot{\imath}$: $n(\ddot{a})l\ddot{u}\dot{k}$: $|\ddot{o}lg(\ddot{a})y:ol:b|(\ddot{a})glig:ol:|$ $\ddot{k}\ddot{o}n\ddot{a}k\dot{i}$: $|n(\ddot{a})l\ddot{u}\dot{k}|$: $ton\gamma(a)y$: $ol:k\ddot{u}n(\ddot{a})\ddot{s}|k\ddot{a}$: olurur (:) $|ol:(a)n\breve{c}a:bili||$ -89 $\dot{n}l(\ddot{a})r$: : |

bu : irq : b(a)ši|nta : az : (ä)mg(ä)ki : | b(a)r : kin : y(a)-na : | (ä)dgü : bolur : |

LVIII. $o\gamma l\ddot{\imath}: \ddot{o}gin|t\ddot{a}: q(a)\dot{n}$ 90 $\ddot{\imath}nta: || \ddot{o}bk(\ddot{a})l\ddot{a}p(\ddot{a})n: || t(\ddot{a})z$ - $(i)p(\ddot{a})n: b(a)rm|\ddot{\imath}\ddot{s}: y(a)na:$ $s(a)q\ddot{\imath}|nm\ddot{\imath}\ddot{s}:k(\ddot{a})lm(i)\ddot{s}(:)|\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}m:$ $\ddot{o}(g\ddot{u}?)ti|n^{1}:(a)l(a)y\ddot{m}:q(a)\dot{n}|$ $(\ddot{\imath})m: s(a)b\ddot{\imath}n:t\ddot{\imath}|nl(a)y\ddot{\imath}n:$ 91 $tip: || k(\ddot{a})lm\dot{\imath}\ddot{s}:tir: || (a)n\ddot{c}a:$ $bilinl|(\ddot{a})r: (\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}:ol:$

LIX. $y\ddot{i}lqa$: $t(\ddot{a})gm|i\check{s}ig$: $y\ddot{i}d\ddot{i}t|m(a)y\ddot{i}n$: (a)yqa : $|t(\ddot{a})g$

LV. A brave man's son went to the army (in the field). When he was at the seat of war a messenger prodded him, saying: "When (a man) comes home he himself becomes famous, and his horse comes rejoicing—(?)." Know ye this. This is evil and good.

LVI. I am a stallion happy in his stud. My summer residence is (under) leafy trees, my winter residence is (under) trees where birds crowd. I enjoy to stay there. Know ye this. This is good.

LVII. A prince (?) is dead; his pail (?) is frozen. Why shall the prince (?) die? He is of noble family. Why shall his pail (?) freeze? It is placed in the sun. Know ye this.

The beginning of this *irq* presents a little difficulty(?), but afterwards it becomes good again.

LVIII. A son fled in anger from his mother and father. He thought better of it and came (back). He came, saying: "I will take my mother's advice; I will hearken to my father's words." Know ye this.—This is good.

LIX. He who has reached a year I will not allow to

¹ MS. ötin, which I suppose to be a clerical error for ögütin.

mišig : (a)r|tatm(a)yïn :
92 (ä)dgüsi : bolz|un : tir : (a)<u>nč</u>a : |
bilinl(ä)r : | (ä)dgü : ol :

LX. tooquz : (a)r(a)li : |93 siqun : kiy | ik : m(ä)n : b(ä)d | |iz : tiz : ii|za : öniip(ä)n : | miinrayiir : | m(ä)n : iiza : t|(ä)nri : (ä)sidti : | (a)sra : kiši : | bilti : (a)nd(a)q : | kiöliig : |94 m(ä)n : tir : || (a)nča : bilinl(ä)r : (ä)dai : ol :

LXI. $tur(u?)\tilde{n}(a)ya:qu|\tilde{s}:t\tilde{u}\tilde{s}n\tilde{a}ki|\tilde{n}\tilde{a}:qonm\tilde{s}:|tuymat\tilde{n}:||$ 95 $tozqa:il|inmi\tilde{s}:u\tilde{c}a(:)|umat\tilde{n}:ol|urur:tir:|(a)n\tilde{c}a:bilin|l(\tilde{a})r:y(a)b(la)q:|ol::|$

96 LXII. $y(a)r\gamma un : ki||yik : m(\ddot{a})n : | y(a)yl(\ddot{i})\gamma : t(a)\gamma|(\ddot{i})-ma : (a)\gamma(\ddot{i})p(a)n : y|(a)yl(a)y-ur : tur|ur : m(\ddot{a})n : m|(\ddot{a})nilig : m(\ddot{a})n | : tir : (a)n\ddot{c}a : b|ilinl(\ddot{a})r : : | (\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u} : ol :$

9750|| LXIII. q(a)nl(i)q : süsi : |
(a)bqa : önmi|š : s(a)qïr : ič|rä :
(ä)lik : ki|yik : kirmi|š : q(a)n :
(ä)l(i)gin : | tutmïš : q(a)r|a :

98 $q(a)m(i)\gamma$: $s\ddot{u}si$ (:) \parallel $\ddot{o}gir(\ddot{a})r$: ti|r : $(a)\underline{n}\check{o}a$: $bil|inl(\ddot{a})r$: \vdots $(\ddot{a})dg\ddot{u}$: $\ddot{o}l$:

LXIV. $k\ddot{o}k$: buym|ul: $to\gamma$ 99 (a)n: $|qu\check{s}:m(\ddot{a})n$: $|k\ddot{o}r\ddot{u}k$ - $l\ddot{u}g$: |q(a)yaqa:qo|nuup(a)n: $k\ddot{o}z|l(\ddot{a})y\ddot{u}r:m(\ddot{a})n$: $|y(a)\gamma(a)$ - $ql\ddot{u}\gamma$: $to|\gamma raq$: $\ddot{u}z\ddot{a}$: $t\ddot{u}\check{s}\ddot{u}p(\ddot{a})n$:

decay (literally "stink"); he who has reached a month I will not allow to be ruined. Would that they might fare well! Know ye this. This is good.

LX. I am a maral-deer (which lives) in nine thickets(?). Lifting myself on my slender knees I bellow. Heaven above has heard it, men below have understood it. So strong am I. Know ye this. This is good.

LXI. A crane settled among its comrades. Without perceiving it, it stuck fast in the dust, and it stands without being able to fly. Know ye this. This is bad.

LXII. I am a yargun (?)-deer. After having ascended my summer mountain, I remain there and spend the summer. I am joyful. Know ye this.—This is good.

LXIII. The army of the Khanate went forth to hunt. A wild goat (or an antelope) came within the enclosure (?). The Khan caught it with his hand. All his common soldiers rejoice. Know ye this.—This is good.

LXIV. I am a blue untrainable falcon. Settling down upon a sightly rock (with an extensive view), I spy. Seating myself on a leafy

 $y \mid (a)yl(a)yur : m(\ddot{a})n : | tir :$ 100 (a) $n\check{c}a : bi||linl(\ddot{a})r : (a)\tilde{n}i|\gamma :$ (ä)daü : ol :

LXV. $s(a)miz:(a)t:(a)\gamma |zi:$ $g(a)t(i)\gamma$: b|olti : idi|si : um(a)z : ti|r : (a)nča : bili||-101 $il(a)r : y(a)bl(a)q : \overline{\mid} ol : \overline{\mid}$

poplar I spend the summer. Know ye this. This is evil and good.

LXV. The mouth of a fat horse has become hard. Its master cannot (remedy it?). Know ve this. This is bad.

(a)mti:(a)mr(a)a:|orl(a)n $im : (a)n\check{c}a : |bilinl(a)r : |$ bu: "irg: bi tig: (a)dgu: ol: 102 (a) $n\check{c}(i)p$: (a) $lau : k(a)n||t\ddot{u} :$ ülüqi: \(\alpha\)rkliq: ol:

Now, my dear sons, know ye this. This fortune-book is good. In this way every one becomes master of his own fate.

COLOPHON

103 ||b(a)rs:yil:(a)ki|nti:(a)y: $bi\check{s}: y|ig(i)rmik\ddot{a}: t(a)y|$ giint(a)n : m(a)nis | t(a)nt(a)qi : $ki\check{c}(i)g: |di(n?)t(a)r: burua: |$ $\gamma uru(: \ddot{a}) \check{s}(i) d\check{s} i \check{c}(i) m(i) z : i sig :$ 104 s(a)nun : $||it \ddot{a}$ -čuq : \ddot{u} č \ddot{u} |n : bitid(i)m:

JRAS. 1912.

COLOPHON

In the year of the Tiger, the second month, on the 15th, I wrote this for our small hearers (?) of the di[n]tars and the burwa-gurus (?), Isig Sangun and Itä-chuq, staying at the residence (or the college?) of Taigüntan.

Notes to II

Tän-si, as Professor F. W. K. Müller has kindly pointed out to me, is the Chinese tien-tzu 天子, "the Son of Heaven, the Chinese Emperor." There are also other instances of Uiguric si expressing Chinese tzŭ (tzï).

II. I do not know to which religion the "Way-God" (yol tünri) belongs, cf. XLVIII. — sür I can read and understand only as äsür, from äs-, "to amble" (Houtsma, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, p. 48. Osm. اشمک). — qut, "happiness, good fortune," here "blessing"; cf. XLVII.

III. talim (here, in XLIII, and LI attributive to gara qué, "(black-) eagle" [Aquila chrysaëtus, R. B. Shaw, A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan, ii, Vocabulary, p. 213], in XL to uri, "a boy, a youth"), it appears to me, according to the context, must be translated "bold". Should be kept distinct from tälim, "many," which in Uiguric script has hitherto been erroneously read in the connexion talim qura qui (e.g. Radloff, Tišastvustik, St. Petersb., 1910, 47a, pp. 30 and 44; the same, Kuan-ši-im Pusar, ibid., 1911, l. 142, pp. 12 and 25). Regarding this expression (in Buddhistic sources = Garuḍa) cf. F.W. K. Müller, Uigurica, ii, 1911 (Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. vom Jahre 1910), p. 81. I should prefer, however, not to refer talim to the verbal root tala-, "to sting, to plunder," but to the root tal-, Osm. dal-, المالية في المالية , "to dive, to intrude one's self, to rush in." Even if Garuḍa could possibly be conceivable here, it could not possibly be in XLIII and LI.

IV. s²r²i (i.e. säri? but it might also be read äsri or äšri? cf. XLI and XLIX), a word unknown to me (surely not = the doubtful Coman

seriv, "tame," Codex Cumanicus, ed. G. Kuun, p. 225).

V. I do not know the signification of bull or boll in bullly. Is it a hump or a pad or another characteristic part of the camel's body, as $tuyu\gamma$, "hoof" (= Karagassic id., Uriankhai $tuy\bar{u}$, otherwise tuinaq, etc.), in the parallel lines about the horses? Or is bullly with double l only a clerical error for $boll(u)\gamma$, from $boll(u)\gamma$, bolly, stature," consequently altun $boll(u)\gamma$, "with a golden body, stature" ("golden-bodied")? The other new words which occur in this paragraph are easily understood, as urilan, "to bring forth a boy" (uri), etc.

VI. adïγ-ïn, tonuz-un like qu's-un, XLIV; notice the old genitive forms in -ïn, -un, which, after consonantal stems, have not yet been supplanted

by the later analogically formed ending -nin.

VIII. $quru\gamma saq$ (evidently the same word as occurs in $Qutad\gamma u$ Bilig, 23, 6, erroneously explained by Radloff, $Das\ Kudatku\ Bilik$, ii, St. Petersb., 1910, p. 40) = qursaq, "stomach, belly," of the modern dialects.

I cannot understand $in^2t^2in^2$ otherwise than as the pronominal affix of the third person + the ablative ending $-tin\ (-din)$ forming one word together with the preceding yol, though separated from it by the sign \cdot (cf. e.g. $tilk\ddot{u}:m\ddot{u}zk\ddot{u}n$ III, yaru:mazqan XXI) and written with n^2 , t^2 instead of n^1 , t^1 . For the rest, the grammatical construction and the meaning of these lines are not clear to me.

IX. By bök I have thought of Teleut., etc., pök, "a locked-up place,

lock, captivity, stopple" (Verbitzki, Slovar', p. 267).

X. I am doubtful how $s^2n^2g^2n^2$ should be read and understood: $s\ddot{a}ng\ddot{a}n$, from $s\ddot{a}n$, "become weak (?), abate, subside" (Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 296; Radloff, Wörterbuch, iv, p. 453)? or $\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}n$, "seratching"? or $\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}n$, "yawning"? or something else ("ravenous"?).

XI. yazaγ or yaziγ (cf. L) must signify some quality in a horse not quite good, probably "lazy, sluggish"; cf. Altai, Teleut. yaziq, id., (about horses) "that soon gets tired, that easily sweats", Verbitzki, pp. 66 and 368; Radloff, Wörterbuch, iii, p. 254?

XV. äsän tükül (also XXVII, XLII), fixed hendiadys, as "hale and hearty", "sain et sauf", etc.; cf. Radloff, Kuan-ši-im Pusar,

p. 32, n. 18.

XVI. yilinä qudursuyinnina is not clear to me. Is yilinä from yil (yel), "wind, air," and "till its air" = till it could not draw its breath? Or is yil = usually yal, "mane," with front vowel, as e.g. Karagass. čel (Castrén), Sagai čelin, Yakut. siäl? The latter would perhaps make the better sense. And is qudursuyinnina one or two words? is there

not some clerical error in it? and what does it signify? Is it related to oudruq, "tail" (compare Uriankhai qudurya, "the hindmost strap," Radloff, Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkstämme, ix, p. 185, No. 1314)? and can the whole signify "both as far as its mane and the root of its tail"=from head to tail? (The Osm., etc., qudur-, "become furious," cannot be thought of, as the latter would here have to be termed quturwith t, and likewise qutur- "to release".)

yaγri (pan), a hitherto unknown verb, cf. Osm. yaγir, Chagatai yaγir,

"galled (by the saddle, etc.), a gall."

XVIII. Regarding the wooden trellis (Chagatai, Teleut. kärägä) which often forms the lower vertical wall of the tents of the nomadic Turks, see e.g. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, i, 1884, pp. 268 seqq. and p. 457.

Of the other names of the parts of the tent here occurring tügünük is = Teleut. tünük, Karagass. tünnük, Taranchi tünük, etc., "the vent for smoke."—köz(ü?)nük recalls most nearly köznük, közünük, közünük, közünük, közünük, window" of the Abakan dialects; but were there windows in the tents? If there were not, one could, perhaps, think of közünü, közönö, "bed-curtain," of the same dialects?—ügin, "shoulder," here no doubt signifies the arching upper part of the tent covered with felt.—bayiš = Eastern Turki, Chagatai bayiš, the cordage which holds the tent together.

XIX. The MS. has $qr^1s^1 \parallel s^1in^1$, which no doubt should be read $qar \check{s} i\check{s} i\check{n}$, from $qar \check{s} i$, "opposite." I have, for lack of anything better, translated it by "antagonist", cf. e.g. $Qut.\ Bil.\ 122$, 10. 16. (Or is it perhaps a clerical error, with s written twice (cf. $bolm \parallel m\ddot{i}\check{s}$, XXVII, pp. 40 and 41), for $q(a)r(i)\check{s}\check{n}$, "his senior"?)

αγαη (or αγίη?) is a new word. As it forms a hendiadys with ötüg, "prayer," I have translated it "penance". Does perhaps the verb αγαη- (Müller, *Uigurica*, ii, p. 87, ll. 62 and 65) mean, not "hinabstürzen", "versinken", but "do penance" ("in the fire of hell")?

XX. The signification of titir (tetir) is unknown. But it is evidently the same word which we find twice in Quadqu Bilig. First, 86, 26: tätir (MS. of Cairo 👼, MS. of Vienna täbir) buyrasi-täg, kör, öč sürsä käg, "Seine Rache verfolge er, wie der Kameelhengst," Radloff, Das Kudatku Bilik, ii, p. 206, where, without reason, he corrects the first word to "täbä (?)", "da mir ein Thiername täbir oder tätir unbekannt ist." Then, 152, 19: terildi tümün ming tolu köp tetir (MS. of Vienna tütir, MS. of Cairo تيتير). Here the form is fixed, because the word rhymes with qatir, "hinny." Radloff, loc. cit., p. 451, where he translates the verse thus: "Es sind gesammelt unzählige treffliche Heerden," calls tätir "ein unbekanntes Wort, was dem Zusammenhange nach 'Pferdeheerde' bedeutet"; this cannot, however, be right, as horses are actually mentioned in the following line. It must be some other domestic animal that is meant, parallel to horses and hinnies. Lastly, we meet the same word in Houtsma, Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar, p. 66: ", tätir? arabische Kameelstuten " (النياق العربيّة). Arabian one-humped female camels were used and are still particularly used in Central Asia for pairing with the two-humped male camels which are native to the latter place (Houtsma, loc. cit., p. 62, under i.; A. G. Leonard, The Camel,

its Uses and Management, London, 1894, p. 95: "When the breed is produced from male Bactrians and female Arabians it is said to be extremely hardy and tough, and able to stand extreme cold and exposure. On the contrary, when the parentage is reversed (male Arabian and female Bactrian) the progeny is useless, being vicious and refractory"). Now, as titir, titir (i.e. tetir) in our text is used directly about the male camel, buyra (in Qut. Bil. 86, 26, on the other hand, titir buyrasi more probably is "the (Bactrian) he-camel of the shedromedary"), we may be justified in concluding that the word not only has signified an Arabian female camel, but possibly may also have signified a hybrid between a male Bactrian and a female Arabian camel, and this is the signification, then, which I should here suppose to be correct.

 $udi\gamma m(a)\gamma$, only instance of the participle in $-\gamma ma$ in this MS., and upon the whole, one of the very rare instances of an inflected form (accusative in $-\gamma$) of this participle.— $yati\gamma li\gamma$, probably not $yati\gamma + li\gamma$, but rather accusative $(-\gamma)$ of the participle $yat-i\gamma li\gamma$, "lying, resting," in spite of $\ddot{a}rikli$ (LV; also in the Orkhon inscriptions) with k.

XXI. öpgük I identify with Chagatai öbük; according to Sheikh Suleiman's dictionary "birds with a crown upon their head; a hoopoe".

XXII. uzuntonluy, "a long-coat," i.e. one who bears a long coat; as it appears, a particularly, though not exclusively Manichean expression; cf. Radloff, Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer, 1907, p. 31, n. 40; and Le Coq, JRAS, April, 1911, p. 302, n. 26. As the fact is specially emphasized that they are provided with a food-bowl, a drinking-vessel (see XLII), and, here, a bell, they thereby appear to be characterized as mendicant friars or ecclesiastics, not Manicheans in general. In the translation I use the term "monk".—kūzūnū = Teleut., Uriankhai kūzūnū, kūzūnū, "a little bell," Verbitzki, p. 485; Radloff, Proben der Volkslūt., ix, p. 191 = Übersetzung, ix (in Russian), p. 163, 7. Different from közūnū, "a mirror."

XXIII. I am very uncertain how the first lines of this paragraph are to be understood, and the translation I have tried to give is only a conjectural one. What $\dot{c}uk:tin$ is, I do not know at all. $\dot{c}uk$ is in addition a wholly non-Turkish form, as u and k cannot be used conjointly in the same word. Is it perhaps the rendering of a Chinese expression unknown to me? Moreover, the form of the character u, which is otherwise usually symmetrical, is here somewhat abnormal, the upper oblique stroke being somewhat shorter than the lower one; therefore, perhaps, it might also be imagined that it ought in reality to be a k, the lower cross-stroke of which has been omitted (cf. XVII), consequently e.g. $\dot{c}(\ddot{u})k(\ddot{u})k$. This is, however, equally unintelligible to me.

XXIV. täglük, cf. F. W. K. Müller, Uigurica, ii, p. 29, "toya täglüy, der Krankheit unterworfen," or better, "afflicted with sickness."

XXV. buq(a)rsi appears to signify the same as the differently formed Chag., Osm. buqayu, "fetter, chain for animals and criminals," Chagatai also buxar.

XXVII. ämsi- or ämši- must according to the context signify "be toothless, unable to bite"; but the real signification of the word is

perhaps "to suck" = \(\vec{a}m\), Osm. also \(\vec{a}mz\)\(\vec{a}\). (Scarcely = Teleut. \(\vec{a}m\)\(\vec{s}\). "herabh\(\vec{a}\)ngen", Radloff, \(W\)\(\vec{o}rterbuch\), i, p. 968.)

XXVIII. uyur (or oyur), parallel to üdyü, is probably the same word as often occurs in the inscriptions of Yenisei (Radloff, Die alttürk. Inschriften der Mongolei, p. 356, "oyar"), and appears to signify "clever, able", or some such word. I suppose it is simply the present (aorist) participle of u-, "to be able."

XXIX. Here we appear to have the short verbal stem oy- in signification of oyna-, "to play," which occurs everywhere else, and oyuγ instead of oyun, "play" (Osm. oyun al-, "win in play"); oyma may then signify "a gambler". Regarding yutuz, cf. Thomsen, Ein Blatt in türk. Runenschrift, p. 296, note.

XXXI. $\ddot{a}\dot{n}$ must be the same as is elsewhere called $a\dot{n}$, "game, an animal that is hunted." That here the word has \ddot{a} , not a—which must be influenced by $m\ddot{a}\dot{n}$, "prey, food," with which it is always associated—is distinctly proved by the phonetic character of all the affixes.

XXXII. tabilqu = Taranchi tabilγu, Kirghiz tabilγa, the tabilγi, etc., of the Altai dialects, Spiraea altaica.

XXXIII. There had been written kidizig, but a thick vertical stroke is put through d either to alter it to i or to efface it. Regarding the manufacture of felt (kidiz, kiyiz, kiz, kiyiz, in the different languages), cf. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, i, pp. 413 seqq.; Proben der Volkslit., ix, p. 235, No. 328 = $\ddot{U}bersetz$., ix (in Russian), p. 204. After the wool is beaten with sticks and pulled fine it is spread out upon a mat and wetted; the whole is rolled up upon a stick and tied round tightly with rope, then it is rolled backwards and forwards for a long time. After the ropes have been removed it is beaten for hours with the palm of the hand, and finally it is hung up to dry.

XXXVI. učruyluy, cf. učruy, "Spitze (?)," Müller, Uigurica, ii,

p. 40, 107, "Gipfel," ibid., p. 57 (5).

XXXIX. tärtrü occurs also in Le Coq, Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift, JRAS., April, 1911, p. 289, l. 136, corresponding to tätrü in the parallel passage in the text published by Radloff, Chuastuanit, das Bussyebet der Manichäer, 1909, p. 6, l. 60; p. 32, n. 48. The signification there appears to be "wrongly, erroneously" (cf. Radloff, Wörterbuch, iii, p. 1093: tätrü, "verkehrt"). Thus also here, I have translated it "awkwardly".

XL. yasičin is instrumental case of yasič = Osm. yasič, "Pfeil (mit Spitze)," Zenker, loc. cit., p. 951.—yalius, "alone," same form as in the inscriptions of Yenisei; otherwise with z: Eastern Turki yalγuz; Osm. yaliniz, etc.

XLII. Regarding uzuntonluγ, see note to XXII.

XLIV. tirinaq, 'eclaw, nail," the old form of this word (also Qut. Bil. 118, 16), wherefrom later tinraq (Müller, Uigurica, ii, pp. 35, 22; Yakut. tinirax), tirnaq, etc.

 $t\ddot{u}tin$ - appears to stand for $t\ddot{u}din$ -, "restrain oneself" (Abakan $t\ddot{u}din$ -, $t\ddot{u}zin$ -, Verbitzki, pp. 395 and 389), reflexive form of $t\ddot{u}d$ - (with radical d, not t), "restrain, withhold, hinder."

Several other words in this paragraph are not clear to me, and I have

translated them only according to the context: sučulun- (Abakan sus-, "to untie, unharness, etc.," Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 311?); ügüš- or ögüš-; önüš- (cf. ön-, "turn pale, wither").

XLVII. ömülü. Cf. Taranchi ömülü-, Koibal. ömültü-, etc., "creep."

L. Regarding yazaγ or yazüγ, see note to XI.—yadrat = Altai yayrat-, "to overthrow, throw down," from Uigur. yad-, "spread."—üčürgü (as still in the Abakan dialects) is a rug put under the saddle; Verbitzki, loc. cit., p. 417 (üčürgü), Katanov in Radloff, Proben d. Volkslit., ix, pp. 376 and 387, No. 339 (üčürgü).—A verb top- seems unknown elsewhere, but must be the same as the well-known topla-, "to compress."—tärit- "to sweat" = Karagass. tärüt-, Yakut. tirit-, while otherwise the form tärlä- is used.

LVII. $qan\gamma\ddot{i}$, I suppose, must be some unknown derivate of qan, "a khan," perhaps "a prince"? (not, of course, = Osm. $qan\gamma\ddot{i}$, $han\gamma\ddot{i}$, "which of them?")

könäk (l. 2), könäk (l. 4), can apparently only be the word könäk or könök, "a pail," which occurs in several dialects. If it is asked what a pail has to do here, I can only refer the reader to the account of—probably old—burial ceremonies of the Abakan-Turks (the Beltirs) recorded by N. F. Katanov, O pogrebalnikh obriadakh u tiurkskikh plemën centralnoi i vostočnoi Azii, Kasan, 1894, p. 11; also in Radloff, Proben der Volkslit., ix, p. 376 = Übersetzung (in Russian), ix, p. 356. Before the door of the house of the deceased is placed a pail (könük) of water, from which all wash after the burial. It may or may not be a similar custom which is thought of here.

Regarding irq, see above, p. 193.

LXI. turañaya or turuñaya, "crane," interesting form, cf. Karagass. turña, Yakut. turuya, in the majority of the other Turkish languages turna.

LXIV. buymul must be the same word as Chagatai muymul, which, according to Kúnoš, Śeix Suleiman Efendi's Ćagatai-Osmanisches Wörterbuch, Budapest, 1902, p. 146, signifies "a falcon unsusceptible of training".

Colophon (pp. 103, 104). Regarding the year of the tiger, see p. 196.—manistan, Middle Iranic (Sogdic?) loan-word, "abode, residence."—Taygüntan is evidently a Chinese name (T'ai-kiun-t'an?); but the locality itself is unknown to all the authorities whom I have consulted. It may have been a monastery or a temple to which a college or scholastic establishment may have been attached.—Regarding the Manichean term dintar (ditar appears to be a clerical error only), see v. Le Coq., JRAS. 1911, p. 303, n. 33.—burua: yuru are non-Turkish words; they look as if they could be Sanskrit pūrvaguru, "a former guru."—In s²d²s²ičmz, as it apparently should be read, there appears to be a clerical error; (ä)\$(i)d(i)\$\dilphi i (+ m(i)z)\$ could probably be thought, "they who hear (attend lectures) together," but in that case i stands wrongly between s² and \dilphi.

MS. III

This number, which was also found near Tun-huang, consists of three or four loose fragments. The condition in which they appear implies that the original sheets to which they belonged have been intentionally torn to pieces and crumpled up.

The largest fragment, a, is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 12 to 14 inches long, and consists of eleven entirely preserved lines of writing and larger or smaller portions of three others. Each line consists on an average of twenty characters. The other fragments are but small. b is a somewhat rectangular fragment of the right side of a sheet, and contains the beginning of five lines; of the fifth, however, only the upper part of the characters remains. The width of the fragment is about 6 inches and has barely reached the middle of the original sheet. The fragments c and d, of which the latter is quite small, fit together, so that they in reality constitute one fragment only, of a width similar to that of b, but somewhat more irregular in form. The fragments b, c, d are so rudimentary that it is impossible to translate them. contents, which in all three fragments appear to be of a philosophical or religious nature, as well as the homogeneous script and paper, show that they have all belonged to one treatise, but no direct connexion exists between them.

The script is exceedingly beautiful and distinct. As regards characteristic forms of letters it may be pointed out that both t^1 and b^2 are entirely closed below; b^2 , for instance, has about the form of an 8 with a small projection above.

Scattered among the lines Chinese characters of later origin occur.

Lastly, I want to add that I have had no opportunity of seeing the originals, but have had only photographs at

my disposal; these are, however, so excellent that they fully compensate for the originals.

a
1. zinin : ölmäz []
2. : $tanuuqlu\gamma : s(a)b : tam\gamma ali\gamma :$
3. bitig : : išidmištä : körü :
4. körmiš : yig : : min : kiši : yü
5. zin : bil(i)ginčä : bir : kiši : at
6. \ddot{i} : $bil(i)g \ \overline{o}$: $azmazun$: tip :
7. $yirči: y(a)rati: y(a)nil^2mazun: t$
8. $ip:bilg(\ddot{a})g:urt\ddot{i}::azmaz:y$
9. $i[r]\check{c}i:y(a)\check{n}\ddot{c}l^2m(a)z:bilg\ddot{a}:u\ddot{r}^2m$
10. maz [sie] : $\ddot{o}t\ddot{u}g\ddot{c}i$: $y(a)\ddot{n}\ddot{u}l^2maz$: $bitk\ddot{a}$
11. \check{ci} : $bilg\ddot{a}lig$: $y(a)n\ddot{i}l^2maz$: yi
12. $r\check{e}ilig: azmaz: : y(a)n\ddot{i}l^2mas(a)r:$
13. $bilg\ddot{a}:bol[\gamma ay:?]$ $azmas^2(a)r:yi$
14. $[r\acute{e}i:bol\gamma ay:?:y(a)ni]l^2ma$ []
7.
<i>b</i>
$\begin{bmatrix} \dots & \dots & \dots & y_i \end{bmatrix}$
1. rči : bolmaz [b]
2. itkäči : yooq : a[]
3. $yoog: : t\overline{u}t\overline{u}n\underline{c}s[]$
4. $n^2i:k\ddot{o}ni:\ddot{o}km[\ldots\ldots]$
5 $m:(a)r^1t^1a(\text{ or }i?):yo[\underline{oq} \ldots]$
a large and a
c, d
I. [] $n^1l^1n^1$: tut
2. $[\ldots \ldots] g\ddot{u} : tutm(a)z : :$
3. [] $\ddot{i}r^1$: $sub\ddot{n}\ddot{i}r^1\ddot{i}$: b^1
4. $[\ldots \ldots]gl(\ddot{a})r:(a)r\gamma a:bolu$
5. $[\ldots \ldots]$ lï $\gamma u : (\ddot{a})rs(\ddot{a})r : (a)ld^1\ddot{i}(\text{or }a)$

does not die — — (as regards) an attested word or a sealed writing, then seeing (with one's own eyes) is better than hearing. One man's name (i.e. one individual) with the faces of a thousand men on the strength of his wisdom—that is wisdom. In order that one shall not lose one's way he (?) has appointed a guide; in order that one shall not err he (?) has ordained the wise man (or the wise)—a guide who does not lose his way, a wise man who does not err, an intercessor who does not forget, a tutor (?) who does not err. He who has a wise man (by his side) does not err. He who has a guide does not lose his way. If he does not err, he (himself) [will] become wise; if he does not lose his way, [he himself will become a] guide [— ——]

Notes to III

a, Il. 3 and 4. körü kör-, "to see seeingly" = "to see with one's own eyes". Cf. baqa kör- (e.g. Qut. Bil. 125, 1), "to see regardingly" = "to look narrowly".

a, l. 6. bilgo must according to common orthography be read bilg(i)g o, but may perhaps be bilg(i)g o, "that is the wise man." o, late form for ol.

a, l. 8. bilgy must on account of its parallelism to only designations of persons be read $bilg(\ddot{u})y$.

a, l. 10. ötügéi, from ötüg, "a prayer, a request, a petition,"—as is obviously proved by this passage—does not signify "one who prays" (Radloff, Wörterl., i, p. 1280, "ödükéi"), but "an intercessor", one who receives addresses or petitions in order to submit and recommend them to the sovereign or an authority. This signification agrees also better with Qut. Bil. 108, 3, ötügéi kärükmüz, "no intercessor is required" (Radloff, who himself in the note remarks that if signifying "der Bittsteller" another form might be expected, translates: "Ich brauche nicht erst zu bitten [!?], wenn ich Sorgen habe; ehe meine Zunge sich bewegt, hört er mein Wort").

a, ll. 10 and 11. bitküċi (also IV, l. 10, bitgüċi), an unknown word (different from bitigċi, "a clerk, secretary"). According to the context it appears to signify something like "a tutor", or as in IV, l. 10, "a steward, commissary," and this agrees well with the use of the same word (bitgüċi, bitigüċi) in two places in the hitherto unpublished Berlin Turfan MSS., which Dr. v. Le Coq has kindly communicated to me.

cd, 1. 3. sub(a?)nüri or sub⁰ is a non-Turkish word; perhaps Indian (cf. e.g. Sanskrit Cubhankara?)?

MS. IV

CH. 00183. (PLATE IIIB.)

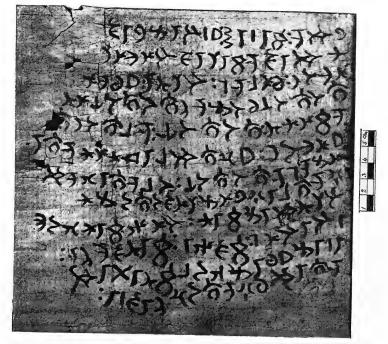
Finally, from Tun-huang comes another curious document which I shall now mention. It is a sheet that, as far as I can judge from the photograph (I have not seen the original), appears to have been carefully folded. With the exception of a few damaged places, mainly where there appears to have been such an old fold, it is on the whole well preserved.

What immediately strikes us as being peculiar with this document, is the script. We have here not only an instance of a plain and ordinary handwriting, but this also gives a decided impression of having originated from an unpractised hand. The script, besides presenting peculiar forms of certain characters, for instance a, when compared with the elegant script of the two preceding numbers, is exceedingly clumsy right through, and looks as if "written with a match", as we say in Danish. Moreover, the characters are rather unlike, both as regards their form and their size; great inconsistency is shown in the use of the sign for separating words,:, and the lines, especially in the lower half of the sheet, run very irregularly.

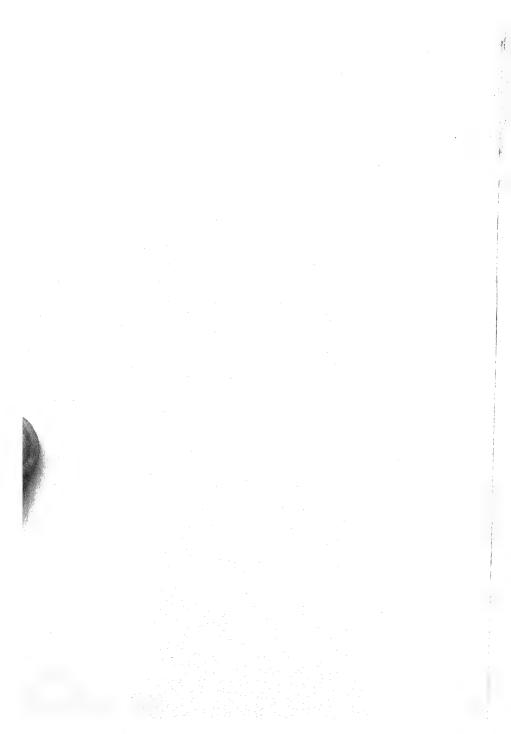
But the contents also are peculiar. The author, probably an officer or another military person, bearing the rather high-sounding name Baghatur Chigshi, pronounces in angry terms his discontent with the board afforded for him and for a number of other persons, his superiors and fellows, on their arrival at a place which has not been indicated more closely. Here we must have before us, either some private notes or a private letter, and all probability favours the belief that it is the latter. The opening word "Then" $(y(\ddot{a})m\ddot{a})$ might imply that the MS, though it appears in its present form as a complete whole, yet is but the end of a note, the beginning of which is wanting.



(a) II. Book from Tun-huang. Ch.0033 pp. 101-102. scale 3/5



(b) IV. MS. from Tun-huang. Ch.00183. scale $\frac{3}{7}$



With regard to the age of the MS nothing definite can be stated, but it appears, if anything, to date from the later part of that period when the runic script was in use, probably the ninth century.

The text runs as follows:—

- 1. y(ä)mä: bišinc: (a)y s(ä)kiz yig
- 2. (i)rmigä bilig könül
- 3. s(a)nun:b(a)stap:k(a)tii:y(a)bas
- 4. tutunq buzač tutunq ör
- 5. ä bört : tutung : altun t
- 6. (a)y s(a)nun : y(a)rt(i)mliiq (ä)rür : ati
- 7. öz apa tutuuq : ulati qam
- 8. (i) y atliy yüzlüg otuz (ä)r
- 9. k(ä)lt(i)miz bir : kün bir qoñ
- 10. iki küp : b(ä)gni : bitgäči :
- 11. isiz y(a)biz qul b(i)tidim
- 12. atim b(a) atur čigši:

Then, in the fifth month, on the eighteenth, came Bilig Köngül Sangun after having taken over the command. The adjutants (?) are Yabash Tutuq, Buzach Tutuq, Örä Bört Tutuq, and Altun Tay Sangun. We came: (the Chief,) Öz Apa Tutuq by name, followed by, all told, thirty men of rank and consideration. On one day one sheep and two water-butts! Bägni (?), the commissary, is a wretched and good-for-nothing slave. Written by me, Baghatur Chigshi by name.

Notes to IV

- ll. 1 and 2. $yig(i)rmig\ddot{a}$, later form with the ending $g\ddot{a}$ instead of the earlier $g\ddot{a}$.
- 1. 2. Regarding biliy könül as appellative in Buddhistic terminology, "reason," literally "wisdom-mind", "wise mind", see F. W. K. Müller, Uigurica, ii, p. 13.
- ll. 5 and 6. tay sanun is Chinese 大將軍 tai tsiang-kinn (ta chiang-chin), "great general."
- 1. 6. y(a)rt(i)mliq I have with some doubt interpreted as "adjutants" (or officers attached to the staff), having assumed that yartim might be =

Osm., Chagatai yardim, "help, assistance." The five persons mentioned in Il. 2-6 would then be the general with his staff, while in Il. 7-8 we have the particular corps to which the writer belonged, together with the name of its chief.

1. 8. atliγ yüzlüg, hendiadys, cf. Müller, Uigurica, ii, p. 19,8; Radloff, Kuan-ši-im Pusar, p. 47, n. 94.

1. 10. Regarding bitgäċi, see above, p. 217, note to IIIa, ll. 10 and 11. l. 11. isiz (esiz [for es-siz, literally "mindless"], wrongly "äzis", Radloff, Wörterbuch, i, p. 898) yalūz, hendiadys, cf. Müller, Uigurica, ii,

p. 23_{23-4} , isiz yaviz.

As a thirteenth line, it appears as if, below the first three characters of 1. 12, there had been very indistinctly written (a)ltu(?), which, however, cannot belong to the text.

LIST OF WORDS

Roman numerals indicate the texts published here (I, pp. 186-7; II, pp. 196-209; III, pp. 215-16; IV, pp. 218-19; II is, however, as a rule not indicated, therefore absence of Roman numerals is = II. Arabic numerals after I, III, and IV indicate the line, for II the page of the MS. The order of the characters followed here is: (1) vowels, $a, \ddot{a}, \ddot{i}, i, o$ and u indiscriminately, \ddot{o} and \ddot{u} id.; (2) consonants, in the same order as the common European characters.

ab, 17, 97. abinč-u, 57. adi γ , 10. adyir, 86. adyirlig, 7. $a\gamma$ -, -ipan, 96. $a\gamma a(?)n$ (a. ötüg), 29. $a\gamma il$, 71. $a\gamma iz$, $a\gamma z$ -i, 40, 100. al-, -ayin, 90; -ip, 43; -di, IIIcd 5 (?). ala, 2. alani, n.pr., Ia 4, 10. alp, 15, 60, 84. alqu, 101. alti, Ia 15. altun, 1, 3, 7, 8, 12; n.pr., IV 5. amraq, 101. amti, 101. ančip, 101.

anča, 1, 5, etc. anday, 5, 15, 32, 59, 68, 93. $ani\gamma$, 9, 16, 28, 34, 55. apa, n.pr., Ia 19, 21, c4; IV, 7. aq, 7, 28. ar-, -ip (a. on-), 25; -miš, 52. ara, 15, 57, 80. aral-ï, 92. ? arya, IIIcd 4. art, 10. ? arta or -ti, IIIb 5. artat-, -mayin, 91. asi γ , 49. asra, 20, 31, 83, 93. at (horse), Ibr. 2 (?), 6; II 23, 25, 28, 52, [58], 76, 85, 100; $-li\gamma$, 2, 16, 54, 55. at (name), IV 6, 12; -liy (a. yüzlüq), IV 8. atan-, -miš, 85.

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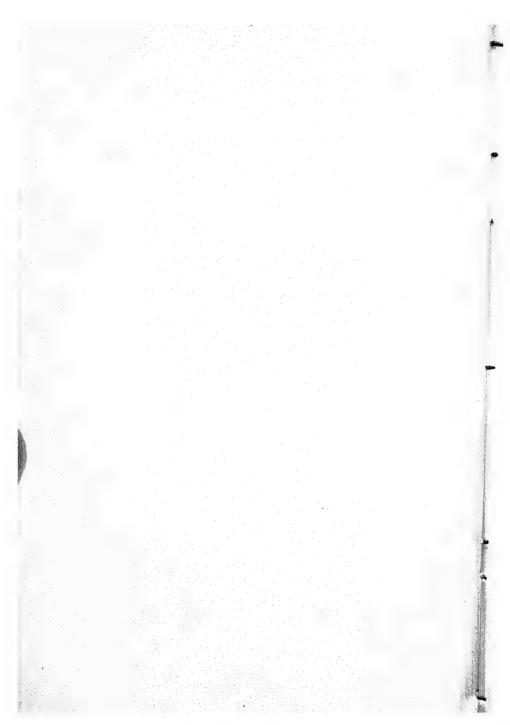
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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

IMAGINATIVE YOJANAS

Many readers of this Journal are probably acquainted by this time with an interesting Sanskrit work, entitled Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, for our introduction to which we are indebted to Mr. Shamasastry, who published the text of it in 1909,¹ and has given an abstract account of some parts of it in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 34 (1905), and a translation of books 5 to 15 (the end) in the same Journal, vols. 38 (1909) and 39 (1910). This work ascribes itself to the well-known Chāṇakya, —mentioned in it as Kauṭilya and Vishṇugupta,— the king-maker and minister of the Maurya king Chandragupta. In any case, it is certainly an early text, calculated to throw light in various directions on the ancient Indian administration: and we are greatly obliged to Mr. Shamasastry for having made it accessible to us.

Chapter 2 of book 10, text p. 362 ff., deals with "the march of the camp and the protection of the army in times of distress and attack." Here, the second paragraph begins:—"In the front (should go) the leader; in the centre, the harem and the master [the king]." This direction in connexion with an army proceeding on a campaign seems somewhat quaint: but it is endorsed by Bāṇa in his Harshacharita,² in a passage which shows that in ancient India the privilege of having the companionship of the fair sex on active service was by no means confined to the king. However, what we are interested in here is another clause in the same paragraph, which runs:— Yōjanam = adhamāh, adhyardham madhyamāh, dviyōjanam=uttamāh. This has

¹ Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore; Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37.

² Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 199.

been translated by Mr. Shamasastry thus: 1—"The army of the lowest quality can march a $y\bar{o}jana$ (6 $^{g}_{TT}$ miles a day); that of the middle quality a $y\bar{o}jana$ and a half; and the best army two $y\bar{o}janas$."

There have been many speculations as to the length of the *yōjana* in ancient India; with the result that various imaginative values have been evolved. This rendering adds another such value, the origin of which is as follows. The same work, the Kautiliya-Arthaśāstra, gives on p. 106 f. a table of the measures of length. On p. 107 it tells us (lines 8, 9) that 1000 dhanus are 1 goruta, and 4 goruta are 1 yojana: this gives 1 yojana = 4000 dhanus. At the top of the same page it mentions a dhanus of 108 angula, in respect of which it says: - Gārhapatyam = ashtasat-angulam dhanuh pathi-prakara-manam paurusham cha agnichityānām. The learned translator took this dhanus to be the dhanus which is contemplated in line 8. Further, he has assumed the value of 108 angula to be 9 feet: compare his translation, loc. cit., p. 113, where he has said "... a śama (14 angulas or inches)".2 And he thus obtained $\frac{4000 \times 9}{1760 \times 3} = \frac{1200}{176} = \frac{75 \times 16}{11 \times 16} = 6\frac{9}{11}$ miles as his value of the yōjana.

But (to borrow an expression which is found in various places in the book)— "Not so, says Kautilya:" that is not the way to determine the value of the yōjana.

In the first place, 108 angula are not 9 feet. As closely as matters can be taken, 12 angula are 9 inches: see pp. 233, 237, below. So 108 angula are 6 ft. 9 in. And this would reduce by one-fourth the value of the yōjana arrived at as stated above.

¹ Ind. Ant., 1910. 109.

² It may be noted that just below this his translation says:—"A bow means five aratnis ($5 \times 24 = 120$ angulas). Archers should be stationed at the distance of five bows (from one line to another)..." The text says (p. 370):— Pañchāratni dhanus, tasmin dhanvinam sthāpayēt. This does not define the dhanus: it mentions a special dhanus, to be used in making a battle-array.

But further, the work does not contemplate the use of the dhanus of 108 angula for the determination of its yōjana. It presents its table of the measures of length in a somewhat disjointed form, owing to various parenthetical excursions into special subsidiary measures which we may avoid in tracing the regular course of the table, which is well known from other works. Like some of the other Hindū tables, it starts (p. 106, line 3) with the paramānu or 'most minute atom', which is defined elsewhere, e.g. by Varāhamihira in his Brihat-Samhitā, 57/58. 1, as being the smallest particle of dust which is seen where the sun shines through a lattice, and as being "the first of measures". But we need only take up its table from the angula, the 'finger-breadth', which Varahamihira calls in the same passage, verse 2, the $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ or 'unit'. It takes its measures up to the angula, through four intermediate grades, by 'eights': it defines the angula (line 7) as being equal to 8 yava-madhya, or 8 times the middle of a barleycorn; that is, to the width of 8 barleycorns laid side by side: and it further defines it as the middle breadth of the middle finger of a middle-sized man. It tells us (line 11) that 12 angula are 1 vitasti or 'span', and (line 13) that 2 vitasti are 1 aratni: here, by its aratni of 24 angula it means the measure which in other tables is usually called hasta or kara, 'the fore-arm, the cubit'; and, in fact, it adds prājāpatya hasta as another name of its aratni.2 In the regular course of the table it tells us next (line 20) that 4 aratni [i.e. 4 hasta or cubits] are 1 danda, 'staff', or dhanus, 'bow' [from which

¹ Compare, for a much earlier time, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 10. 2. 1. 2:— Tasy=aish=āvamā mātrā yad=aṅgulayah; "this is his lowest measure, namely the fingers." In the Brihat-Samhitā, Kern's reading, mātrā, seems better than the samkhyā of the other edition.

² In some tables the aratni is distinguished from the hasta, and is defined as measuring 21 angula. But the Śulvasūtra of Baudhāyana defines it as equal to 2 prādēśa each of 12 angula, and so agrees in making it equal to 24 angula. In any case, our present point is that the Kautiliya-Arthaśāstra gives its value as 24 angula.

Then comes it follows that 1 dhanus = 96 angula]. a parenthesis (p. 107, lines 1 to 7) about the danda or dhanus and certain measures made by it, which begins by mentioning, in the words quoted on p. 230 above, the gārhapatya dhanus, 'the householder's dhanus' or 'the dhanus for building the sacred fire-place', which, it says, measured 108 angula, and was "the measure for roads and ramparts, and is the paurusha for the laying out of sacrificial fire-altars." It is this reference to roads which, coupled with an omission to compare other tables, has misled Mr. Shamasastry. We know well from many other versions of the table that this dhanus of 108 angula is not a part of the regular table: it is a special measure, to be used, as regards roads, for determining evidently, not the lengths of them or distances along them, but the widths of them, and so to be used in laying out roads and ramparts. The regular table runs on from the definition of the danda or dhanus as equal to 4 aratni, and therefore equal to 96 angula, to the statement (p. 107, line 8) that 1000 dhanus are 1 goruta: after which it immediately says that 4 gōruta are 1 yōjana. We may add that the goruta of the Kautiliya-Arthaśastra is the krōśa of other tables.

Now, the angula or finger-breadth may be the theoretical unit: it may well have been originally the actual unit and the source of the other measures. But we can hardly doubt that the hasta or cubit eventually took its place as the practical unit; and that a correct scale was maintained by keeping in public offices a standard hasta marked off into 2 vitasti and 24 angula. At any rate, the hasta is the practical measure to which we must attend in estimating all the others. And in connexion with the hasta we must always bear in mind the definition given by Varāhamihira, that the "normal"

¹ Brihat-Samhitā, 68/67. 105; quoted in this Journal, 1911. 208. Compare Āryabhata: see 1907. 655.

man" was taken as measuring 96 angula [= 4 hasta]: on the two sides of that there were the "low man" measuring 84 angula [= $3\frac{1}{2}$ hasta], and the "finest man" measuring 108 angula [= $4\frac{1}{2}$ hasta].

The author of another translation, published in 1891, proposed to take the *hasta* at 15 inches; with the result that he, though dealing with a table which gives a $y\bar{o}jana$ exactly twice as long as that of the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra, arrived at "about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles" [for $7\frac{19}{33}$] as the value of the $y\bar{o}jana$. But with this valuation of the *hasta* we have 4 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., 5 feet, and 5 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., as the heights of the short man, the normal average man, and the tall man. We are hardly prepared to endorse that.

On the other side, with Mr. Shamasastry's estimate of the angula as equal to an inch, the heights of the three men become 7 feet, 8 feet, and 9 feet. This, again, we are hardly inclined to accept.

There is, however, ample evidence from the Greek accounts that the ancient men of Northern India -(and that is where these measures and definitions had their origin)— were decidedly tall men. And it is in fact clear, from various indications, that we must value the ancient Indian hasta or cubit at closely about 18 inches. But it is hardly possible that it can have been appreciably in excess of that figure. On the other side, it is very improbable that it should have been much below it. Following Colebrooke, I take the hasta for easy computation at exactly 18 inches, which gives 3 inch as the value of the angula: it is, of course, somewhat improbable that the national measures of two quite different peoples should fit each other so precisely; but an allowance for this will be made in the result. This value gives 6 feet as the accepted standard height of the "normal" Indian man; with 5 ft. 3 in. for the "low" man, and 6 ft. 9 in. for the "finest"

¹ Essays, 1. 540, note.

man. It gives 1 dhanus = 4 aratni or hasta = 6 feet. And thus we have—

$$\frac{4000 \times 6}{1760 \times 3} = \frac{800}{176} = \frac{50 \times 16}{11 \times 16} = 4\frac{6}{11}$$
 or 4.54 miles

as the real value of the $y\bar{o}jana$ of the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra.

There are various methods, besides that one which has given the text for this note, of evolving imaginative values of the $y\bar{o}jana$. But it will suffice to notice two of them, which, in another line of research, have been used for similarly evolving imaginative values of the Greek stadium.¹

One method is this: it is to be noted because, though fortunately it has not been carried far as yet, there have been lately some indications that it may still be taken up. The idea is to take, e.g., the statement of the Sūrya-Siddhanta, 1. 59, that the diameter of the earth is 1600 yōjanas; to apply it to 7904 miles as the true mean diameter; and so to deduce 4.94 miles as the value of the yojana, or 4.91 if we should work by substituting circumferences for diameters.2 But this is based on crediting a Hindū astronomer of about A.D. 1000 with a refinement of knowledge which has been attained only in recent times as a result of the development of modern science and all its appliances. The position is opposed to everything that we learn from the Hindu books: and the facts are simply as follows. Each leading Hindū astronomer has stated, in yōjanas, either the diameter of the earth, or the circumference, or both: so also, we may add, he has given in yōjanas, or has shown how they were to be determined in yojanas, all the other details of the

¹ See remarks by Bunbury, dismissing such results, in his *History of Ancient Geography*, 2nd ed. (1883), vol. 1, pp. 210, 620, note 5, and 624.

² See the Sürya-Siddhānta, translation by E. Burgess and Whitney, Jour. Amer. Or. Soc., vol. 6 (1860), p. 183. The value 7904 miles has been slightly improved since then: it seems customary now to quote the mean equatorial diameter as 7926 or 7926 6 miles.

universe; but we need not go beyond the earth here. But the figures never agree as between school and school. And the case really is, not that all the astronomers were expressing one and the same value for the diameter or the circumference of the earth in different kinds of $y\bar{o}janas$, but that they all were laying down different values for the diameter and the circumference in one and the same $y\bar{o}jana$. The Sūrya-Siddhānta used the $y\bar{o}jana$ of $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles, which we may take for practical purposes as 9 miles (see p. 237 below). And what it really teaches is that the diameter is 14,400 miles; nearly twice the truth.

The other method has been to take the statements made by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuen-tsiang, as to the distances between places in India visited by them, which are given sometimes in the yōjana, sometimes in the Chinese li, and sometimes in days' journeys; to disregard any possibility of mistake that may attend the identification of any particular place; to ignore the point that distances stated in even numbers of a unit which, so far as the yōjana is concerned, is at any rate not smaller than 4½ miles, can rarely, and only by chance, be at all exact; to correct according to caprice any given statement of distance which does not adapt itself to a particular view; and to strike averages from the addition of speculative totals thus arrived at. This line of procedure has produced a variety of valuations of the yojana, eight of which, ranging from 4 to 9 miles, have been quoted in this Journal, 1903. 65, with the very just remark that they are "extremely perplexing", by a writer who then, by using the Chinese measures instead of the Indian ones, proceeded to increase the number by adding two more, in arriving at the conclusions (ibid., 79, 104) that Hiuentsiang used a yōjana of 5.288 miles, and Fa-hian used one of approximately 7.05 miles. This process is as little sound, and its results are as little useful, as if we were to seek to establish the value of the French kilomètre on

the basis of entries in the diaries of Japanese tourists in France, instead of going to the natural source of information, the French tables of distance.

The various imaginative $y\bar{o}janas$ all disappear when we come to examine the bases of them: and what we have in their place is clear enough in the light of the tables and definitions which are found in so many Indian books. We have only to study those sources of information, and apply them, with care; and to bear in mind that we are not in the least concerned with the varieties of the cubit, the $k\bar{o}s$, or any other measures, which came into existence under the Musalmān rulers: we are dealing with the Hindū period; and for that period the crucial guide is the definition of the three heights of men, regarding which see p. 233 above. I shall hope to show in another note what we really do learn from the tables for the pre-Musalmān period. Meanwhile I may make the following remarks.

As stated in a previous note on this subject,¹ in ancient India there were two $y\bar{o}janas$ of specific lengths, both based on $1 \ hasta = 96 \ angula$; namely:—

a short $y\bar{o}jana$ of 16,000 hasta=8,000 yards $=4_{11}^{6} \text{ or } 4\dot{\cdot}\dot{5}\dot{4} \text{ miles };$ a long $y\bar{o}jana$ of 32,000 hasta=16,000 yards $=9_{11}^{1} \text{ or } 9\dot{\cdot}\dot{9}\dot{9} \text{ miles}.$

The short $y\bar{o}jana$ was the Māgadha $y\bar{o}jana$, and was used largely in the Buddhist books: and as we have seen, it is the one that is taught in the Kautilīya-Arthaśāstra. The long $y\bar{o}jana$ was the general Indian $y\bar{o}jana$, and was used by the astronomers, as I will show hereafter.

The values given above are based on taking the hasta or cubit at exactly 18 inches, for easy computation. For

¹ This Journal, 1906. 1011.

practical purposes, however, we may avoid small fractions in the results, and take the values thus:—

the short $y\bar{o}jana = 4\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the long $y\bar{o}jana = 9$ miles.

And if we like to go into refinements, from these last-mentioned values we arrive at—

17.82 inches as the length of the hasta or cubit;

8.91 inches as the measure of the vitasti or span;

0.7425 inch as the value of the *angula* or finger-breadth. But here again, I think, we may be content to use the values 18 inches, 9 inches, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, for any ordinary application of these three measures.

The same treatment gives 5 ft. 11.28 in., or say 5 ft. 11½ in., as the accepted standard height of the normal Indian man. This, I think, will not be objected to for ancient India, in the light of what we learn from the Greek accounts, and of what we know about the men of the north-west of the present day. If anyone should wish to cut it down lower, we must bear in mind that we cannot go much below 5 ft. 3 in. as the height of the short man. Suppose, however, that we pay no particular attention to the short and the tall man, and take 5 ft. 10 in. as the standard height of the normal or average man, with $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches as the length of the cubit: this gives—

the short $y\bar{o}jana = 4\frac{83}{198}$ miles; the long $y\bar{o}jana = 8\frac{166}{198}$ miles.

For these values, again, I think, we may fairly substitute $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 miles for practical purposes.

Though there were two $y\bar{o}janas$ in ancient India, there was only one $kr\bar{o}sa$ or $k\bar{o}s$. There were 4 $kr\bar{o}sa$ in the short $y\bar{o}jana$, and 8 in the long $y\bar{o}jana$. And the value of the $kr\bar{o}sa$ was $1\frac{3}{22}$ miles, = 1 mile 240 yards, on the basis of 1 hasta = 18 inches; or $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile, = 1 mile 220 yards, if we take the even values of $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 miles for the two kinds of $y\bar{o}janas$.

It is precisely because there were two $y\bar{o}janas$ but only one $kr\bar{o}sa$, that Asōka, who was a practical man, tells us in his seventh pillar-edict that he laid out camping-grounds, provided with wells and rest-houses, along his high-roads, at intervals, not of a $y\bar{o}jana$, but of 8 $k\bar{o}s$. If he had used the term $y\bar{o}janiky\bar{a}ni$, 'at intervals of a $y\bar{o}jana$ ', it would not have been clear whether he meant the Māgadha $y\bar{o}jana$ of 4 $k\bar{o}s$ or the general Indian $y\bar{o}jana$ of 8 $k\bar{o}s$. But the term $adhak\bar{o}siky\bar{a}ni$, 'at intervals of 8 $k\bar{o}s$ ', was clear from any point of view.

We also know that the Maurya kings marked each $k\bar{o}s$ along their high-roads: Megasthenes said, as reported by Strabo: 1—" They construct roads, and at every 10 stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances." With the stadium taken at $606\frac{3}{4}$ feet, 10 stadia are equal to $2022\frac{1}{2}$ yards, or 1 mile $262\frac{1}{2}$ yards: 2 or with a later valuation of the stadium at $582\cdot48$ feet, we have 10 stadia equal to $1941\cdot6$ yards, or 1 mile $181\cdot6$ yards. In either case we have the $kr\bar{o}\acute{s}a$ —(1 mile 240 yards, or 1 mile 220 yards, as we may like to take it)—as closely as Megasthenes could indicate it in his own national measure, without going into fractions.

It should be obvious that we cannot determine either the $kr\bar{o}$ sa from the stadium, or the stadium from the $kr\bar{o}$ sa, from a statement such as that made by Megasthenes: it ought to be plain that he simply had in view an Indian measure which was virtually the counterpart of 10 stadia, though it was not exactly commensurate with 10 stadia.

¹ Ind. Ant., 6. 238.

² This is the value of the *stadium* maintained by Bunbury; see the references mentioned in note 1 on p. 234 above: also by Proctor, *Old and New Astronomy*, p. 68.

 $^{^3}$ A critic has charged me with forgetting, in my note on the term $adhak\bar{\nu}sikya$, the statement of Strabo, i.e. of Megasthenes, about the pillars and the 10 stadia. On the contrary, it is one of the important data which I had before me. My critic himself proceeded to make the twofold mistake of using the double $k\bar{\nu}s$ of the Moghal period as a guide towards determining the original $k\bar{\nu}s$ for the Maurya period, and of taking 10 $stadia = 2022\frac{1}{2}$ yards as the exact value of what he thought to be the half $k\bar{\nu}s$.

The same observation applies to Albērūnī's remark about the *krōśa* being the Arabian mile.¹ We cannot determine either of these two measures from the other. Albērūnī, again, was only comparing two measures which were closely but not exactly alike.

The reason for both the arrangements made by the Maurya kings—the marking of each $k\bar{o}s$ along the high-roads, and the laying out of a camping-ground with a well and a rest-house at every eighth $k\bar{o}s$ — is found in the fact that the $y\bar{o}jana$ of 8 $k\bar{o}s$, = 9 miles, was the standard length of a day's march for an ancient Indian army.²

In view of this, and of the point that the Kautiliya-Arthaśāstra teaches the $y\bar{o}jana$ of 4 $k\bar{o}s$, = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we may perhaps explain its statement (see p. 230 above) about the armies of three qualities and the distances of 1, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 $y\bar{o}janas$, as meaning that untrained troops with unpractised followers could only go 4 $k\bar{o}s$ in a day at first; as the army began to get into condition and to have its subsidiary arrangements fairly well in hand, it could cover 6 $k\bar{o}s$; and finally, when the foot-soldiers were in good marching state and all the arrangements for supplies, for the transport of baggage and the pitching and striking of tents, etc., etc., were properly organized, it could do its 8 $k\bar{o}s$ a day.

J. F. Fleet.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF BUDDHA

In view of some inquiries which have been made to me recently, it seems desirable to sum up briefly the position in which we stand regarding the date of the death of Buddha. Two items are involved: the year, and the day. The matter lies in a nutshell, as follows.³

¹ Trans. Sachau, 1. 166. ² See this Journal, 1906. 411.

³ For details, reference may be made to my articles "The Day on which Buddha Died" and "The Origin of the Buddhavarsha", in this Journal, 1909. 1 ff., 323 ff.

When Buddha lived, there was no existing era in which his birth or his death, or any other event, could be dated: and so no guide of that kind has come down to us.1 In this as in all matters of the ancient Indian chronology, our starting-point is the initial date of the Maurya king Chandragupta; the time at which he began to reign. We know from the Greek accounts that this must be placed between B.C. 325 and 312: and various considerations point to the end of B.C. 321 as the most probable time. From the Dipavamsa, endorsed by its commentary the Mahāvamsa, we know that there was an interval of 56 years between the initial date of Chandragupta and the anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty: we cannot understand this as meaning 56 years to a day: we take it as meaning 56 years and a short time over, and place the anointment of Aśōka fairly early in B.C. 264. We know from the same two works that Aśōka was anointed to the sovereignty 218 years after the death of Buddha: here, again, we cannot take the statement as meaning exactly 218 years to a day: we take it as meaning, in the usual Hindū fashion, that Aśōka was anointed at some time in the year 219 current, when 218 years had elapsed; and we thereby place the death of Buddha in B.C. 483. There is, of course, no means of attaining absolute certainty. But I think that this result cannot be bettered.

So much as regards the year. As regards the day, there have been two traditions: that it was the full-moon day of Vaisākha; and that it was Kārttika sukla 8, the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. I have

¹ According to the Burmese, Buddha was born in the year 68, and died in the year 148, of an era founded by 'Eetzana' or 'Einzana', i.e. Añjana, the maternal grandfather of Buddha. There is no good reason for regarding this era as anything but a late invention. Besides, it would not help in any case: because we can only fix a starting-point for it by reckoning back from the death of Buddha, which is the point to be determined.

shown reasons for believing that the latter is the earlier and more authentic tradition. But the other tradition has prevailed: and there is no desire to suggest any departure from the practice, dating at any rate from the fifth century A.D., according to which the full-moon day of Vaiśākha is the day on which the death should be observed. The point is only one for consideration in determining the close details of the chronology of the time of Aśōka and his contemporary, Dēvānampiya-Tissa of Ceylon.

Little, if anything, need ever be said again, so far as the date of the death of Buddha is concerned, about the reckoning current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, which would place the event in B.C. 544. In the first place, it must be plain that this reckoning —no matter whether it had its origin in Ceylon or in Burma— is of late invention; dating from apparently the twelfth century A.D. In the second place, it has, as a vital part of it, the same statements of the Ceylonese chronicles about the intervals from the death of Buddha and the initial date of Chandragupta to the anointment of Aśōka: it follows, then, that, with this reckoning, we must place the anointment of Aśōka in 544 — 218 = B.C. 326; that is, even before the earliest time that is admissible for the beginning of the reign of his grandfather Chandragupta.

J. F. FLEET.

Mahishamandala

Mr. Fleet's remarks (JRAS. 1911, p. 816) appended to my paper on this subject call for some notice. The questions to be considered are (1) whether the north of Mysore was included in the Maurya empire, and (2) whether the south of Mysore was Mahisha-mandala.

As regards the first, the evidence is indisputable. No mention was made by me of Śravana Belgola, or of any of its inscriptions. The inclusion of the north of Mysore in the Maurya empire is based on my discovery of edicts of Aśōka engraved on rocks in three places there. This may be held to be proof positive. And the following by Dr. Fleet himself (Imp. Gaz. Ind., ii, 28) testifies to the He says: "A stone record almost invariably establishes the sovereignty or other jurisdiction, at the place itself where it stands, of any king, etc., by whose orders or in whose time it was drawn up." He seeks, however, to depreciate the evidence in the present case by representing that "these edicts are not administrative orders indicative of sovereignty over the locality in which they are: there is not even anything in them to mark them as emanating from a king: they are simply precepts about morality such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects interested in them". This is not, it will be seen, a correct statement of the facts. The edicts are prefaced by ceremonious greetings to the High Officials to whom they are addressed, with all the formality of a royal mandate: the first edict begins with "The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands (āṇapayati)", and the second with "The Beloved of the gods says (āha)". The injunctions, whatever their nature, are thus the explicit commands of a ruler—the Beloved of the gods, that is, Aśōka—to his subjects. It is quite absurd to suggest that they are merely precepts "such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects". Had any friendly State given such permission it would have been mentioned and acknowledgment made for the concession. This friendly State may be dismissed as a pure invention, and the sensitiveness of even the smallest Oriental powers to any encroachment on their sovereign rights is proverbial. There is, in short, no ground whatever for rejecting the plain matter-of-fact inference that these edicts of Aśōka indicate his sovereignty over the tract of country where they were found.

At the time of their discovery the eminent French savant who has identified himself with the edicts of Aśōka publicly remarked: "cette découverte fera époque dans l'archéologie indienne." And it unquestionably lifted the veil that shrouded the ancient history of this part of the South, and revealed a new vista of its past. What object there can be in attempting to deny this and thrusting us back into the darkness of ignorance, it is difficult to understand. One would have thought that such an unmistakable gleam of light would be welcomed.

I would also once again refer to the term Mōryara-mane, or houses of the Mōryas or Mauryas, applied to the kistvaens, etc., only in the north of Mysore and by the Baḍagas of the Nīlgiris, whereas in the other parts they are called Pāṇḍu-kolli, or cells of the Pāṇḍus. There is here no question of royal lines seeking a far-fetched connexion with those in the North. It is simply a name in use among the common people, which must have had its origin in the fact that such structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or during the period of Maurya supremacy in the part where the designation arose, whence it migrated with the Baḍagas to the Nīlgiris.

With regard to the second question, that Mahishamandala was one of the countries to which Buddhist missions were sent in the time of Asōka, there is no dispute. And it must have been beyond the borders of the Maurya empire. To locate it in the same quarter as Māhishmatī, assuming that the latter was on the Narmadā, is out of the question, for that must have been a part of the Maurya dominion. Taken together with Vanavāsa or Banavāsi, mentioned along with it as also receiving a mission, there is every reason to place it in the south of Mysore. The name suggests it, and the archæologists of the last century in holding that opinion were not far wrong. References were given in my paper to Tamil literature of the second century that warrant us in

identifying Mahisha - maṇḍala with Erumai-nāḍu — the equivalent of the name in Tamil—which was situated in the south of Mysore. The name Maysūr-nāḍ occurs in a copper-plate inscription of the third century, which if not an original must be a copy. And an instance was cited of the use there in Kannaḍa itself of Emmeyara-kula.¹

If a reason be required for the country being named from mahisha or buffalo, it is not far to seek. For the Todas, the ancient tribe settled on the Nilgiris and acknowledged by all to be lords of the soil, hold sacred the buffalo in an especial manner, all their religious rites being centred upon it. Their language is Old Kanarese, the language of Mysore, and has been likened to Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind as they call to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. The earliest specific mention of the Todas that has been met with, is in a Mysore inscription, of 1117,2 but they must have been there for ages before. They have orders of priests consecrated to the service of the buffalo, their temples are dairies where buffalo milk is the holiest offering, and where the bell worn by the buffalo cow is the most sacred symbol. If, on the other hand, the name is supposed to refer to morals, we may adduce the custom of polyandry established among them from the earliest times. On one or both of these grounds the name Mahisha-mandala may be accounted for and applied to the south of Mysore.

L. RICE.

¹ This was fairly old, and happened to catch the eye, but no special attention has been directed to this matter before. A diligent search might bring to light other and older examples. The word actually used was kola, which, as may be seen in the dictionary, is merely a tadbhava of kula—under kolaja for instance. It was quoted in the latter form as being better understood.

² Ep. Carn., iv, Ch. 83.

REMARKS ON MR. RICE'S NOTE

I am not very willing to join in occupying the pages of this Journal with what is nothing but a controversial discussion: so I will simply take Mr. Rice's remarks seriatim as briefly as is practicable.

He has quoted me quite correctly as saying that an inscription on stone "almost invariably" establishes the sovereignty, etc., etc.1 It does that, not by the mere existence of it at a particular place, but by its contents, when, for instance, it recites the general glory or some special achievement of a king or other ruler, or registers an assignment of state lands or revenues, or some other administrative act, made or performed by him or under his orders. As my words indicate, there are exceptions to the rule, owing to the nature of particular records on stone and other circumstances. And the record of Aśōka in the north of Mysore is such an exception. A somewhat misleading idea of the nature of the Aśōka records in general has been created by so often calling them "edicts". The record in the north of Mysore is not an administrative order: it is a precept about morality, published at a local Buddhist settlement through the local authorities, who were courteously addressed to that end in the preamble of it by the authorities who transmitted the communication. The verb anapayati, which we have in one text of it against the simple $\bar{a}ha$, "he says", in the other text, is capable of various shades of meaning, and may be quite fairly rendered by "he issues a precept".

I have no inclination to deny full value to the compliment paid to Mr. Rice by the remark of the eminent French savant, that the discovery of the existence in Mysore of a record of Aśōka should make an epoch in

¹ I made the remark in the course of pointing out how different the case may be with records on copper, which, being portable, have often travelled to, and been found at, places far distant from the localities to which they belong.

Indian archæology. But it is difficult to recognize any fair basis for the inference which is suggested: I am not aware that the author of the remark has subscribed to the belief that Mahishamandala is Mysore; and he expressed in the same place the view, which I maintain, that the preamble of the record marks the locality at which it is as lying outside the dominions of Aśōka.

If we are to accept the point that kistvaens, etc., are popularly known in the north of Mysore as "houses of the Mauryas", as showing that those structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or that the Maurya sovereignty included the territory where the name is current, we must apply in the same way, mutatis mutandis, the point that such structures are known in other parts as "cells of the Pāṇḍus". But these are, of course, simply instances of fanciful beliefs, dating from medieval times, which exist more or less all over India, and have no value as historical evidence. It is the acceptance of such beliefs as these that has helped, along with reliance on imaginative chronicles and spurious records, to introduce so much fabulous history into Mr. Rice's writings.

The Mahishamaṇḍala of the Pāli books may be safely identified as being the territory of which the capital was Māhishmatī, the modern Māndhātā. It lay just on the south of a part of the Vindhya range, and so (whether it was or was not in the dominions of Aśōka) it was a border-land of the Buddhist Madhyadēśa or Middle Country. That is the point. Mr. Rice is making the old mistake about the Buddhist missions, based on not attending to what the books say about them. The missions were not sent out by Aśōka, and to places outside his dominions; they were sent out by the Buddhist high priest Moggaliputta-Tissa, to the territories lying round the Buddhist Middle Country.

The inscription on the Tanjore plates which mentions the "Maisunāḍu seventy" is unmistakably a spurious record, fabricated not earlier than the tenth century. Mr. Rice asserts that, if not an original, it must be a copy of an original record belonging to the third century. No one with any claim to critical knowledge could advance such a proposition. And it would not help matters on, even if the record could be accepted from that point of view: the site of the present city of Mysore would still be, even in the third century, a small village incapable of giving a name to the province or to any appreciable part of it.

It seems strange to have to say anything more about the inscription which is held to show, as if it were something remarkable, that there was an Emmeyara-kula, a 'family of buffalo-keepers', residing near Seringapatam in A.D. 1175: it obviously has no value towards explaining an appellation used in the Pāli books in the fourth century. The suggestion itself is trivial: there must always have been buffaloes and buffalo-keepers everywhere in India, just as there are now.

What Mr. Rice reminds us of as regards the Todas simply endorses what we infer on other grounds as to the Erumai-nādu, the 'buffalo-country', of the Tamil poet: namely, that it lay outside and on the south of Mysore, and has nothing to say to any appellation that was ever applied to Mysore itself or any part thereof. I may add that the Mysore inscription of A.D. "1117" [properly 1116] distinctly tends to locate the Todas already on the Nīlgiris, not in Mysore: the verse which mentions them, along with some other peoples, does so in asserting a conquest of the Nīlgiris by a general of the Hoysala king of Mysore.

As I said in my previous note, the identification of Mahishamandala with Mysore, or any part thereof, or any other territory in that direction, has nothing at the bottom of it, except the point that the first part of the vernacular name, Maysūr, Maisūr, Mayisūr, of a village which began to rise to importance about A.D. 1500 and eventually

became the name-giver to the province, lent itself naturally in that period to be represented in Sanskrit by mahisha as giving the nearest approach to it in sound, and was thought by archæologists of the last century to have been actually derived from that word.

J. F. FLEET.

[This discussion must now cease.—Ed.]

VERSES RELATING TO GIFTS OF LAND CITED IN INDIAN LAND GRANTS

It was a common practice in making grants of land in ancient India for the donor to emphasize the gift and endeavour to secure its permanence by inserting in the deed of grant one or more verses which had been laid down as law regarding gifts of land. Such verses either affirmed the beneficent nature of such gifts, or proclaimed the merit and blessings which accrue to those who make such gifts and those who scrupulously respect them, or denounced the iniquity of those who deprived grantees of the land given, and declared the punishment which awaits such evil-doers. These verses are often attributed to Vyāsa and are said sometimes to occur in the Mahābhārata, but are introduced at other times simply as poetical quotations, which were apparently well known. I have come across some of these verses in the Mahābhārata and Purānas, and it may be of service to collect some of the commonest quotations here and mention the various books where they are now to be found.

The general subject of gifts of all kinds is dealt with at more or less length in the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$, iii, 199, and xiii, 57–81, and single statements may probably be found scattered in various other passages in that work. It is also expounded in the following Purāṇas:—Agni, 208–13 and 271; Garuda, 51 and 98; Kūrma, ii, 26; Linga, ii, 28–44; Matsya, 82–91, 223, and 274–89; Padma, iii, 24,

and vi, 33; Varāha, 99-111; and Bhavisya, iv (Uttaraparvan), 148-204, of which parvan the Bhavisyottara Purāna (133-81) appears to be another version. It is also dealt with in some of the Upapurānas, as in Saura, 10. But the only passages that I have found which deal specifically with gifts of land are these: Mahābhārata, xiii, 62; Agni, 213; Kūrma, ii, 26, 12-15; Matsya, 284; Padma, iii, 24, and vi, 33; Bhavisya, iv, 164 (of which Bhavisyottara, 145, appears to be another version); and Saura, 10, 20-30. Of these authorities the Agni, Kūrma, Matsya, and Saura may be omitted, since their remarks are brief and general, and the three others contain the only important passages that I have found in this connexion. Besides these longer passages, stray remarks bearing on this subject are scattered in the Puranas, such as Brahma, 155, 5-9; Hariv., 326, 16367.

I will first cite various verses quoted often in the grants and give the corresponding verses found in the above books, and offer in conclusion some remarks regarding the verses.

Two verses which are often quoted together (and often with one or more other verses added) are the following:—2

- Bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā rājabhih Sagarâdibhih: Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam.
- Sastim varşa-sahasrāni svarge modati bhūmi-daḥ;
 Ācchettā cânumantā ca tāny eva narake vaset.

They are sometimes found separately,³ and sometimes vary somewhat. Thus $datt\bar{a}$ ⁴ appears instead of $bhukt\bar{a}$ in the first verse, and in the second verse we find modati replaced by tisthati ⁵ or vasati ⁶, and $\bar{a}cchett\bar{a}$ by $\bar{a}ksept\bar{a}$.⁷

¹ The editions cited are these: *MBh.*, Calc.; *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, and *Linga*, by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calc.; *Kūrma* and *Varāha*, Bibl. Ind.; *Matsya*, *Padma*, and *Saura*, Ānandāś., Poona; *Bhavisya*, Veṅkaṭeśvara, Bombay.

Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 119, 122, 127, 133, etc.
 e.g. verse (2) alone in FGI., pp. 238, 247.
 FGI., p. 296.

⁵ FGI., pp. 167, 179. ⁶ FGI., p. 194. ⁷ FGI., pp. 108, 115, 137, 296.

Before considering where these verses come from, another verse may be mentioned which is often quoted in grants and sometimes along with the two former-1

3. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām, Sa visthāyām kṛmir bhūtvā pitṛbhih saha pacyate.

This verse appears with many modifications. Thus the first half-line is varied, thus-2

3a. Sarva-sasya-samrddhām tu yo hareta vasundharām.

The second line exhibits the greatest diversity; thus we find śva-visthāyām 3 and sva-visthāyām 4 instead of sa visthāyām, and majjati or majjate 5 instead of pacyate; and also the last three words inverted thus, pacyate pitrbhih saha.6 Or this line is more largely modified, thus—7

3b. Sasti-varsa-sahasrāņi visthāyām jāyate krmih.

Or again, thus—8

3c. Gavām sata-sahasrasya hantur harati duskrtam.

The only passage where I have found these three verses together is Padma, vi, 33, 26-30, which runs thus—

· Bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhih Sagarâdibhih: Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam. Brahma-ghno vâtha strī-hantā bāla-ghnah patito 'tha vā, Gavām sata-sahasrāni hantā, tat tasva duskrtam. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo haret tu vasundharām, Sa ca vişthā-kṛmir bhūtvā pitrbhih saha pacyate. Şaşti-varşa-sahasrāni svarge tişthati bhūmi-dah; Ahartā cânumantā ca tāvad vai narakam vrajet.

Verses 1 and 3 are found in Bhavisya, iv, 164, 22 and 34, where they stand thus-

Bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā rājabhih Sagarâdibhih: Yasya yasya yadā bhūmis, tasya tasya tadā phalam. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām, Sa naro narake ghore klisyaty ā-pralayantikam.

¹ FGI., pp. 104, 108, 137.

² FGI., pp. 119, 122, 127, 133.

³ FGI., pp. 119, 137.

⁴ JASB., 1910, vol. vi, p. 436.

⁵ FGI., pp. 108, 119, 137.

⁶ IA., 1910, p. 196.

⁷ FGI., p. 289.

⁸ FGI., pp. 238, 247.

⁹ Sic. The reading might be -sahasrāṇām.

Verse 3b occurs in Brahma, 155, 6-7, thus— Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yo hareta vasundharām, Ṣaṣṭir varṣa-sahasrām viṣṭhāyām jāyate kṛmiḥ.

Verse 3 is found in a modified form in *Padma*, iii, 24, 10, thus—¹

Sva-dattām para-dattām ca medinīm yo hared, dvija, Yuktah koti-kulair yāti narakam câti-dāruṇam.

Another verse often cited is this—

4. Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād rakṣa, Yudhiṣṭhira,
Mahīm, mahī-matām śreṣṭha; dānāc chreyo 'nupālanam.'
But in many instances mahī-matām is spoilt by being altered to mahimatām.'
The first line is sometimes changed to—

4α. Pūrva-dattām dvijātibhyo yatnād rakṣa, Yudhiṣṭhira. The only place where I have found this verse is

Bhaviṣya, iv, 164, 38, where it stands thus— Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād rakṣed, Yudhiṣthira, Mahīm, mahī-bhṛtām śrestha; dānāc chreyo 'nupālanam.

Another verse sometimes quoted is this-

5. A-pānīyeşv araņyeşu śuṣka-koṭara-vāsinaḥ Kṛṣṇâhayo 'bhijāyante, pūrva-dāyam haranti ye; ⁶ and hi jāyante appears instead of 'bhijāyante.⁶ The first line is sometimes altered to—

5a. Bhūsv atavisv a-toyāsu śuska-kotara-vāsinah.

The only place where I have found this verse is Bhavisya, iv, 164, 39, where it reads thus—

Toya-hīneṣv araṇyeṣu śuṣka-koṭara-vāsinaḥ Kṛṣṇâhayo 'bhijāyante narā brahma-sva-hāriṇaḥ.

¹ The same idea is expressed, but in different terms, in MBh. xiii, 62, 3176-7; Padma, vi, 33, 35; and Bhavisya, iv, 164, 33.

² FGI., pp. 119, 122, 127, 133, 194, 198, 296.

³ FGI., pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 137, 167.

⁴ See note 3. ⁵ FGI., p. 108. ⁶ FGI., p. 137.

⁷ FGI., p. 180. The actual reading there is *Bhuṣvāṭavīṣv a-toyāsu*, and Dr. Fleet suggests that the correct reading should be *Vindhyāṭavīṣv*, but it seems to me to be a mere clerical error for *bhūṣv aṭavīṣv*. *Bhū* means "land, district, piece of ground", and the plural, *bhuvas*, is given as meaning "districts" in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

A verse that occurs rarely is-

6. Āsphotayanti pitaraḥ, pravalganti pitāmahāḥ, Bhūmi-do 'smat-kule jātaḥ, sa nas trātā bhaviṣyati.¹

The only passage where I have found this is *Padma*, vi, 33, 17, where it appears thus—

Āsphoţayanti ² pitaro, varṇayanti pitāmahāḥ, Bhūmi-dātā kule jātaḥ, sa nas trātā bhaviṣyati:

which is a decidedly inferior version, especially as regards varnayanti.

Among verses in metres other than the śloka, we find the following in the *Indravajrā* metre—

> 7. Agner apatyam prathamam suvarņam, bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutāś ca gāvaḥ: Dattās trayas tena bhavanti lokā, yaḥ kāncanam gām ca mahīm ca dadyāt.³

This occurs most closely in MBh. iii, 199, 13480, where it stands thus—

Agner apatyam prathamam suvarnam, bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutāś ca gāvaḥ: Lokās trayas tena bhavanti dattā, yaḥ kāncanam gāś ca mahīm ca dadyāt.

It also appears thus in *Padma*, vi, 33, 32—Agner apatyam prathamam suvarnam,

bhūr Vaiṣṇavī, Sūrya-sutāś ca gāvaḥ: Teṣām an-antam phalam aśnuvīta,

yah kāncanam gām ca mahīm ca dadyāt.

Lastly may be noticed what the grants say about the authorship of these verses. Verses 1, 2, 3c, 4, and 7 are cited in some grants as ślokas sung by Vyāsa, in the

¹ FGI., p. 119.

² Asphota is given in the dictionaries as a noun meaning "shaking, swaying to and fro", and Monier-Williams adds "the sound of clapping or striking on the arms (as made by combatants, etc.)". He gives the verb ā-sphuṭ in the causal as meaning "to split open, crush, grind; move, agitate quickly; shake". Asphoṭayanti here must mean either "they clap their arms (in joy)" or, according to the meaning given by Childers to the Pali verb appoṭheti, "they snap their fingers in pleasure."

³ FGI., pp. 194, 198, 296.

following or equivalent words: "Vyāsa-gītāmś câtra ślokān udāharanti." Verses 1, 2, 3, 4a, 5, and 5a are attributed to him in other grants in the following or equivalent words: "uktam ca bhagavatā parama-rṣiṇā Veda-Vyāsena." Again, verses 1, 2, 3a, 4, and 6 are attributed in other grants to him in the Mahābhārata in the following or equivalent words: "uktam ca Mahābhārata bhagavatā Veda-vyāsena Vyāsena"; and the same statement is made more fully and precisely regarding verses 1, 2, 3, 4a, and 5 in other grants, thus: "uktam ca Mahābhārate śata-sāhasryām samhitāyām parama-rṣiṇā Parāśara-sutena Veda-vyāsena Vyāsena," where the term śata-sāhasryām denotes the large text such as we have it now.

These verses may occur in the Mahābhārata, though I have not succeeded in finding any of them in it, except verse 7. Most of the sentiments expressed in the other verses are met with, differently phrased, in MBh. xiii, 62; still, the ślokas in that chapter are not the same as these verses. On the other hand, these verses generally agree with passages in the Purāṇas, as cited, and since Vyāsa is said to have composed the Purāṇas also, the statements that they were uttered by him are correct to that extent according to Indian tradition.

It will be seen from the verses and passages mentioned that, while the verses agree substantially with the corresponding passages in the texts, yet there was considerable variation in the choice of words and in their arrangement, and that the donors of grants in citing the verses quoted the versions which were current in general use rather than copied them out of books. In the first passage set out above, from Padma, vi, 33, the third and

¹ FGI., pp. 194, 198, 238, 247, 296.

² FGI., pp. 96, 104, 108, 115, 167, 179. ³ FGI., pp. 119, 122, 127, 113.

⁵ See MBh. i, 1, 105, and 62, 2296.

⁴ FGI., p. 137.

fourth lines seem out of place among verses relating to land, yet the variation in verse 3c shows that the fourth and fifth lines were taken together to form one verse, their order being inverted and the fourth line being modified so as to adapt it to its new setting.

F. E. PARGITER.

NOTE ON THE AGE OF THE PURANAS

The foregoing note yields some useful data towards estimating the age of the Purāṇas, especially of the *Padma*, *Bhaviṣya*, and *Brahma* Purāṇas.

The verses numbered 1, 2, 3, and 6 occur in the Padma, verses 1, 3, 4a, and 5a in the Bhavisya, verse 3b in the Brahma, and verse 7 in the Mahābhārata and the Padma. The oldest grants in which I have found them are dated as follows: verses 1, 2, 4, and 4a, A.D. 475-6,¹ 482-3,² 493-4,³ and 496-7⁴; verses 3 and 3a, A.D. 482-3,² 493-4,³ and 496-7⁴; verse 5, A.D. 510-11⁵; verse 6, A.D. 493-4³; and verse 7 about 800 A.D.⁶ These dates show that verses 1 to 4 and 6 were in common use before the year 500 A.D., and verse 5 immediately after it; and these verses occur only in those Purāṇas so far as I have been able to find them; while verse 7, though it occurs latest, is found in the Mahābhārata, and so can hardly be the composition of an age later than those Purāṇas. All these verses, therefore, were well known before the end of the fifth century.

They are not cited as mere popular sayings, but as legalreligious maxims enunciated in the śāstras. They were so well established in general acceptance that people often did not know precisely in what books they were to be found, but attributed them naturally to the great Vyāsa (Vyāsa-gīta) and assigned them often to the Mahābhārata,

¹ FGI., p. 96.

² FGI., p. 104.

³ FGI., p. 119.

⁴ FGI., p. 122.

⁵ FGI., p. 108.

⁶ FGL, p. 296; and earlier, but undated, in id., pp. 194, 198.

much as well-known sayings in our own language are often popularly ascribed to the Bible or Shakspeare. The way in which these verses are cited shows that they existed long before 500 a.d., and it may be concluded that the three Purāṇas, the Padma, Brahma, and Bhavisya, in which they are found (supposing that they do not occur in the Mahābhārata), existed before, and even long before, the end of the fifth century. Now those Purāṇas are by no means early Purāṇas, but appear to be among the latest; hence it seems reasonably certain that the Purāṇas cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

F. E. PARGITER.

THE KAMBOJAS

As a snapper up of unconsidered trifles, I occasionally discover that my particular prize has been already snapped up, considered, and turned into a thing of value by some one else. This, I find, is the case with my remarks about the Kambōja śavati (ante, JRAS. 1911, p. 802). The whole subject of the Kambōjas had been previously worked out by Professor E. Kuhn on pp. 213 ff. of the First Series of Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of the late Shams-ul-ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana (Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904). As the book is not likely to be familiar to students of Indian languages, I take this opportunity of giving the reference for their benefit.

G. A. G.

Regarding Dr. Grierson's important note on the language of the Kambojas in the July number of this Journal, I may call attention to a paper contributed by Dr. Ernst Kuhn to the Dastur Sanjana Memorial Volume (p. 213) on "Das Volk der Kamboja bei Yaska". Among the authorities cited by Dr. Kuhn, who would appear to have established

beyond reasonable doubt that the Kambojas were a tribe of the Iranians, is a remarkable gāthā from the Pali Jātaka Book, which I had noticed myself—

Kīṭā paṭaṅgā uragā ca bhekā hantvā kimim sujjhati makkhikā ca, ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā Kambojakānam vitathā bahunnan.

The commentator explains: ete kītādayo pāne hantvā macco sujjhatiti etesam pi Kambojaratthavāsīnam bahunnam anariyānam dhammā (ed. Fausböll, vi, 210).

The Cambridge translation somewhat freely reproduces the gāthā—

Those men are counted pure who only kill Frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will,—
These are your savage customs which I hate,—
Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate. (Vol. vi, 110.)

This gāthā by itself establishes a close connexion between the Kambojas and the ancient Iranians, with whom the destruction of noxious or Ahramanic creatures was a duty. But the Kambojas are almost always referred to in Indian literature, both Brahmanic and Buddhistic, with regard to their fine breed of horses (Kambojaka assatara, Jataka iv, 464, 4; काबोजना अश्ववरा, Mahavastu, ii, 185). And this is confirmed by the Sanskrit koshas, e.g. the Nāmalingānuśāsanam of Amara, वनायुजा: पारसोना: काबोजा बाह्हिना ह्या:, and the Anekārthasamgraha of the Jaina lexicographer, Hemacandra, काबोज: पुन्रश्वानाम भेदे.

Zimmer (Altind. Leben, p. 102) refers to the Kambojas as a north-western tribe, and speaks of the close relation between the Kambojas and the Persian Kambujiya without further particularizing the latter. It is to be noted, on the other hand, that Nepalese tradition regards Tibet as the Kambojadesa and the Tibetan to be the Kamboja-bhāshā

¹ The Bāhlikas are no doubt the Pahlavas or Parthians.

(Foucher, Iconographie Bouddhique, p. 134). And it is very curious that the early Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead seems to have been similar to the Iranian. According to the Greeks the practice of exposing the dead to birds of prey was common even in Taxila (Vincent Smith's illuminating note at p. 135 of his valuable Early History of India; see also a clear reference to the practice in ancient India, Śikṣāsamuccaya, 159, ed. Bendall, and the Mahāsīlava Jātaka). I have gone more fully into this interesting analogy between the usages of ancient India and Persia and have called attention to other parallels in my forthcoming Religion of the Iranian Peoples, translated from Tiele's Geschichte.

G. K. NARIMAN.

ORIGIN OF ABHINAVAGUPTA'S PARAMARTHASARA

The learned world is indebted to Professor L. D. Barnett for having published Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra in JRAS. for July, 1910, with his faithful translation, accompanied with notes paraphrased from Yoga Muni's tīkā. We wish to trace the original for that work, after observing that the 18th āryā is not metrically defective as observed by him on p. 710, footnote 3. The metre is upagīti, a variety of āryā.

In notes on stanzas 2 and 3 (p. 719) we find that $\bar{a}dh\bar{a}ra.k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ or Foundation-Epitome is the original of Abhinavagupta. The ādhāra is the support of the world, viz. Śeṣa, and the work referred to here is the Āryā-pañcāçīti or Paramārthasāra of Bhagavān Śeṣa, edited by Pt. Bālaśāstrin in No. 56 of the Pundit (vol. v, January 2, 1871). As we learn from Weber's *Indian Literature* (Eng. trans.), p. 237, n. 251, it is said in ZDMG. xxvii, 167, that Abhinava has adapted that work of the Vaishnavite school to his Śaiva system of Pratyabhijñā.

On p. 708 Professor Barnett says the Telugu edition of Paramārthasāra, consisting of seventy-nine āryās,

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published in 1907 at Madras, paraphrased by Pattisapu Venkateśvarudu, borrows a number of verses from Abhinavagupta's work. I could not get information about that work from Madras, although I wrote to the Ananda Press and to Professor T. Rājgopālāchāriar. But I fancy that work is the same as Sesa's Paramārthasāra, for we find in Sabdakalpadruma, pt. iv (published 1892 A.D.), under "Vedanta", the extract from Śesa-nāga's Paramārthasāra, consisting of seventy-nine āryās. This extract begins with the 8th stanza of the edition of Āryāpañcāçīti. I may note here that this text in the Sabdakalpadruma agrees more with the text of Paramārthasāra of eighty-nine stanzas published in April, 1882, with Pt. Kevaldin's Hindi translation from the Navalkishore Press of Lucknow. This Navalkishore edition foolishly ascribes the work to Sankarācārya, although the beginning and the end mention Sesa as the author, and it nowhere mentions Sankara; and further, the editor does not give reasons for his strange ascription. From Professor T. Rajgopalachariar I learn that Sesa's P. has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, edited by Professor T. Ganapatiśāstrin.

The Navalkishore edition differs from the Pundit edition in adding two stanzas at the beginning, and in omitting stanzas 75 and 77 of the Pundit edition. Further, between st. 80 and 81, as well as between 82 and 83, the Navalkishore edition and the extract under "Vedānta" in Śabdakalpadruma insert one āryā. The latter also omits st. 75 and 77.

The edition of Śeṣa's P. in the Pundit is printed very badly; the text has many gaps left and is often unmetrical and obscure. The extract in Śabdakalpadruma shows more improved text, which, in its better readings, agrees with that of the Navalkishore edition. The Navalkishore edition, on the other hand, agrees more with Abhinavagupta's Paramārthasāra. The arrangement and sequence

of the stanzas of these texts differs from those of the Pundit edition: e.g., st. 39 of the Pundit occurs between 42 and 43; st. 59 occurs between 63 and 64; st. 68 and 69 are transposed; st. 72 occurs after 74.

It appears that the text of the Navalkishore edition is the authentic text, and was current more or less at the time of Abhinavagupta. For the first stanza closely agrees with the first stanza of Abhinavagupta, reading param parasyāh prakrteh (which is more intelligible) for param parastham gahanāt (of Abhinavagupta), and Visnum for Sambhum. Further, the stanza inserted between 80 and 81 of the Pundit edition by the Navalkishore edition occurs almost verbatim in Abhinavagupta as st. 82, Abhinavagupta using vetti for veda.

Now let us see what additional stanzas are reproduced wholly or almost wholly by Abhinavagupta. I shall number the stanzas of Sesa according to the Pundit edition, since that is the edition likely to be possessed by scholars in general-

Abhinava	Sesa	Abhinava	Sesa	Abhinava	Sesa
6 =	14	34, 35 =	30	61 =	71
7 =	15	36 =	34	69 =	76
8' =	16	38 =	33	70 =	78
9 =	17	50 =	62	71 =	79
26 =	25	52 =	58	83 =	81
27 =	26	54 =	54	84 =	82
30 =	28	60 =	73	100-2 =	83-5

The expressions ādhāram bhagavantam (st. 2) and ādhārakārikā (st. 3) of Abhinavagupta, as well as the reproduction of twenty-three stanzas, wholly or almost so, and the great indebtedness to the other stanzas of Sesa's current work, leave little doubt that the original of Abhinavagupta's work is the present extant work of Sesa. This work has been cited by the author of the commentary Chandrikā on Prabodhachandrodaya in his tīkā on st. 33 of Act v. The verse quoted is $r\bar{a}hur$ adrsyo 'pi yathā. This is ascribed by the commentary to Śeṣa, and occurs in the current text of Śeṣa (Pundit text, st. 16). Now this verse is reproduced almost wholly by Abhinavagupta, in whose work it appears as st. 8. The author of the Chandrikā, who has often quoted Abhinavagupta, does not cite this stanza under his name. This is further evidence to show that our text of Śeṣa is the original of Abhinavagupta's work.

Reminiscences of Śeṣa's P. are found in the Prabodhasudhākara of unknown authorship, appearing in Kāvyamālā, pt. viii. We ask the readers to compare, e.g., st. 133 and 153 of the latter with st. 11 and 43 respectively of Śeṣa.

This work of Sesa goes under the name of Pātanjalyāryāh, and is included by the Pundits among Yoga treatises (vide Yogadarśana with Maniprabhā, edition in Benares Sanskrit Series, No. 75, by Pt. Damodar Lal Goswāmi, preface, p. i, last para.). Of course, although a yoga treatise, it deals only with the philosophic portion and may be called seśvara-sānkhya-nibandha, as also appears from Yoga Muni's comment on Abhinavagupta's work, st. 2. In Tattvasamāsa, Patanjali is said to be the disciple of Pañcasikha (Max Müller's Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, p. 293), who is described as a great Sāmkhya teacher and a savant in the doctrine of Pancaratra theosophy, as we find from the Moksadharma of the Santiparva. This explains the Vaishnavite character of the Pātanjalyāryāh. This follows from the hypothesis that Sesa is identical with Patanjali. This identification is supported by Abhinavagupta, who calls them ādhārakārikāh (st. 2), where ādhāra is the support of the world, i.e. Sesa, as appears from Yoga Muni's comment, and who cites Patañjali's Yogasūtra, i, 16, in his comment on the Nātyaśāstra, ch. vi, with the label Bhujangavibhunā 'py uktam. As appears from the last stanza of Sesa, the work Paramarthasara was based on the doctrine of the Upanisads. This is quite true, because we find reminiscences of Upanisad passages; e.g., ko mohah kah śokah, etc., is a reminiscence of the Īśāvāṣya (st. 58), while ātmajñas tarati śucam (st. 67) is a reminiscence of the Chāndogya, viii, 1, 3, tarati śokam ātmavit.

V. V. SOVANI.

MEERUT COLLEGE.

Bao = Vihara

On p. 165 of the Indian Antiquary for 1893, vol. xxii, Major (now Sir) R. C. Temple suggests that the origin of the word bao, used by the Portuguese (and others) in India to denote a Buddhist monastery, is to be found in the Talaing bha, "monastery." No doubt that is correct, except that the Talaing word is bha, not bha; but he might have added that it is the same word as the Indian vihāra. The Shwezigon and Shwesandaw II inscriptions write it bihār, the Kalyāni inscription has wihā and (irregularly) wīhā. In Talaing we often find a confusion between b and w (representing the Indian v), e.g. bajra, Bisnū, Bissukarmma, in the Shwezigon inscription. Moreover, there is a strong tendency in the language to reduce dissyllabic words to monosyllables, or as near thereto as may be. In accordance with that general rule, the first vowel of a word like bihar dwindles regularly to α or \tilde{e} , and in this case it has vanished altogether. The modern form of the language admits no final r. There can therefore be no doubt that bhā represents vihāra.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE ETHIOPIC SENKESSAR

In my article in the Journal for 1911, p. 739, on the "Ethiopic Senkessār" I mentioned, on p. 744, what seemed to me the important fact that "the Jesuit missionaries, who undoubtedly took much interest in

Abyssinian hagiography, never mention the Senkessār", and inasmuch as the term Synaxarium does not appear in the indices to the works of Paez, D'Almeida, etc., I was led to infer that it was not mentioned therein. But recently my friend Dr. Duensing has written to me pointing out that the Senkessār is mentioned in Paez ii, 605, under the name of "Cenquesar". Yet in spite of this mention I still hold my opinion maintainable; for, although the Jesuits may have heard of the Senkessār, it seems to me certain that they made no use of it.

I. Guidi.

CORONATION CHRONOGRAM

The following $t\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}\underline{k}h$, commemorating the Coronation of His Majesty King George V, may interest the readers of the Journal. The letters of the whole line make up the date 1911. I may mention it is original.

* بعونِ ٱلله جرجيس خامس قيصر هند حامى ٱلملُک وَٱلدّين *
"By Divine assistance, George the Fifth, Emperor of India, Defender of the Kingdom and of the Faith."

George Ranking.

LA FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

- 1. Le conseil de la fondation n'ayant subi aucun changement est composé comme suit : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), H. T. Karsten, J. A. Sillem, M. Th. Houtsma, et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).
- 2. Le capital de la fondation étant resté le même, le montant nominal est de 19,500 florins hollandais (39,000 francs); en outre, au mois de novembre 1911 les rentes disponibles montaient à plus de 2,500 florins (5,000 francs).

Novembre, 1911.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Maqrîzî. 'El-Mawâ'ız wa'l-I'tibâr fi dhikr el-Khitat wa'l-Âthâr. Text edited by M. Gaston Wiet. Cairo, 1911. Vol. I, Fasc. I, Chap. 1–12: pp. xvi, 184. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Tome 30°.

The need of an improved text of the *Khitat* has long been apparent, and this handsome edition, issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and of the Fine Arts, will be generally welcome. The undertaking is a vast one; the estimate is a minimum of ten volumes for the text, besides one to contain the author's biography, etc. But the work is being pushed on; another part, completing vol. i, is shortly to appear, and vol. ii will not be long delayed.

M. Wiet seems to have discharged his task with much care and ability. The notes, which are ample, indicate the variants in his MSS., which are some thirty in number, and give necessary explanations of the text with references to passages bearing thereon in other authors. M. Wiet's research extends not merely to printed texts, but to MSS. The numerous citations from the Futuh Misr of Ibn 'abd al-Hakam are corrected by the Paris MSS. Ar. 1686 and 1687. This text M. Wiet had, himself, intended editing, but in a graceful note on p. 79 he admits priority for Professor Torrey's long announced edition in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series, and with good reason, for at the remote date, 1895, given for the inception of Professor Torrey's work M. Wiet must have been receiving, rather than diffusing, knowledge. And those of us to whom the date seems less remote may well begin to doubt whether we shall ever be able to profit by Professor Torrey's edition.

Other works, however, in the "Memorial" series which already are, or shortly will be, at M. Wiet's command, may aid him in his task. Mr. Guest's edition of al-Kindi's Governors and Judges of Egypt-often cited in the text-should more than replace the partial editions of that work by Professor Gottheil and by Mr. Koenig, whose texts M. Wiet has used whilst avoiding their errors; see pp. 114, n. 4, and 96, n. 19. Again, Professor Margoliouth's edition of Yākūt's Irshād al-Arīb, which grows apace. (and which should lead M. Wiet, when citing Yākūt's other work, to specify it as $Buld\bar{a}n$), provides a full notice of the grammarian al-Kisā'i mentioned on p. 89, n. 5; see Irshād, v. 183-200. On p. 113 is a quotation from an Egyptian writer, Abu Muhammad al-Hasan b. Ismā'il al-Darrāb. The mention of him in the Kawākib (note 2) can be supplemented from the article "Darrāb" in the Ansāb of al-Sam'āni, the facsimile of which, long announced in the "Memorial" series, will, after its five years' incubation, soon see the light. He is described there (fol. 3612) as an Egyptian traditionist, to whom Ibn Mākūlā read over the Muruwwa. The latter, who died circ. A.H. 488, read also under the traditionist's son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and this clue to the father's date disclosed a notice of him in Dhahabi's Ta'rīkh al-Islam (B.M. Or. 48, 229a, sub A.H. 392), which states that he was born A.H. 313, and was author of the Muruwwa. Dhahabi says, too, that he read under the traditionist Ahmad b. al-Husain al-Istakhri, ob. A.H. 336 (B.M. Or. 48, 231a), and under Ibrāhīm b. al-Muwallad al-Rakki, ob. A.H. 342 (ib. 256a), and in the life of Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Mādarā'i (vizier to Khumārawaih, died A.H. 345) he quotes him as authority for al-Mādarā'i's monthly gifts of grain to the amount of 100,000 Ritl (ib. 271a)—an instance, presumably, of Muruwwa.

In a note on p. 168 M. Wiet acknowledges his indebtedness to a brother Orientalist for a statement about

a talismanic figure at Baghdad, contained in the introductory matter to Khaṭīb Baghdādi (text ed. Salmon). A better reference would have been to Mr. Guy le Strange's Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, where Khaṭīb's statement appears on p. 31. Elsewhere (p. 45, n. 26) M. Wiet cites this work. As was indicated by its reviewer in the Journal, 1901, p. 351, it constitutes, in reality, an edition of Khaṭīb's text and a translation, and that, again, worked up into literary form. Salmon's text, which was later in date, was, in fact, not needed.

References occur also to Baihaki's Maḥāsin wa Masāwi, ed. Schwally, on p. 105, nn. 10 and 15; p. 126, n. 9; and p. 171, n. 5, and these imply no small labour on Mr. Wiet's part, for that text is without either index, or indication of contents beyond the bare headings of its chapters.

On p. 93, n. 11, is a mention of Sa'īd b. Jubair's fairy wife who, after bearing him children, disappeared at the sound of her companions' voices. This pious Moslem was once detected anticipating the falcon who used to rouse St. Francis of Assisi for prayer (see JRAS., 1906, p. 869, n. 1); here he is found anticipating Matthew Arnold's Forsaken Merman.

M. Wiet's work shows throughout evidence of wide and careful research, and it may, indeed, be questioned whether the indications of variants in the notes are not excessive. At any rate, in the case of the lengthy quotations from Ibn 'abd al-Ḥakam, where M. Wiet has corrected the text of the *Khiṭaṭ* by the Paris MSS. of that author's work, the variants in the Khiṭaṭ MSS., some of them immaterial and some obviously blunders, might have been safely disregarded.

The London text of Ibn 'abd al-Hakam (B.M. Stowe, Or. 6), to which M. Wiet presumably had not access, discloses some variants from his text as settled by the Paris MSS. These may have interest, and I append such as I have noticed.

(81, 1. 2) مصر (81, 1. 5) تكاملوا (79, 1. 5) تعاملوا (79, 1. 5) تعاملوا (ib., l. 3) عُمِّرت after بعد ان قرق الله قوم نوح add فبذلك ib., l. 4) add وتزوّجوا (ib.); after فبذلك (ib.) بعد الغرق التي ب ib., l. 5); for شميت مافّة وَمَافة بلسان القبط ثلثون قد قدروا ودبروا (10), الحلف (ib., l. 8); read (93, l. 10) خلف (82, l. 7) كان بها الف منبر (ib., I. ult.) add المنابر (3a, I. 5); after (ib., l. 7); for المربد (99, l. 12), الرَّبُو (2a, l. 11); for المربد (100, l. 4), الْحَيْلُ (ib., l. 17), named, Ansāb, 155a, l. 15, 'Abd Allah b. Yazīd, cf. Ibn Hajar, Tahdhīb, vi, No. 162; ودُفنت هاجر حين توقيت ib. penult.) add أمّ دُنَين غ (2b, l. 1); Suyūṭi's reading (ib., n. 6) confirmed (2^a, l. 6 a.f.); reading p. 109, n. 9, confirmed (3^b, l. 12); reading of text جبر (127, l. 9, and n. 11) confirmed (20b, العبدري add بي خذيفة (19b, l. 13), العبدري (19b, l. 13), العبدري but this should be read العدوى, see Tabari, Index, Nawawi, فانقطعوا , 1. 4, and Ansāb, 386b, 1. 8, sub nom.; after (ib., l. 12) add الَّا بيتًا واحدًا قد بقى منهم اناس (20º, l. 17); تَدُورَةُ (167, l. 8) pointed thus (10a, l. 19), cf. p. 169, n. 1. Finally, in the note (p. 120, col. 2) on the Muqauqis the name in the text of the Diwan al-Insha should be (25ª marg.); it is said also that on Babylon being attacked by 'Amr (25°, 1. 2), الاعرج كان تخلف في المحصن الاعرب: : and on this a note on the margin states, بعد المقوقس where , يقال له المندفور القبطي كان يديّر مصر من قبل المقوقس the name may represent βανδοφόρος, "standard-bearer."

M. Wiet will have our best wishes in the carrying out of his important work.

H. F. A.

ARABIC CHRESTOMATHY. Selected passages from Arabic prose-writers, with an Appendix containing some specimens of ancient Arabic poetry. With a complete Glossary by Ernst Harder, Dr. phil. pp. viii and or. London and Heidelberg: Julius Gross, 1911.

There is no lack of Arabic chrestomathies to serve as reading-books for beginners. The above-mentioned book cannot, however, exactly be ranked among them, being calculated for more advanced students. It contains scarcely a dozen pages of vocalized extracts from the Qoran, whilst the bulk of the work consists of unvocalized texts, and therefore presupposes a fair knowledge of grammar. At the same time, it forms a kind of introduction to Arabic literature almost from its beginning down to modern times. As to comprehensiveness, it surpasses all existing works of similar character, except De Sacy's Chrestomathie Arabe, which will always remain unrivalled. Qorān exegesis is represented by an extract from Al-Baidawi's commentary, Tradition by a chapter of Al-Bokhāri's Sahih, and political economy by a section of the Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldun. The student is introduced to the Figh literature by the preface of the $Kit\bar{a}b$ al-Khāraj of Abu Yūsuf al-Hanafi, one of the oldest authorities in Moslim law, and further by an extract from the Compendium of Abu Shujā. An excellent and very needful opportunity of learning the method of Arab grammarians is offered in the reproduction of the chapter on the verb of Al-Zamakhshari's Mufassal. This is followed by a short extract from the same author's Golden Necklaces, which furnishes an appropriate specimen of Adab literature. Another example is given in the passages of Al-Meidāni's Book of Proverbs. Geography is represented by a lengthy extract from Al-Qazwini's Cosmography, and history by Al-Tabari's account of the murder of the Caliph Omar. The next two pieces appear for the first time in print. The one is a letter from an Arab lady in or near Fostāt, which, according to the compiler, dates from the second century of the Hijra. The letter is especially interesting on account of its unconventional spelling. Even assuming that the letter was written by a professional letter-writer, he must have been a person of education, and the looseness of his orthography shows that at this early epoch a certain relaxation of the academic rules of the grammarians seemed permissible for private use. The other document is a deed relating to the cultivation of a field. A rich harvest of similar letters and documents is waiting to be gathered in the various collections, such as the Cambridge Genizah and elsewhere. Many of these documents are of high historical, archæological, and linguistic value.

Romantic literature is represented by the story of the second journey of Sinbad the Sailor and the romance of the Fugitive Mamlūk by Jirji Zeidān (printed Cairo 1891), the learned editor of the journal Al-Hilāl. This is followed by an extract from the same author's Geography of Egypt. Quite a novel feature are the extracts from modern periodicals and newspapers, which give the European student an insight into a literature to acquire which he has but few opportunities unless he has ample leisure or makes them a special object of study. extracts are particularly instructive because they give the reader a fair notion of the spiritual life of the educated classes in the Arabic-speaking East, of the general education in Egypt and the Sudan, and, above all, the present status of woman. Several of these articles are drawn from ladies' journals. The concluding pages are filled with political articles and essays of general interest, local and financial news, telegrams and advertisements. In view of this wealth of matter one feels that the compiler of the book was right in giving only a few specimens of ancient poetry, and for more serious study refers the student to Noeldeke-Müller's Delectus. It is,

however, to be regretted that he did not give a few specimens of later poetry with their new metres, and one or two muwashshahs and folk-songs. A few literary and perhaps bibliographical notes on the authors put in requisition would have been welcome. The glossary attached to the texts is concise, but seems quite full enough for the purpose, and shows in its small compass the development of the language for modern needs. In any case, the book brings out very clearly that students of modern Arabic must make themselves acquainted with the old, and that no one can acquire a sound knowledge of the vernacular of the educated classes without devoting earnest study to the classical tongue.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

A SUMERIAN GRAMMAR WITH CHRESTOMATHY, with a vocabulary of the principal roots in Sumerian and a list of the most important syllabic and vowel transcriptions. By STEPHEN LANGDON, M.A., Ph.D., Shillito Reader of Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology, Oxford. 310 pp. (10 × 6½ inches). Paris: Librarie Paul Geuthner, 1911.

The author explains Sumer, the country wherein the language now known as Sumerian was spoken, as being a phonetic change of KI-EN-GIN, "the land of the faithful lord," probably originally designating the region of which Nippur was the capital. As is well known, the inventors of the script, which developed into the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia and Assyria, were formerly called Akkadians, and it is the late Professor Jules Oppert who first proposed the designation Sumerians, which the tablets indicate as the correct name. As for the meaning of Kingi (more fully Kingira), there is much uncertainty, but it is to be noted that the compilers of the bilingual lists explain kingi or kengi as meaning "country" (matu)

simply, as well as *Šumeri* or *Shumer*—in other words, *Kingi* or *Sumer* would seem to have been "the country" par excellence.

As may be judged from the number of pages, the work is very complete, and a great advance on what has already been published. Noteworthy is the fact that inflection is associated with the use of postfixes to express the relations By inflection the subject, object, adverbial of case. accusative, oblique case, locative, instrumental, temporal, etc., are expressed, and by means of suffixes (postpositions) the dative (-ra, -su, -se), instrumental (-da), ablative (-ta), etc. Nevertheless, even the inflections seem to have had a sufficiently distinct existence to make it possible that their force as distinct particles was felt. Indeed, this seems not only to be indicated by the interesting and valuable text published by the late G. Bertin in the Journal of this Society (Vol. XVII, Pt. I, Pls. I and II), where certain of them occur as infixes to the verbal forms. but also in other texts. That Sumerian was close to the borderland between postposition and inflection, however, seems to be undoubted. Prepositional phrases, and even prepositions, also exist in the inscriptions.

As one who has made the Sumerian historical inscriptions a speciality, the author has quoted from sources not generally used for grammatical purposes hitherto. This naturally makes his work especially valuable, and the chapters upon the phonology and the nouns are especially interesting. The verbal forms, with their many infixes, are well described, and the analysis of the phrase which they generally contain is brought fully into view.

The chrestomathy is in transcription only, due doubtless not only to the expense of reproducing cuneiform texts in the original character, but also to the extra space which would have been required. It includes "Gudea's dream", an "incantation to the Sun-god", and a "Song to Ištar". The "Selected Vocabulary" will be found very useful and

instructive to the student; it occupies fifty-eight pages. The list of classified syllables, or, as the author calls it, "List of the most important syllabic and vowel transcriptions," might have been made fuller in the matter of line-forms and significations, even at the risk of a little repetition (seldom a disadvantage in a book intended for students).

But it is undoubtedly the best book upon Sumerian grammar that has been hitherto issued, and full of suggestive and instructive matter even for the specialist.

T. G. PINCHES.

DIE KEILINSCHRIFTEN DER ACHÄMENIDEN, bearbeitet von F. H. WEISSBACH. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 3. 8vo. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910.

As pointed out in the Preface, this is the first time that an attempt has been made to present all three versions of the Persian trilingual inscriptions in a single volume. It is needless to say that the name of the author is a guarantee for the thoroughness of the work.

The introductory portion, which consists of eighty-four pages, has chapters dealing with the inscriptions, languages, the systems of transcriptions, and the importance of the texts. They were written for Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and II, Cyrus the Younger (?), and Artaxerxes III. To these are added certain inscriptions of undetermined origin, and the Babylonian cylinder of Antiochus Soter discovered by Rassam at Birs Nimroud.

The text (in transcription only) is arranged so that the reader has all the corresponding portions of each version either before his eyes or at least close at hand, together with the German translation; the left-hand page in each case having the Persian and Elamite, and the right-hand the Babylonian, the rendering, and notes thereon.

As one of the specialities of one of the most renowned of the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sir H. C.

Rawlinson, this book upon the Persian inscriptions which he studied is worthy of the notice of all belonging to this Society. His name appears as one of those who took a prominent part not only in decipherment, but also in the acquisition of material. The literature of the subject, as given by Dr. Weissbach, is exceedingly complete, and even humble workers find a place therein. In consequence of his many researches in the various publications which have appeared since the texts were first issued, the author has been able in many cases to improve the readings, and many additions to the material are recorded and made use Lists of the Persian and Elamite characters, as well as an alphabetical list of proper names, add to the value of the work, which, however, might have been the better for an index in addition to the table of contents. Nevertheless. the book is a welcome addition to the literature of the Old Persian inscriptions, whose importance cannot be overestimated; and the author deserves the thanks of all who study or take an interest in the three languages treated and used therein. T. G. PINCHES.

TRAVELS AND STUDIES IN THE NEARER EAST. By A. T. OLMSTEAD, B. B. CHARLES, and J. E. WRENCH. Vol. I, Part II: Hittite Inscriptions. Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient, organized by J. R. S. Sterrett. Ithaca, New York, 1911.

This contribution to the work being done in the Semitic East is typical of the immense interest which the study of Assyriology has aroused. Though the authors have gone over ground already many times traversed, their methods are so thorough that they may be said to furnish a model for all future work of the same nature. As is well known, rock-cut inscriptions are often considerably weathered, and even when this is not the case they may have been

damaged by the hand of man, or by some accident. The explorers belonging to the Cornell expedition have first cleaned the inscriptions; then, having beaten in the squeeze-paper, made a drawing of the same, and afterwards photographed them under the most favourable conditions whilst the paper was still adhering. A final copy was then in each case produced by comparing the first copy, the photograph, and the squeeze together. The result has been something as perfect as it is possible to produce, and many improved readings have been the result of this systematic method of securing trustworthy material.

The copies of inscriptions are included in the "plates", which number twenty-seven; the photographs of sculptures and inscriptions, with and without squeezes attached, amount to forty-five. The latter are half-tone blocks, and in many cases seem to be only moderately successful. The Ivriz sculpture, however, is remarkably good, the boldness of the figure with the bunches of grapes being very noteworthy.

The letterpress describes the monuments, and gives a statement of what has hitherto been done on each. Great credit is due to Professor B. B. Charles, who is responsible for the copies, for his part of the work.

T. G. PINCHES.

Tablets from the Archives of Drehem, with a complete account of the origin of the Sumerian Calendar, Translation, Commentary, and 23 plates. By Stephen Langdon, Shillito Reader of Assyriology and Semitic Philology, Oxford. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Paris: Geuthner, 1911.

Drehem is described as a small mound 3 miles south of Nippur, and is quite a recent discovery. It has furnished a number of tablets, similar to some of those found at Nippur (Niffer) and to the majority of the records from Lagaš (Tel-loh). In many cases these documents have cylinder seal-impressions, some of them of historical and many of artistic interest, whilst those which have inscriptions are sometimes of special value on that account. The seal-impressions on the tablets found at Drehem are generally very fine.

This small work of twenty-five pages and twenty-three plates has translations or paraphrases of sixty-seven of these documents, covering a chronological period extending from the latter part of the reign of Dungi to the first year of Ibe-Sin—about thirty-one years—and, according to the chronological system of the author, corresponding with the period 2413-2382 B.C. The earliest text (No. 12) refers to three water-channels, at which ten men worked for sixty days, excavating in that time 3,240 cubic U (generally regarded as the ammatu or cubit) in the first instance and smaller sections in the other two. If the character at the beginning of line 9 be \rightarrow , the first was the water-course named after Dumu-zida or Tammuz, and the second that of Nannar-ursag. The name of the field in which they were is broken away.

This, however, is one of the more important texts of the collection; most of the others refer to cattle: "The contents of the tablets show that the Arabs have found the records of the cattle market of Nippur which supplied not only the great temple of Enlil and his consort Ninlil with animals for sacrifice but the other temples of Nippur as well. Frequent reference is made to cattle and sheep supplied to the city bakery é-mu."

An interesting account of the names of the months in use at the old town of Drehem is prefixed to the work. Mas-azag-kur, the "month of the eating of tender kids fit for the sacrifice, Aug.-Sept.," was the equivalent of Bar-zag-gar or Nisan, March-April, in later times, showing a backward movement of the calendar amounting to five months. "Evidently the Semites who wrote

šu-numun for the month Tammuz had completely forgotten that *šunumun* in Sumerian means the sowing of barley, which occurs five months later." Shiftings of individual months seem to have taken place from time to time, so that the revolution in the calendar here described is possibly not so unlikely as it would seem.

Treating of the name of the month equivalent with Iyyar, which is transcribed by the author as gur-si-sa, it is to be noted that the Rev. J. P. Way's tablet (Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, May 2, 1899) gives a month called iti Gusisi, or (as the inscription was possibly read in Semitic) arah Gusisi, "month of Gusisa" or "Gusisu", possibly a Semiticized form. This implies si-sa, and suggests the probability that the month-name gar-ra-ne-mumu (-mama) could, when the spelling admitted it, also be read with gud as the first element; cf. the variants Gud-du-ne-ma(ma), Gud-ta-ne-ma(ma) in Amherst Tablets, vol. i, pp. 106, 137; Thureau-Dangin's Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes, Nos. 326, 357, 366, 397, though it is not unlikely that some other explanation is possible. Another doubtful reading is that of the third month-name, ezen a.ne-gun, but with regard to this it seems not improbable that Western Asia Inscriptions, vol. iii, pl. li, No. 8, where the star-name ► is glossed Ussi, furnishes the key, in which case Izin- or Ezen-Ussi would be the pronunciation.

A valuable contribution, and a work as suggestive as any that Professor Langdon has written.

T. G. PINCHES.

Postscript.—Professor Langdon writes to me a correction of his reading Ne-ne-nig (= the Semitic month Ab), which, according to Delaporte's 4th Drehem-tablet in the Revue d'Assyriologie, vol. viii, p. 186, should be Ne-ne-gara.

M. Delaporte's paper gives twenty-two excellently-edited texts, and has among the four viceroys mentioned, a new one, Li-ba-[nu-]ug-ša-pa-aš of Marhaši.

T. G. P.

THE PROGRESS OF JAPAN, 1853-71. By J. H. GUBBINS, C.M.G.

Mr. Gubbins has written an excellent book, indispensable to those who wish to understand how the Japan of 1853 came to be the Japan we know to-day, to emerge from a state of isolation and obscurity to the position of one of the great powers of the world, the arbitress possibly of the destinies of the Far East. The course of constitutional development is clearly traced, mainly from a Japanese point of view and upon the authority of Japanese documents. No book published in any European language treating of the period has adopted this plan, for few indeed are the writers possessed of a sufficient knowledge of the Japanese language to investigate the history of the time as told by the Japanese themselves, especially of late by the new school of Japanese historical scholars. Mr. Gubbins has largely removed the mystery that hung over these years, especially from 1853 to 1868, and makes it clear that the course of history was far from being as abnormal as is commonly supposed. To understand it a knowledge of Constitutional Japan at the time of Commodore Perry's visit (1833) is necessary, and this may be sufficiently gathered from Mr. Gubbins' pages. More important still is the lucid exposition given of the system of combined abdication and delegation that governed the whole administration from the Emperor and Shogun down to a grade fairly low in the hierarchy of office, a system which, more fully developed in Japan than elsewhere, assured a certain stability of form until the change in opinion attained its breakingpoint after more than two centuries of domination.

F. VICTOR DICKINS

Doits'-Bunten-Kyökwasho. Deutsche Grammatik für Japaner. Von A. Seidel. Berlin.

This is an excellent introduction to German accidence. and in its numerous exercises and conversations furnishes a well-chosen and extensive vocabulary and phraseology which should be extremely useful to the Japanese student of German, who trusts more to memory than to a scientific study of the structure of a language. Hence the absence of paradigms of declension and conjugation and the lack of syntax will be less felt. An introduction written in ji and kana and also in romaji gives a good account of the phonetics and scripts of German, a matter of extreme importance where sounds differ so much as between German and Japanese. The pronunciation is carefully figured, and on the whole a better guide to its subject within its limits can hardly be conceived. It is interesting to note the new vocabulary of Japanese and the modern style of Japanese prose used in the explanatory parts all in romaji—and the student of Japanese, English or German, may pick up a good deal of information from this outcome of Dr. Seidel's labours.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

Wörterbuch der deutsch-japanischen Umgangsprache. Von A. Seidel. Berlin, 1910, Märkische Verlagsanstalt.

In this well-arranged, comfortably printed (in Latin characters), and copious volume of some 500 pages, containing perhaps some 30,000 words and compounds, we have another example of Dr. Seidel's industry. It is refreshing to find the system of spelling Japanese words devised by Hepburn and the English pioneers in Japanese adopted, by far the most economical and congruous with the language among the various systems that have been proposed. (The Japanese are engaged, it is said, in constructing a new system of extreme complexity.) Under

the main words a fair number of illustrative and idiomatic expressions are given, and a short grammar is prefixed, which perhaps was hardly needed, as of little profit to those who are likely to use the dictionary. A caution might have been added that kango words (Chinese origin) are usually pronounced with a slight accent on the first syllable, contrary to the usual Japanese pronunciation, nor is it made clear that of such words as (Chinese) gien each vowel is separately pronounced. There exist now excellent dictionaries of the spoken language, French-Japanese, English-Japanese, and German-Japanese, of which Raguet's Petit Dictionnaire is perhaps the most convenient in size and arrangement.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

A YEAR OF JAPANESE EPIGRAMS. Translated and compiled by William N. Porter. Illustrated by Kazunori Ishibashi. Oxford University Press, 1911.

This is a very prettily got up volume containing very prettily translated and illustrated Japanese so-called epigrams (haikai or hokku), arranged so as to suit all the days of a complete year. The original text of the hokku is given in roman, and notes are added on their authors and as elucidations of their meaning. It is best in most cases to leave the guesses of the commentators alone, and translate the texts without additions or omissions, adhering to them as closely as possible. Only in this way can their peculiar spirit be rendered. But this is not, at least always, the way chosen by Mr. Porter. Thus he renders the first epigram, tori no koye | hana aru katae | shi-hō-hai, "Let birds and blossoms pay | due homage to the Emperor | upon each New Year's Day." This is not only a wrong translation but is mere bathos. The Emperor is not mentioned, nor is any homage paid to him. The true rendering is: "Now everywhere are birds a-warbling, flowers a-showing | 'tis New Year's

Prayer." The allusion is to the custom of the Emperor on New Year's Day publicly invoking (hai) the favour of the deities of the four quarters $(shih\bar{o})$ for the Lord of Japan. This, the poet hints, is what the song of birds and show of plum-blossoms are now doing. A word may here fitly be added to explain what these hokku really are, as an immense amount of meaning is often read into them by commentators which is not in them. The older primitive Japanese uta were naga-uta of ten to a hundred or more lines—the longest I know has about 150 lines. These were composed of alternate lines of five and seven syllables (all open), and a concluding couplet of two lines each of seven syllables. Of this naga-uta the introduction (three lines) and the conclusion (two lines) were taken to form a tanka of thirty-one open syllables, and this was finally reduced to a hokku consisting of the introduction only, namely seventeen syllables. Compression could no further go, and the art of the hokku or haikaishi was to compress his meaning within this narrow compass, and there was no external suggestiveness beyond what was necessarily involved in the process of condensation of subject and expression. Most of them would be plain enough to a fairly well-educated Japanese, or to those to whom they were addressed. Apart from the difficulty of observance of more or less complicated rules hokku may, with a little practice, be perpetrated by the score.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

THE HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. By DINESH CHANDRA SEN, B.A. Calcutta: published by the University, 1911.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of the Bengali language and literature, and I wish I were more

¹ Or simply and literally the singing of birds, the blossoming of the side branches of the plum-tree (taking katae = katayeda), the Imperial New Year's Prayer (shihôhai). The three ideas are enunciated, and the reader is left to connect them as he may choose.

competent to review it. I have been asked to notice it, and shall gladly make the attempt, but I have for so many years deserted Bengali for Persian that I am not able to do the work justice. It is a very full and interesting account of the development of the Bengali language, and has cost the author much physical and mental labour, and has even, we are sorry to say, injured his health. Dinesh Chandra, who was for several years a schoolmaster in Tipperah, is an enthusiastic admirer of Eastern Bengal, with its noble rivers and beautiful garden-city-like villages. He is a patriot, without being an intolerant one, and there is no bitterness in his writings. It has often been remarked that classical Latin authors show little feeling for Nature. Virgil and Horace are almost the only ones among them who delight in natural scenery. It was on this subject that Sir Archibald Geikie delivered a very interesting address to the Classical Association a few years ago. No such charge can be brought against Sanskrit or Bengali authors, nor, as far as can be judged from the romance of The Two Fair Cousins, does it apply to Chinese writers. Indeed, all Oriental poets seem to delight in descriptions of scenery and of flowers. Dinesh Chandra shares these feelings, and as he has a power of picturesque writing his descriptions are often eloquent. Chap. vi, p. 692, on "The Poetry of Rural Bengal", is a striking instance of this faculty.

The subject of the Bengali language and literature has been little noticed by English writers. The articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica and the India Gazetteer, vols. ii and vii, are somewhat meagre, though the latter work has the merit of calling attention to Dinesh Chandra's Bengali work on the subject. The accomplished writer (Dr. Grierson) of the notice in vol. vii of the Gazetteer, p. 434, says that "Dinesh Chandra's Banga Bhasha o Sāhitya is one of the few works of serious research on European lines which has issued from a modern Indian Press".

The volume by Dinesh Chandra under review does not profess to be a complete history of Bengali literature. It ends at 1850, so that there is little or no notice in it of Bengali literature of the present day, and nothing is said about existing newspapers. Perhaps, like Horace, he was afraid of treading on smouldering lava. I hope, however, that he will some day have the strength to give a second volume of lectures (the form which his book originally took), dealing with the literature of the day. What he has done in the present volume is to trace the rise of the Bengali language, and to analyse its early literature. It will probably be a surprise to Anglo-Indians to learn how old the Bengali language is, and how much has been done, and is still doing, in the way of collecting early Bengali manuscripts.2 The common impression seems to be that Bengali is the product of the last century, but Dinesh Chandra has shown that there are Bengali compositions as old as the fifteenth century, and even earlier. Apparently, this fact was unknown even to Bengalis sixty years ago, for Babu Har Chandra Dutt, in an article in the Calcutta Review for January, 1852, on Bengali poetry, tells his readers that the oldest Bengali poem extant is the Chanda of Kabikankan, and he adds in a note that Kabikankan (Mukunda Ram) and Bharat Chandra were contemporaries and lived in the time of Rajah Krishna Chandra of Nadiya, that is, in the middle of the eighteenth century!

The earliest Bengali poems are either translations from the Sanskrit or are religious verses, and apparently they are without literary value. Perhaps the most interesting of the latter class of compositions is the ballad-cycle about the Snake-goddess, Manasā Devī. As Dinesh Chandra

¹ There is a valuable article on early Bengali literature and newspapers by the Rev. Mr. Long in the Calcutta Review for January, 1850.

² See an interesting article by Mr. J. D. Anderson, in our Journal for April last, on the origin of Bengali, in which attention is called to the work being done by Bengalis in the investigation of their native speech.

remarks, the great respect for Manasā Devī, in the lower Gangetic valley, is a natural feeling.

"The plains of Bengal, especially the portions adjoining the sea, are infested with snakes, and deaths from snake-bite during the rainy season become so common as to cause considerable alarm to the people. The cottages of the poor villagers offer no protection to them from the venomous enemy, and when the floods come upon the mud-hovels and thatched roofs, snakes and other venomous reptiles take shelter there, and are not infrequently discovered hidden in beds or coiled up in pitchers or other household utensils. The poor people have no means of cutting down the jungles and keeping the village-paths clear. In their utter helplessness they are driven to take refuge in God. The God of the snakes is also the God of men, and by propitiating Him they hope to avert the danger with which, unaided, they cannot cope. A consolation comes to them surely, when thus resigned to His mercy."

It accords with this view that the rains are the special season for Manasa-worship. Whatever might tend to propitiate so dread a goddess was sure to appeal to the "business and bosoms" of the poor rvots of Eastern Bengal. The tiger was less dreaded, for he was chiefly destructive to cattle. The earliest writer on Manasa appears to be Hari Datta, a blind, or at least a one-eyed man, and a resident in the great eastern district of Mymensing. Dinesh Chandra supposes him to be as early as the twelfth century, but there seems to be no ground for this view beyond the fact that he preceded by some length of time Vijaya Gupta, who belongs to the fifteenth century, and was also a native of Eastern Bengal. Dinesh Chandra says that Vijaya Gupta's village is in the district of Bakargani, but I suspect that it is now in Faridpur, for it is part of the village of Gaila, which is situated in the pargana of Kotwalipara, and in the midst of a very swampy country. It was, and perhaps still is, the abode of many pundits. At least two other natives of Mymensing, besides Hari Datta, wrote poems about Manasā Devi. One was Narayan Deva, who

was a contemporary of Vijaya Gupta, and whose home was in what is now the subdivision of Kishoreganj; the other was Rajah Rāj Singh, who, apparently, belonged to the family of the Susang Rajahs, and who lived about 125 years ago (p. 292). Dinesh Chandra has given (pp. 257 and 282) the story of Behula, the daughter-in-law of the famous Chand Swadagur, who had refused to worship Manasā Devī. With all its extravagance, it is an affecting tale of wifely fidelity, and has drawn tears from generations of Bengali men and women.

Apparently, the greatest of the early poets of Bengal is Mukunda Ram, known as Kabikankan, that is, "the jewel of poets." He belongs to the district of Bardwan, and lived in the sixteenth century in the time of Rajah Man Singh. Like all Eastern poets, he seems to have written too much, for he has left 25,000 lines. Part of his work has had the advantage of having been translated into English verse by the late Professor Cowell. who has compared him to Crabbe. This is on account of his realism. It follows that Mukunda Ram's poems cannot be altogether pleasant reading, and Dinesh Chandra admits this, saying that "Through all the romance of the situations he creates, there rises a sound of woe, a deep, pathetic tone and a murmur of grief and wailing, and a gloomy effect is left on the mind of the reader". It is characteristic of the Hindu mind, at least of the former generation, that Dinesh Chandra should add that the redeeming feature of Mukunda's poetry is the feeling of absolute resignation to the Deity which pervades the poem. It is this resignation, or fatalism, which has been the curse of Bengal, and which has, we fear, its root in cowardice, or, at least, in the lethargy and feebleness produced by an enervating climate. Long ago the Emperor Humayun, who was a Bengali at heart, felt the sweet

¹ His translation of three episodes from Chandi appeared in the JASB, for 1902, vol. lxxi.

poison of the soft air of Gaur, and gave the country the name of Jinnatabad, or the Paradise of Countries. The contemporaries of Ibn Batuta were more discerning, and called India a "blissful hell". It was the climate of Bengal, and the teaching of Buddhism, that has made Bengalis hope to get rid of snakes by hymns and an imaginary goddess, instead of cutting down jungle and keeping night-lights in their cottages.

Dinesh Chandra devotes many pages to an account of Chaitanya. This remarkable man was only a year or two younger than Martin Luther.¹ Both were religious reformers, but with what different results! Chaitanya was a dreamer and more akin to George Fox than to Luther. He abandoned his wife and his household duties, and his head was always in the clouds. If he did not actually commit suicide,² he certainly attempted to drown himself. I am not sure if he really helped the world. On the other hand, Luther broke the bonds of Rome, and laid the foundations of the German language by his translation of the Bible. It does not appear that Chaitanya or his followers did anything comparable to this for the development of Bengali.

It is pleasant to see that Dinesh Chandra does justice to Dr. Carey and to Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. This great man began life as an omlah in Rungpore, a fact which should be an encouragement to Bengali keranis. He was Dewan, or Serishtadar, in the Collectorate there, and was highly esteemed by his superior, Mr. Digby. (See Kissory Chand Mitter's article in the Calcutta Review of

¹ This is pointed out by the Rev. Lal Behari Dey in an excellent article on Chaitanya and the Vaishnavas in the Calcutta Review for January, 1851. At p. 769 Dinesh Chandra appears not to be altogether just to Lal Behari, and to underrate his knowledge of Bengali homes.

² Dinesh Chandra says, p. 472, that the *Chaitanya-charita-mrita* does not say how Chaitanya died; but according to Lal Behari Dey, Krishna Dās, the author of the book, ends with a description of Chaitanya's being brought ashore a corpse. His revival on the beach is no doubt as fictitious as the Sikh story about the escape of Arjun.

December, 1845.) Jacquemont, the French naturalist and traveller, describes an interview that he had with Ram Mohan in one of the volumes of his Voyage dans l'Inde, Paris, 1841. Ram Mohan Roy was enabled to visit England by the patronage of the King of Oude, and to him also he owed his title of Rajah. Let it be recorded to the honour of the Oude dynasty that it enabled Ram Mohan to visit England, and that it put upon the Gumti the first river-steamer in India!

At p. 982 of Dinesh Chandra's work there is a most interesting account of a sati, extracted from a book by Mr. Buckland. It is astounding to think that a man who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in and after the Mutiny, and who died near the end of 1901, should have, as the Magistrate of Hooghly, superintended a sati, and have seen a woman stand the test which has made famous Mutius Scævola.

There are a good many misprints in Dinesh Chandra's book, but hardly any of them is likely to cause difficulty. The most important one that I have noticed, and which probably was not altogether a printer's error, is at p. 624, where Alāol is said to have translated the Persian poem Hastapaikār of Nizāmī Gaznavī. This is a mistake for the Haft Paikar of Nizāmī of Ganj, the modern Elizabetpol.

LE MODERNISME BOUDDHISTE ET LE BOUDDHISME DU BOUDDHA. Par ALEXANDRA DAVID. pp. 280. Paris: F. Alcan, 1911.

This work, written with lucid simplicity and directness of style, and in a spirit of sympathy combined with disinterestedness, claims to fill a gap in French literature which cannot be said to exist in all the literatures of to-day. The author laments the want of popular manuals by French Orientalists on Vedāntism, Buddhism, and

other ancient yet living phases of Aryan religion and philosophy. She reminds us that among the intellectual classes in India there exists a Vedantist Modernism, circulating its publications by thousands, and, in the Further East, a Buddhist Modernism with a vast programme of reform and of propaganda, which may end by dwarfing the extent of the movement identified with Martin Luther. "Tout cela," she contends, "c'est de l'histoire contemporaine . . . cependant nous l'ignorons." And frank and free of speech in front of our cherished shrines, like Cromwell and his "Take away that bauble", she arraigns our culture for still confining the horizon of the young person to the Greeks: "si pâles à côté des penseurs hindous ["O upright judge!"], et dont les systèmes et les théories s'écartent tant, le plus souvent, de nos conceptions modernes," when "in India we have a living teaching near to the science of to-day, and even to that of to-morrow."

As a makeshift for the unwritten books that should minister to the needs of the busy laity and the studious youth, she has compiled a quite excellent exposition from the German and English handbooks that have been written, and from translations of what our German neo-Buddhist friends call Pali-Buddhism — no bad term for Theravada. For a writer at second hand the exposition is illustrated by a more conscientious selection of references than is often the case in such works. Mme David sees in the Pitakas the oldest sources known to us; and she confines herself to them and to the all but canonical Milinda. In an Appendix containing quotations from a miscellaneous collection, no discrimination in chronology is made. But for this negative defect, which here cannot prove very misleading, the modern Rangoon brochure from which she quotes, is responsible.

The closing chapter on "deux problèmes contemporains" discusses briefly the attitude of Buddhism towards women

and towards the social question. Mme David is now carrying out an inquiry, commissioned by the French Minister of Public Instruction, into philosophical and religious movements in the East. She combines in a high degree an interest in the growth and decay of religious beliefs with a desire to make such perspectives a living force in the present evolution of human culture. We have much to look forward to, should she publish the results of her inquiries. C. A. E. BHYS DAVIDS.

THE BRAHMANAIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. By M. T. Narasimhiengar. Madras, 1911.

In this paper the author essays the task of presenting a summary conspectus of the three great systems of the Vēdānta, viz. the Advaita, the Dvaita, and the Viśiṣṭādvaita. He rightly recognizes at the outset that the fundamental ideas of all the three schools are already implicit in the Upanishads, and then he passes on to give an epitome of the systems as formulated by Sankara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva respectively, concluding with a brief comparison of their chief points of likeness and unlikeness. The essay, though summary and sometimes open to criticism (especially in his attempt to minimize the radical differences between the idealistic Advaita and its opponents), is thoughtful and well deserving of study. L. D. B.

CATALOGUE OF MALAY MANUSCRIPTS AND MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE MALAY LANGUAGE IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY. By RICHARD GREENTREE, B.A., and EDWARD WILLIAMS BYRON NICHOLSON, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

This catalogue includes only a dozen works, comprising two prose romances, a poem, a treatise on divination, four letters, a dictionary, and three grammars. But the value

of the collection is high, for five of the items date from the early years of the sixteenth century and four from the second half of the same. Now for obvious climatic and other reasons ancient Malay MSS. are extremely scarce: you might scour the East to-morrow without finding one that was three centuries old. Oxford, Cambridge, and two or three Continental libraries contain the few that have survived from that early period. The matter is of interest and importance, because these old MSS. come down to us straight from the golden age of Malay literature, and they embody the spelling of the period, which is in many respects different from the spelling of to-day.

It was therefore well worth while to catalogue the little Oxford collection. But I cannot quite agree with the reasons Mr. Nicholson's preface urges in support of this praiseworthy undertaking. They are, first, that "the opportunities . . . of acquiring . . . Malay MSS. are so rare that a delay of centuries might not have seen any considerable increase in their number" in the Bodleian: and secondly that "the chances . . . of obtaining a competent cataloguer for them are likewise so rare that it was well to seize the . . . opportunity " of securing Mr. Greentree's services in that capacity. I must, with great respect, observe that these statements seem to illustrate a certain aloofness which has sometimes been charged against the academic mind. If the Bodleian desired to add to its collection of old Malay MSS. a number of modern ones, it could easily have done so at a very moderate cost by invoking the aid of the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States through the Colonial Office. Moreover, it could with equal ease have found half a dozen competent cataloguers for them among Malay scholars residing permanently in this country or visiting it for long periods of furlough.

However, I do not mean to suggest that the work has not been properly done. On the whole the catalogue is a creditable performance, both in externals and in contents. So far as the former are concerned, it could hardly indeed be surpassed. We are given excellent plates illustrating the calligraphy and ornamentation of the several MSS., and the general get-up of the book is quite up to the high level of the Clarendon Press. As for the essence of the work, the descriptions are good and much technical knowledge of watermarks has been applied towards the determination of the dates of the MSS. The few criticisms I have to make concern matters of detail of secondary importance. I am at a loss to understand the principle of transliteration adopted for the rendering of Malay extracts. It does not appear to coincide with any recognized system, nor is it explained. The use of vowels with the mark of length (7) may, I suppose, be justified by special reasons, but is not strictly in accordance with the real phonetic character of the language, or the usual practice. The use of e for the indeterminate vowel (usually written \check{e}) is a mere convention, but the convention should have been noted and explained. I see no real advantage in these departures from the generally recognized system of orthography. And there are a good many Spellings like $p\bar{u}'\bar{a}d$, 'am $\bar{u}r$, and temat seem to me to be neither Arabic nor Malay, neither literal nor phonetic. Bahuas-nia (for bahwa-sanya or -sĕnya) is downright wrong, and so is pertuah (for pertuha, modern pěrtua).

One or two renderings and readings are also open to criticism. I take the title of the book on divination to be kitāb ramal, not ramali. The former is the usual term, and besides, there is no trace of a vowel point (kĕsrah) or dots under the final letter, and there is a dot, probably meant for sukūn, over it. The account given of this work in the catalogue says that it was written "at the order of

the Sultān, the Pengīrān Rātū of Palembānī". Where "Palembānī" is to be looked for is not explained; and, in fact, there is no such place. The original says daripada suroh ibnu (or ibni) 'l-sultānī Pangeran Ratu nēgēri Palembānī, i.e. "by the order of a king's son, the Pangeran Ratu of Palembang". The Pangeran Ratu was probably one of the princes of the reigning house, very likely the heir apparent, and Palembānī is a quasi-Arabic adjective, admissible in poetic diction. The spelling Pengīrān cannot be supported either on phonetic or etymological grounds.

These are minor details, but the catalogue was prepared as long ago as 1905. Since then Mr. Greentree's health has unfortunately broken down, and he has been unable to revise the proofs: had he had the opportunity, he would probably have corrected some of these slips. But it is rather a pity that, failing such revision by the author, the duty of seeing the little book through the press was not entrusted to some other Malay scholar.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ORIENS CHRISTIANUS: Halbjahrshefte für die Kunde des Christlichen Orients. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. BAUMSTARK. Neue Serie, Erster Band, Heft i. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1911.

We welcome the reappearance of this half-yearly Review, which, after having been for some time in abeyance, has made a fresh start under the auspices of the Görres Society and the editorship of Dr. Baumstark. The Review is divided into three sections, the first of which deals with the publication and criticism of original texts, the second consists of original essays, and the third contains miscellaneous matter and elaborate book-notices. Dr. Baumstark's essay on the *Peregrinatio Aetheriæ*, or, as it used formerly to be called, the *Peregrinatio Silviæ*, is the most elaborate and important contribution

to the present number. The travels of this lady pilgrim from Spain (or perhaps Southern Gaul), who visited the Holy Land and Edessa some time between 363 and 540 A.D., are of great importance in the determination of many liturgical and topographical questions. Dr. Baumstark essays to determine her date more exactly; he thinks it can be shown that she spent the three years 383-5 A.D. in Palestine, which is pretty nearly the date assigned to her by the late Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Wordsworth, if we remember right. Professor J. Strzygowski discusses the sacred figures (Daniel and the lions, etc.) on a broken ivory comb from the ancient Hipporegius in Algeria; and Monsignor Kaufmann refutes Wiedemann's contention that St. Menas was merely a Christian adaptation of Horus-Harpocrates. A short paper on the position of the first Roman post-station from Jerusalem completes the list of original essays.

In the first section of the Review Professor Ignazio Guidi publishes two ancient Ethiopic prayers for the dead from the Mashafa Genzat, the Abyssinian ritual for the dead, which corresponds with the Coptic RIXULL RIGHT, and he compares them with very similar prayers in the Greek euchologion and the sacramentary of Serapion. Professor Guidi has apparently forgotten that these prayers, with some variations, have already been published by the Rev. G. Horner in his Ethiopic Statutes of the Apostles, one of the most important contributions to Ethiopic and liturgical studies that have appeared in England of recent years. We give the first prayer quoted by Professor Guidi in extenso, with the corresponding passages from the Statutes of the Apostles, p. 229. The passages of the latter which

¹ The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici, edited, with translation and collation from Ethiopic and Arabic MSS., also a translation of the Saidic and collation of the Bohairic versions, by Rev. G. Horner. London, 1904.

we have omitted will be found, with slight variations, in the second prayer quoted by Professor Guidi: "Itemque oramus omnipotentem Deum, Patrem Domini nostri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, pro fratribus nostris qui obdormierunt, ut requiescere facias animam servi tui . . . in loco herbido prope aquas quietis, in sinu Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in paradiso voluptatis, cum sanctis tuis omnibus. Corpus vero suscita die quam constituisti, secundum sanctam promissionem tuam, quæ mendax non reperitur; assigna ei regnum cæleste . . . dum largiris transitum animarum eorum liberum sine impedimento vel dolore." The corresponding passage in the Statutes of the Apostles runs thus: "And again we beseech thee, Almighty God, the Father, etc. . . for those who have fallen asleep . . . and for the soul of thy servant N . . . Give rest to their soul in the place of pasturage, by the water of rest, in the bosom of Abreham, Yeshak, and Ya'cob, in the garden of joy . . . having united them with thy holy ones. And raise up their body in the day which Thou hast appointed, according to Thy holy promise of Thy heavenly kingdom . . . Do Thou grant passings to their soul freely, without hindrance."

This section contains two other articles, the first on Greek and Hebrew quotations from the Pentateuch, by a Nestorian commentator of the ninth century; the other on the Armenian version of the Prologus to Job, by Julian of Halikarnassus, also known as Julianus Episcopus Alexandrinus. The original Greek was at first ascribed to Origen, or Pseudo-Origen, but the question of authorship appears to be clearly decided by this Armenian version. For the first of these articles Professor Baumstark is responsible, for the second P. P. Forhat.

Looking at the Review as a whole, we regret that the number of contributors to this, the first of the series, is so limited, and we hope that in future the Editor will be able to obtain more ample assistance from his collaborateurs.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October, November, December, 1911.)

I.—General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society October 10, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. A. M. Blackman.

Rev. Edward J. Clifton.

Mrs. Cora Linn Daniels.

Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan.

Mr. Mahomed Hasan Khan.

Mr. S. Labh Singh.

Nineteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

November 14, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

A vote of sympathy to Miss Irvine, the daughter of the late Mr. William Irvine, Vice-President of the Society, was passed.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Raja Naushad Ali Khan.

Kaviraj K. L. Bishagratna.

Babu Gopal Chandra Chakravarti.

Professor Ganes Chandra Chandra.

Babu Aboni Chandra Chatterjea.

Mr. L. Fanous.

Professor Johannes Hertel.

The Rev. Hardy Jowett.

H.H. the Raj Rana Sir Bhowani Singh Sahib Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of Jhalawar.

Dr. N. J. Krom.

Dr. Berthold Laufer.

Mr. F. R. Martin.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea.

Babu Manmatha Nath Mukherjea.

Mr. J. E. Nathan.

H.H. the Maharaja Dhiraj Bupinder Singh Bahadur of Patiala.

Mr. A. W. Pim, I.C.S.

Mr. Donald Herbert Edmund Sunder.

Rev. W. M. Teape.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper on "The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry".

A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, Professor Hagopian, Miss Ridding, and Dr. Daiches took part.

December 12, 1911.—Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:-

Mr. N. P. Subramanya Aiyar.

Mr. Kerest Haig.

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Vincent Smith read a paper on "Indian Painting from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century".

A discussion followed, in which Colonel Hendley, Mr. Dames, and Colonel Plunkett took part.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. LXV, Heft iii.

Wünsche (Aug.). Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch.

Bauer (H.). Zur Entstehung des arabischen Elativs.

Hertel (J.). Die Erzählung vom Kaufmann Campaka.

Schreve (Th.). Ein Besuch im Buddhistischen Purgatorium. (Aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt.)

Torrey (C. C.). Al-Asmai's Fuhūlat aš-Su'arā.

Rescher (O.). Über die Zahl vierzig.

— Einige Etymologien.

Bacher (W.). Zur jüdisch-persischen Literatur.

Hartmann (R.). Zum Ortsnamen at-Tajjiba.

Horten (M.). Was bedeutet al-kaun als philosophischer Terminus?

Reckendorf (H.). Der Bau der semitischen Zahlwörter.

Schulthess (F.). Die Mardiner HS. von Kalīla und Dimna.

Haupt (P.). Ikkār und irrīš. Landmann.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome XVII, No. i.

Weill (R.). Les Hyksos et la restauration nationale dans la tradition égyptienne et dans l'histoire.

Foucher (A.). Les débuts de l'art bouddhique.

Gauthiot (R.). De l'alphabet sogdien.

Gauthier (E. F.). Le calendrier malgache.

Lévi (S.). Vyuthena 256.

Tome XVII, No. ii.

Lammens (H.). L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sîra.

Amar (É.). Prolégomènes à l'étude des historiens arabes par Khalîl ibn Aibak Aş-Şafadî.

Tome XVII, No. iii.

Boyer (A. M.). Inscriptions de Miran.

Lévi (S.). Etude des documents tokhariens de la Mission Pelliot. (Remarques linguistiques par A. Meillet.)

Amar (É.). Prolégomènes à l'étude des historiens arabes par Khalîl ibn Ailak Aş-Şafadî.

III. T'oung Pao. Vol. XII, No. iv.

Maspero (G.). Le Royaume de Champa.

Cordier (H.). L'arrivée des Portugais en Chine.

Liétard (A.). Essai de dictionnaire Lo-lo Français, dialecte, A-hi.

Vanhée (L.). Problèmes Chinois du second degré.

IV. Annals of Archeology and Anthropology.
Vol. IV. Nos. ii-iii.

Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meröe in Ethiopia. Pt. i, by Professor Garstang: Excavations. Pt. ii, by Rev. Professor Sayce: The Historical Results. Pt. iii, by R. C. Bosanquet: On the Roman Bronze Portrait Head.

Offord (J. A.). Hittite Bronze Statuette.

Winckler (Dr.). Hittite Archives from Boghaz Keui, translated by Miss Meta Williams.

Newbery (P.). The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmim.

V. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XXIII, No. lxv.

Sedgwick (L. J.). Bhakti.

Lake (H. H.). Besnagar.

Modi (J. J.). Account of the Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the books of the Pishinigân.

Pathak (K. B.). Kumāraguptā, the Patron of Vasubandhu.

VI. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT. Tome X, No. iv.

Maspero (H.). Le Protectorat général d'Annam sous les T'ang.

VII. DER ISLAM. Bd. II, Heft iv.

Strzygowski (J.). Ornamente altarabischer Grabsteine in Kairo.

Rescher (O.). Über fatalistische Tendenzen in den Anschauungen der Araber.

Wiedemann (E.). Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen. VIII. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
Vol. XXXI, Pt. iv.

Quackenbos (G. P.). The Mayūrastaka, an unedited Sanskrit poem by Mayūra.

Barton (G. A.). The Etymology of Ishtar.

Kent (R. G.). The Etymology of Syriac Dastabīrā.

Margolis (M.). The Washington MS. of Joshua.

Sverdrup (G.). Letter from the Mahdi to General Gordon.

Conant (C. E.). Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga.

Prince (J. D.). A Divine Lament. .

Fay (E. W.). Indo-Iranian Word Studies.

IX. NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, 1911, Pt. ii.

Rabino (H. L.). Coins of the Shahs of Persia.

X. VERHANDELINGEN VAN HET BATAVIAASCH GENOOTSCHAP VAN KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPER. Deel LIX, St. 2.

Brandes (J. L. A.). Babad Tjerbon.

XI. BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE VAN NEDLANDSCH-INDIË. Deel LXVI, Afl. 2.

Sundermann (H.). Dajakkische Fabeln und Erzählungen. Schadee (M. C.). Het Strafrecht der Dajaks van Tajan en Landak.

Deel LXVI, Afl. 3.

Kreemer (J.). De Loeboes in Mandailing.

Kern (H.). Zang xviii tot xxii van den Nagarakrtāgama.

XII. MITTEILUNGEN DES SEMINARS FÜR ORIENTALISCHE SPRACHE ZU BERLIN. Jahrgang XIV, 1911.

Schulze (J.). Von Tsingtau nach Nanking.

Metzelthen (Th.). Pakhoi von Liang Lan-hsün. (Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt.)

Tschepe (P. A.). Das Kapitel Jü-koung, oder der Tribut des Jü.

— Das Eingreifen der westlichen Nomaden in Chinas älteste Geschichte.

Walleser (P. S.). Grammatik der Palausprache.

Hackmann (H.). Die Schulen des chinesischen Buddhismus. Visser (M. W. de). The Snake in Japanese Superstition.

XIII. TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE JAPAN SOCIETY.
Vol. IX, Pt. ii.

Gubbins (J. H.). A Samurai Manual.

Trevithick (F. H.). Japan's Railway System.

Jiro Harada. Gosekku: The Five Festivals of the Seasons in Japan.

Yoshizawa (K.). Prince Itō.

XIV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.
Vol. XXXIII, Pt. vi.

Sayce (A. H.). An Aramaic Ostracon from Elephantinê.

Langdon (S.). Tablets from Kis.

— Letter of Rim-Sin, King of Larsa.

Wiedemann (A.). Notes on some Egyptian Monuments.

Pilter (Rev. W. T.). The Reign of Arad-Sin, King of Larsa.

Pinches (T. G.). An interesting Cylinder Seal.

XV. THE DAWN. Vol. VII, No. 11.

Haydari (A.). A Mahomedan University for India.

XVI. SIDDHĀNTA DĪPIKĀ. Vol. XII, No. iv.

Naidu (C. A.). Saivaism: A Study.

Sastry (R. A.). Jābāla-Upanishat.

Tanikāchala Mudaliyar (E. N.). The Dravidian Kingdoms.

Sabhāratnam (S.). The Tamil Nationality.

OBITUARY NOTICE

WILLIAM IRVINE

WILLIAM IRVINE, distinguished as a student of the history of Mahomedan India, died on November 3, 1911. He was for many years a member of the Council, and latterly a Vice-President, of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is fitting that some memorial of him should find a place in the pages of this Journal, to which he has so frequently contributed.

Irvine was born in Aberdeen in 1840, and in 1863 he went to India in the Indian Civil Service, being the first man of his year in the Provincial list. His province was the Province of Agra, better known at that time as the North-West Provinces, and now officially called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; and in this province he served till he retired. Having an inherited aptitude for legal studies (his father had been an advocate, which is the Scottish equivalent for the French avocat), Irvine at the outset betook himself to law, and his first work was a digest of the Rent Acts of the province, published in 1868, while he was still an assistant. He came to be regarded as an authority on all questions of rent and revenue law, and his opinion in such matters was sometimes sought by the Board of Revenue, the highest appellate authority. It was not until after 1875 that Irvine seriously took to the study of Indian history. that time he was stationed at Farrakhabad, and happened to come into possession of the private papers and letters of the local Nawabs, a family of Afghan adventurers who in the eighteenth century had risen to power and made

themselves masters of the place, and the last of whom perished miserably in the Mutiny. An account of these Nawābs in the JASB. for 1878-9 was his earliest historical work-indeed, the only historical work which he published while in India. From Farrakhabād Irvine went in 1879 as Magistrate and Collector to Ghazipur, where in addition to his ordinary duties he had to superintend the revision of the Revenue records, an arduous and difficult task which he performed with conspicuous ability. He retired in 1889. Had he remained he must have risen to the highest administrative posts in the province, but he chose to retire early, and on his retirement he devoted himself to the study of the history of India under the Mahomedans. While in India he had acquired the power of reading the Persian and Hindi script with ease; he now betook himself to the study of the MSS. to be found in the British Museum and the India Office. He also employed men in India to collect MSS. for him. His purpose was to write the history of the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire from the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803. This had been done by Mr. Keene and others, but not on the scale which Irvine planned, nor after any exhaustive examination of the available materials. Copious extracts from the MSS. he studied formed the basis of Irvine's work; round these he built up his remarks and explanations. Besides the purely historical details Irvine devoted much attention to collateral subjects, such as the constitution of the Moghul nobility, the administrative system, the system of land revenue, and the organization of the army. Ballads, diaries, letters, charters, rules of official practice and imperial rescripts, coins and seals, he made himself conversant with them all. Native authorities were the mainstay of his history, but he was equally at home with the European travellers of the time, and the doings of the various East India Companies, more especially the

English and the French. Much of the information which he thus laboriously gathered was given to the world in contributions to the Indian Antiquary and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The first chapters of his history appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, and in it he published the succeeding chapters from time to time, but the work is an unfinished torso. It never got beyond the accession of Mahomed Shah (1719), although Irvine published dissertations on some of the later episodes, and had collected all the material down to the sack of Delhi by Nādir Shāh in 1737 A.D., and less completely down to 1761. His paper on the Moghul army in the JRAS. for 1896 was followed by his book on the same subject, published in 1903. He contributed the chapter on Mahomedan history to the new Gazetteer of India, in which he managed to compress much fresh matter into little space. The life of Aurungzeb, originally prepared for the Encyclopédie d'Islam, being too lengthy for that work, was published in the Indian Antiquary for 1911. This was his latest important publication. He contributed a large number of translations and shorter papers to various periodicals, and frequently appeared as a reviewer in the pages of this Journal. Among the more important of these shorter pieces I may mention the following: "The Baillie Collection of Arabic and Persian MSS.," in the JRAS. for 1905. In the JASB., "Baiswari Folk Songs" (1884); "Note on the Official Reckonings of the Reigns of the later Moghul Emperors" (1893); "Guru Gobind Singh and Bandah" (1894); "Jangnāmah of Farukhsiyar and Jahāndār Shāh" (1900); this was a historical ballad in Hindi, as was the "Jangnāmah of Sayyad 'Alim 'Ali Khan", which appeared in the JA. in 1904. Among other articles of his in the JA., I may mention "Notes on some Anglo-Indian Words" (1900) and a paper on "Aurungzeb's Family" (1901); also "Ahmad Shāh,

Abdali, and the Indian Wazir 'Imad-ul-Mulk'' (1907). To Miss Manning's little magazine he contributed a translation of a most interesting visit by a Mahomedan traveller to a Hindu mela on the Ganges in the early part of the eighteenth century. In 1908 the Asiatic Society of Bengal did him the honour to make him an Honorary Member.

Constable, the publisher, first drew Irvine's attention to Manucci. Manucci was only known to the world by Catron's abridgment, and Catron had used Manucci's text with so much freedom, and added so much of his own, that the work was useless for historical purposes. Now Manucci, although garrulous and a gossip, is after Bernier the best European authority we have for the condition of things in India under Aurungzeb. Irvine has told the world in his Preface the story of his hunt for the original MSS, of Manucci in the libraries of Venice and Berlin. Successful in this quest, he laid aside the history which had hitherto formed his chief occupation, and set himself to translating and editing Manucci. At the suggestion of the Royal Asiatic Society, the work was published by the Government of India in the Indian Texts Series—a series which owes its origin to the enlightened suggestion of Lord Curzon. Long before Manucci was finished, Irvine had been attacked by the disease to which he ultimately succumbed; and although he returned to his Indian history, it was only to bring it to a close.

Irvine's conception of history was much like that which is at present in vogue at the École des Chartes. History was to be mainly occupied with the search for, and investigation of, original authorities, and to be an exact chronicle of the doings of the time. Although Irvine did not neglect such picturesque touches as he might find in his authorities, he did not profess to be an artist, nor would he consider historical narrative a fine art. Still less was he

a philosophical historian: he was doubtful of generalities, and he seldom attempted generalizations. His strength lay in detail, and to be faultlessly accurate was his pride. Two things especially attracted him: he had a Scottish love of genealogies and an equal love of precise dates. The diarists of the Moghul Court were one of his chief quarries, and he drew up comparative tables for his own use, in which every month and every day of the week for several centuries was shown according to the Mahomedan calendar. For his task of historian he was otherwise thoroughly equipped. He had an excellent working knowledge of Persian and Hindi, and also some acquaintance with Arabic. Although not a classical scholar, he had a wide and thorough knowledge of several European languages, especially French, German, and Italian. With a view to translating Manucci, who often employed Portuguese amanuenses, he learnt Portuguese. nature and training made Irvine an excellent judge of evidence, and his style was clear, logical, and to the point, an instrument well fitted for his purpose. What he had to say was always worth the hearing. In knowledge of his particular period of history he was unrivalled. Had his history ever been completed it might have compared not unfavourably with the work of two other Scotchmen, Levden and Erskine.

But Irvine is best known to the world as the editor of Manucci. His historical studies had made his name familiar to other scholars engaged in similar pursuits, but Manucci brought him into contact with a much wider public. As a commentator Irvine excelled; he searched Europe, Asia, and America to explain an obscure allusion or to settle a date. The work showed such an amount and variety of learning that one critic remarked that it must have been edited by a syndicate of scholars. Irvine's Manucci now takes its place as a classic beside Yule's Marco Polo.

I have spoken only of the historian and the scholar. But Irvine was much more. What he was in himself, how he thought, how he acted, I may perhaps relate elsewhere. Suffice it to say that it will be long before the same period of history will engage the attention of any scholar equally laborious and painstaking, or equally full, judicious, and accurate.

J. KENNEDY.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1912

IX

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS. OF IBN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY G. LE STRANGE

(Continued from the January Journal, p. 30.)

THE DARABJIRD DISTRICT

THIS district ¹ takes its name from Dārā [Darius] the Great, son of King Bahman ibn Isfandiyār.

Dārābjird.²—This city was founded by Dārā, son of Bahman. It was built circular as though the line of circumference had been drawn with compasses. A strong fortress stood in the centre of the town, surrounded by a ditch kept full of water, and the fortress had four gates. But now the town lies all in ruins, and nought remains except the wall and the ditch. The climate here is that of the hot region, and there are date-palms. The streams of running water are of bad quality. A kind of bitumen

¹ The Dārābjird District is named by Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī the Province of Shabānkārah, being called thus after the Kurdish tribe whose history has been given in the Introduction (p. 9). At the present day the district no longer bears this name; and Shabānkārah, now, is the name of a small sub-district, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Shāpūr River, one of thirteen included in the district of Dashtistān. (FNN. 209, 224.)

² Modern Dārāb (FNN. 199, 201.

 $[m\bar{u}m\bar{v}y\bar{a}]$ is found [near Dārābjird] at a place up in the mountain, which bubbles up and falls drop by drop. Also there is a rock-salt found in these parts which is of seven colours where it comes to the surface of the ground.

Purg and $T\bar{a}rum$.\(^1\)—Two small towns, of which Purg is the larger, where there is a strong castle. Both towns lie on the frontier of Kirmān, and they are of the hot region, whereby the dates and raisin-syrup $[d\bar{u}\underline{s}h\bar{a}b]$ consumed in that region for the most part come from here. Indeed, the whole revenue from hence is derived from [the tax on] dates and corn. They also weave excellently here by hand-loom. In both towns there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the [celebrated basin called] Pharaoh's Cup\(^2\) is to be seen near here.

Pasā.3—This is a great city that was founded by King Bahman, father of Dārā [Darius]. It was formerly as large in area as Isfahān, but now is gone to decay, so that the most part lies in ruin. It has many dependencies and districts. Their water is entirely obtained from underground channels, for there are neither springs nor brooks. The climate is temperate and bracing, the place being very pleasant and good to live in. The products of both the hot and the cold regions are to be found here, so that in all the gardens of Pasa you will find nuts and oranges, citrons and grapes, with figs and the like, namely, tropical fruits, together with those of the north, all in abundance. Indeed, there is no place equal to this elsewhere. There is also a strong fortress in Pasa, which the Shabankarah had left in ruin, but which the Atabeg Chauli has rebuilt. Kurm and Rūnīz are of the dependencies of Pasā.

Kurm and Rūnīz.4—These are two towns lying on the

¹ Now Furg and Tarum (FNN. 217, 218). Spelt with dotted T.

² Presumably a tank for water.

³ Modern Fasā (FNN. 229).

⁴ Probably the village Kurm, which lies 3 leagues to the north of Fasā; but there is also Qaṣr Kurm, half a league to the south-east of Fasā, which is known likewise as Kūshk-i-Qādī, "the Judge's Kiosque,"

road into Pasā [from the north]. The climate is temperate; there are running streams; also in each town a mosque for the Friday prayer, and in both the districts corn and fruits are grown. In the time of one of the Atabegs, when misfortune had overwhelmed Purg, the people of [Kurm and Rūnīz] also behaved traitorously, on which [the Atabeg] took both towns by assault and laid them in ruin.

<u>Shaqq Rādbāl</u> ["the River Gorge"] and <u>Shaqq Mīshānān.¹</u>
—These are two districts of the dependencies of Pasā. They are of the hot region, and corn is grown here, the water being from underground channels. There are many villages and farmsteads, but no town here. Now in these parts are many other districts like the above, but which will not here be more particularly described, lest we run to too great a length, and all are alike one to another.

Hasū, Darākān, Miṣṣ, and Rustāq-ar-Rustāq.²—All these places are of the Dārābjird District and have a hot at the present day. Rūnīz, Upper and Lower, is the name of two villages lying 5 and 6 leagues to the north of Fasā (FNN. 237, 238). This Rūnīz is not to be confounded with the town of Rūnīz mentioned by the older Arab geographers, a name which may be read Rūbanj (by a shifting of the diacritical points), and which lay half-way between Dārābjird and Juwaym, being of the Khasū District (Ist. 107, I.H. 183).

¹ In Iştakhrī (109) Shaqq-ar-Rūd and Shaqq-al-Māsnān. The latter is now unknown, but the first of these districts is probably at the present day represented by the Şahrā-i-Rūd, "the plain along the river,"

through which the River Rūdbār flows (FNN. 238, 326).

² The name of the district of Ḥasū is now written Khasū, with kh, as is found in Muqaddasī (423). Iṣṭakhrī (108) spells it Ḥashūwā (see FNN. 202, where, besides the district, the village of Khasū is also mentioned). There is probably some connexion between the name of this district of Ḥasū and Ḥasūyah, the Shabānkārah chief, often mentioned in the foregoing articles, and in the Introduction. Darākān, which was once the capital of the province, according to the Itinerary given in Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī, lay 4 leagues south of Ij. All traces of its ruins apparently have disappeared, but at the place indicated there is now the village of Darākūh, lying 10 leagues east of Fasā (FNN. 238 and Persian map). Maṣṣ or Miṣṣ is not to be found on the map, but is mentioned by the Arab geographers (Ist. 107, Muq. 423), who, however, do not give us its position. Rustāq-ar-Rustāq exists some 4 leagues north of Furg (FNN. 219).

climate. The date-palm grows here, for there are running streams; also other fruit-trees abound. The [pass called] Tang-i-Ranbah¹ lies near here, and in the middle of the pass stands a strongly fortified castle, which was formerly held by Ibrahīm ibn Mamā.² It is now garrisoned by the Kirmān troops.

Ij and Fustajān.3—The [first town, otherwise called] Ig, was in former times a mere village, but under the rule of Hasūyah it became a city. Its climate is temperate, but the water here is indigestible. Fruit is in plenty, more especially grapes. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers [in Ij]. Wayshkān 4 is a small town, now in ruins, with a bracing climate, though it lacks for water.

Istahbān. 5—A small town full of trees such as bear every kind of fruit. It has running streams, and there is a castle here, that is very strongly fortified, and was formerly in the hands of Ḥasūyah.

Jahram. —A medium-sized town, neither large nor small. There are corn-lands here, and much cotton is grown, which is also exported. Kirbās [a kind of muslin] too comes from here, and the [celebrated] Jahramī blankets [zīlū] are woven in this town. The climate is that of the hot region, and water is from both underground channels and from running brooks. There is a castle here called [Khurshah], very strongly built, and he from whom this castle took its name was a certain Arab, of the time of [the Omayyad viceroy] Hajjāj, and this [Khurshah] built the fortress. [Fadlūyah of the] Shabānkārah 8 rebelled in this castle, but Nizām-al-Mulk

¹ See below under Castles. ² See Introduction, p. 11.

³ Ij still exists (FNN, 178), but Fustajān is wanting on the map. According to the Itinerary it lay 7 leagues from Pasā and 10 leagues from Dārābjird.

⁴ Not mentioned by other geographers and wanting on Persian map, and in FNN.

⁵ Now called Istahbānāt (FNN. 175).

⁶ FNN. 186.

Name omitted, see below, under Castles.

⁸ See Introduction, p. 10. The name is omitted in the text.

laid siege to the place, taking it by assault. At the time when Persia [was conquered by the first Caliphs]¹ this town of Jahram was accounted especially to belong to the heir-apparent [of the Persian Chosroes], hence he who was declared heir to the throne, was held nominally to be the Governor of Jahram.

Mīshkānāt.²—A district near Nayrīz, and the road going through it leads to Nayrīz. It is in every way like to Nayrīz and Khayrah [which are of the Iṣṭakhr Kūrah], though Mīshkānāt belongs by all accounts to the Dārābjird Kūrah.

Juwaym of Abū Ahmad.3—This is of the Irāhistān District, of which indeed it is the Jawmah [or chief town. Further, though this last district is counted as of Ardashīr Khūrah, Juwaym] is of the Dārābjird Kūrah. It is of the hot region, and its water comes from underground channels and from wells. Dates and corn are grown here, and kirbās [muslin] is manufactured. There is a castle here, known as Qal'ah Samīrān, and the town has a mosque for Friday prayers. The people, like all the rest of the men of Irāhistān, are a warlike folk, being for the most part noted as footpads, thieves, and highwaymen.

THE ARDASHIR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district takes its name of Ardashīr Khūrah—"the Glory of King Ardashīr"—from Ardashīr the son of Bābak [founder of the Sassanian dynasty]; and he began his reign by building the city of Fīrūzābād, as has been

⁴ See below under Castles.

¹ Blank in MS. Filled in from Hāfiz Abrū.

² Mishkān or Mishkūn is a village lying 8 leagues north of Nīrīz (FNN. 308). See Iṣṭakhrī, 109, note e, for variants. Muqaddasī (422) has Maskānāt.

³ So called to distinguish it from the other Juwaym lying north-west of Shīrāz. The name is now pronounced Jüyum (FNN, 182, 186).

already mentioned [in the historical portion of our work]. The cities and sub-districts of this Kūrah are as follows.

Shīrāz and its Districts.—In the days of the [older] Persian kings, where Shīrāz now stands was but [a townless] district with some forts lying in the open countryside. After the [Arab invasion and] the establishment of Islam, the place remained in the same desolate state till the reign of [the Omayyad Caliph] 'Abd-al-Malik [65-86 (685-705)], who appointed Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf his viceroy in these lands. Hajjāj thereupon sent his own brother. Muhammad ibn Yūsuf, to act as his lieutenant in Fars, of which he became later the permanent governor, and it was this Muhammad who laid the foundations of The original extent of Shīrāz was equal to that of Isfahan, and they even say that Shīrāz was a hundred paces the greater [in length]; but now the city all lies in ruins, and except for one or two quarters all the older part has disappeared. But during the times of the Buvid rule [fourth (tenth) century] it had come to be so densely populated that there was no room within the city for the garrison of [Daylamite] soldiers, for which reason 'Adud-ad-Dawlah established a place for them outside Shīrāz, to which he gave the name of Gird Fanā Khusrū. Here he laid out most excellent market streets, of which the rents2 for the shops amounted to 16,000 dinārs [yearly, about £8,000], which sum was paid into his treasury. The place, however, has now

¹ Meaning "the Township of Fanā Khusrū", 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah's personal name. The site lies at a short distance to the south-east of Shīrāz, at a village still known as Shīb-i-Bāzār-i-'Aḍud-al-Dawlah, "the slope or glen of 'Aḍud's Market"; also called Qurā-al-Aṣāfil, "the Lower Villages" (FNN. 194).

² The word used is tayyārāt, not found in this sense in the dictionaries. It means literally "flyings", that is to say "extra revenues", "surplus income", and is used in the <u>Shams-i-Qays</u>, p. 11*, line 10—a work written in 630 (1232)—with much the same signification. See also note by C. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept. Oct., 1910, p. 370, on this word.

so gone to ruin that the area of Gird Fana Khusru is at present merely a ploughed field, which yields a crop valued at 250 dinārs [yearly]. The actual rent that it pays, however, is never more than one hundred and odd dinārs, and the remainder of the site is of but small value, the rent being less. The climate of Shīrāz is cold but temperate, like that of Isfahan. The water comes in part from the river and in part is from underground channels. The fruit here is most excellent, and of all sorts and kinds. The people of Shiraz are a turbulent folk and valiant. The [Buyid prince] 'Adud-ad-Dawlah had built himself a palace [in the city], with many fine gardens; but Abū Ghānim, the son of 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah, when he took up his abode in the castle of Pahan-Diz,1 laid the palace in ruins, carrying off the woodwork and the iron, which he made use of for the needs of the new castle [of Pahan-Diz]. In early days Shīrāz had no town wall, but at the time when the present [Saljuq] dynasty was coming to power Bākālījār [the Buyid prince] caused stones to be cut, and with them built a strong wall that went all round and about the city. Of this

¹ Pahan-Diz, "the Broad Fort," according to the Fars Namah Nasiri, crowns a pointed hill 300 ells in height, half a league to the east of Shīrāz. The remains of brickwork may still be seen, and there is a wellshaft, nearly 4 ells across, cut in the rock, and going down to water at the hill base. The Sassanian king Shīrūyah is said to have imprisoned seventeen of his brothers here, for this castle existed before the days of Islām; and Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanians, kept some of his regalia here, and this treasure was found later by 'Adud-ad-Dawlah (FNN. 333). It is further stated in FNN. that the castle, which afterwards fell to complete ruin, had been in 327 (939) restored by the Buyid prince 'Imad-ad-Dawlah, that is to say, the uncle of 'Adud, but this is probably a mistake, 'Imad being put for 'Amid above-mentioned. Who this 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah (father of Abū Ghānim) was is not very clear. Abu Ghānim is not to be found in Ibn-al-Athīr, who, however, mentions two people of the name of 'Amid-ad-Dawlah: one (x, 23), also called 'Amīd-al-Mulk, was the son of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah ibn Juhayr, the Wazīr of the Caliph Mustazhir in 488 (1095); the other (xi, 260), called Abu Sa'd ibn Muhammad, was Wazīr to Jalāl-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, about the year 420 (1029).

wall the remains may still be seen. Then, again, during the latter days of the Buyid dynasty, when there was continual fighting between Qavurd [brother of Alp Arslan] and Fadluyah [the Shabankarah chief], Shīraz was raided again and again, whereby all its lands were given to ruin, and so remained till the coming of the good times when [the Atabeg] Rukn-ad-Dawlah [Khumārtagĭn] was appointed governor, who knew how to restore matters to order, giving peace to the country, so that [houses were rebuilt] and the lands were again brought under cultivation. Later on, however, during a single year, the city was twice stormed during the troubles of successive Shabānkārah insurrections, and then again it was ravaged by the Turks and the Turkomans, who carried off all that they could lay hands on, exacting a poll-tax also on every man of the inhabitants, so that they were absolutely brought to beggary. But there is hope now that by the power of the present [Saljuq] governmentwhich may Allah perpetuate!—security will be permanently re-established, for Shīrāz, indeed, is a city that is without equal when its population live in peace. The Friday mosque in Shīrāz is a noble building, and then there is the Hospital [bīmāristān] of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, though this is now fallen into disrepair. Again, there is the Library, which is very excellent. That portion of the city which is still inhabited stands under the protection and in the oversight of the family of the Chief Justice of Fars,1 for he is of untiring effort to relieve the wants of the poor and needy of the city.

Kavār.²—A small town, most pleasant to live in, having many dependent districts, where there are extensive orchards. Fruit here [is so abundant that it fetches] no price, though all the fruit grown here is of excellent condition. Especially so is the pomegranate, which is the

¹ See Introduction, p. 14.

equal of that which comes from Tihrān, and there are good quinces, also almonds in abundance. Hence most of the provisions consumed in Shīrāz and its district are brought thither from here. Further, they grow much corn, also both kirbās [muslin] and reed matting are made here. The climate is cold but temperate. They get their water from the River Thakān, and near by are excellent hunting-grounds. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers in this town; but the people are a rough folk and very thick-witted.

<u>Khabr.</u>¹—This is a small town, somewhat larger than Kavār. Its climate is temperate and bracing; indeed, in all those parts nowhere is the air pleasanter. The water is very digestive, and as in the case at Pasā every fruit of both the hot and the cold region grows here. Thus the orange and the perfumed melon [called <u>shamāmah</u>], the lemon, and diverse aromatics are all found abundantly, also corn-lands. There was here a very strongly fortified castle, but the Atabeg [Chāulī] has laid it in ruins. Within the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. The people here are cleverer than those of Kavār. There are hunting-grounds near by, both in the hills and in the plain.

<u>Khunayfqān.</u>²—A large village lying at the head of the road going down into Fīrūzābād. The Persians pronounce the name <u>Khunāfgān</u>, and the road from here to Fīrūzābād is an extremely bad one, across passes and by steep mountains where [the hand must ever] be on the bridle. The road was also a fearful one by reason of being beset by footpads. The climate of <u>Khunayfqān</u> is cold but temperate. The River Burāzah, which is the stream that flows past Fīrūzābād, rises near by. The people of <u>Khunayfqān</u> have the evil character of all mountaineers, but at the present time under the sovereign

¹ Now called Khafr (FNN, 196).

² Now spelt Hunīfqān, with the lesser h (FNN. 198).

[government of the Saljūqs] the roads, here as everywhere else, are now safe, and no one dare make any disorder.

Būshkānāt.¹—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where there are plantations of date-palms. Its lands are the camping-grounds of the Mas'ūdī tribe of the Shabānkārah.² There is no city here, but Būshkān and Shanānān [or Sanānā] are both of the Būshkānāt District.

Mūhū [or Mūhūd], Hamjān, and Kabrīn.³—These are all districts of the hot region, lying adjacent to the sea, on the coast of Irāhistān. The climate here is hot and the water unwholesome; but there are many palm-groves, though nowhere here is there a town of sufficient size to possess a mosque for the Friday prayer.

Kārzīn, Qīr, and Abzar. —Kārzīn is a fine town of no great size, but now in ruins by reason of the disorders [of the last Buyid days]. Qīr and Abzar are two small towns belonging to Kārzīn. They are all of the hot region, and they take their water from the Thakān River; also there are many groves of the date-palm. In Kārzīn there is a strong castle, and to supply it with water they have

¹ The text of Iṣtakhrī (p. 105) in error gives this name as Tūshkānāt. The town of Būshgān is the present capital of the Bulūk District, in old times doubtless called the Būshkānāt; and Shanānā of our text is the modern Sanā in the Dashtī District, lying 4 leagues to the north-west of Shambah (FNN. 212-13). See also below in the Itinerary.

² See Introduction, p. 12.

⁸ It is a question whether, from the Persian text, three places or two are here mentioned. The names are not now to be found on the map, but the last name in the list may be identified with the modern Gabrī, lying 17 leagues to the north-west of Gillah Dār (FNN. 260). Iṣṭakhrī (p. 105, where many variants are noted) gives them as three separate places, none of which were large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers. Mūhū he gives under the form of Hamand or Hamīd. Hamjān appears as Hajmān or Ḥamhān. Kabrīn or Kīrīn may be Kīrīn or Kīrzīn, the equivalent of Khārzīn, which lay one march distant from the well-known city of Kārzīn (and was not to be confounded therewith). Cf. I.H. 204, Muq. 456.

⁴ All three famous in the times of the Arab geographers. Kārzīn is now merely a village, Qīr is a township, and Abzar town was probably at Nīm Dih, the capital of the Afzar District, half a league east of Āb Garm (FNN. 179, 245, 246).

constructed a syphon tube $[\bar{a}b\text{-}duzd\bar{\imath}]$ which goes down from the castle to the bed of the <u>Thakān River</u>. The [townships of] Harm and Kāriyān ¹ are of the dependencies of Kārzīn.

Tawwaj.²—This of old was a township of considerable size, and it was settled by a population of Arabs, for it lay in the hottest and most desert part of the hot region. But at the present day it lies in ruins, and of these Arab folk who peopled it in former times hardly any remain. [After the disappearance of these early inhabitants], however, 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, had brought hither a tribe of Syrian Arabs, settling them here, and at the present time such Arabs as are still found here are the descendants of this tribe. There are no running streams [in Tawwaj], but there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Māndistān.³—This is a desert region measuring 30 leagues in length by the like across, where there are many villages and districts like those found throughout Irāhistān. This district lies along the sea-coast, and its crops are so fertile that one mann-weight of seed-corn produces a thousand-fold harvest. There is, however, no ground-water for irrigation, and they depend on the rains alone for their supply. The people have their drinking-water from the tanks which they have made. All along this coast-region the rains should come in the beginning of winter, in the months of Azar-Māh and Dī-Māh [corresponding with November and December], and then they get for that year

¹ The towns of Harm and Kāriyān lie 7 and 6½ leagues respectively to the north-west of Bīd Shahr (FNN. 182). Haram or Harm is probably identical with the stage which Muqaddasī calls Hurmuz, lying one march from Kārzīn. Iṣṭakhrī, who also mentions this Hurmuz, says it had no Friday mosque, being but a small place (Ist. 105, Muq. 456).

² Tawwaj, often mentioned by the Arab geographers, has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the <u>Shāpūr</u> River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Dih Kuhnah (Old Village), the chief town of the (modern) <u>Shabānkārah</u> sub-district of the Dashtistān District (FNN. 185, 209).

³ FNN. 213.

a magnificent crop, gaining much wealth. If, however, in those two aforesaid months no rain falls—even though it may come later, and in abundance during a subsequent month—then they get no good crops and the harvest is wanting.

Sīrāf¹ and its Neighbourhood.—Sīrāf in old times was a great city, very populous and full of merchandise, being the port of call for caravans 2 and ships. Thus in the days of the [Abbasid] Caliphs it was a great emporium, for here might be found stores of 'attar [of roses] and aromatics such as camphor, aloes, sandal-wood, and the like. [For its merchants] immense sums of money were to be gained here, and so matters continued till the last days of the Buyid supremacy. Then, however, the ancestors of the present Amir Kaysh attained to power, and they got into their possession the Island of Qays³ with the other neighbouring islands, whereby the revenue that had formerly been taken by Sīrāf was cut off and fell into the hands of the Amir Kaysh. Further, the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagīn [when he had first been appointed governor of Fars] lacked power and statesmanship to provide a remedy for this state of affairs. None the less he did truly on one or two occasions proceed to Sīrāf with a view of building ships of war that should invade the Island of Qays and the other isles, but each time that he did so the Amir Kaysh sent presents to him and gave bribes to those persons who were about him, so that they dissuaded him from accomplishing his project. Next it came to pass that a certain one of the Khāns [of Qays Island] named Abū-l-Qasim succeeded finally in getting possession of Sīrāf also, and

¹ The ruins of Sīrāf exist at Bandar Tāhirī (FNN. 224).

² The phrase is mashra būrthā wa kashtthā, and for būrt, a word not found in the dictionaries, Ḥāfiz Abrū has, in the corresponding passage, $k\bar{a}rv\bar{a}nh\bar{a}$. The ordinary use of $b\bar{u}riy\bar{a}$ or $b\bar{u}riyah$ is for "matting".

³ It is to be noted that here and elsewhere it would seem that Kaysh was the family name of the Amīr of Qays Island.

then every year or two [Khumārtagīn] would dispatch an army thither with great effort [to make him evacuate Sīrāf], but he could accomplish nothing against him. Thus, therefore, as matters now stood, no merchant would bring his ship into the port of Sīrāf to refit, nor for shelter would any anchor there on the voyage to Kirmān from Mahrubān or Dawraq or Baṣrah, wherefore no goods but leatherware and pots,¹ and things that the people of Fārs alone had need of, now passed by the road of Sīrāf, and thus the town fell to complete ruin. There is still here, however, a mosque for the Friday prayer, and there are many dependencies and outlying lands. The climate is excessively hot, and there is no water, except for one or two springs, wherefore they have always to depend on collecting the rainwater [in tanks] for drinking purposes.

Ramm [or Zamm] Zavān, Dādhīn, and Davvān.2—These are three districts of Ardashīr Khūrah, all lying in the hot region, but with some parts within the hill country, where the climate is temperate, corn being

¹ The text has jurm wa zarāfah, and Ḥāfiz Abrū, in the corresponding passage, has jurm-i-zarāfah, "the crimes of giraffes." For this it is proposed to read charm, "leather," and zarāfah as plural of zarf, "a pot or vessel." But the reading must be faulty, and the translation is very uncertain.

² For Ramm or Zamm see Introduction (p. 13). Dādhīn and Davvān are mentioned by Istakhri, p. 112. Davan is still the name of a village lying 2½ leagues to the north of Kāzirūn, but neither Dādhīn nor Ramm Zavān occurs on the map; and as regards the latter place there is some confusion in the spelling of the name. Its position is given in the Itinerary as lying half-way between Ghundījān and Tawwaj, being 6 leagues distant from either place (and for the position of these two towns see below in the Itinerary). The name there is spelt Rawa-adh-Dhīwān, which is varied to Ramm-adh-Dhīwān in the list of the Kurdish Ramms (see Introduction, p. 13). Both these spellings, however, appear to be the Arabic form of the Persian Ramm Zavān (or Ravān possibly) given as a district and again below among the Castles. In the Arabic authorities there is much variety in the spelling by a shifting of the diacritical points. Istakhrī (98, 114, 145) mentions it as the Kurdish Ramm of which Al-Husayn ibn Sālih was chief, and spells the name variously Rawä-adh-Dhīwān and Ramm-ad-Dīwān. Again, Yāqūt (ii, 821) gives it under the heading Ramm-az-Zīzān.

grown here. These districts come between Kāzirūn and Nawbanjān.

Fīrūzābād.1—This city was called Jūr in ancient days, and the celebrated Jūrī roses came from here. In the times of the Kayānī kings of old this was a mighty city with strong fortifications. Then when [Alexander the Great] he of the Two Horns invaded Fars, at first, however much he tried, he could not succeed in taking this city. But there is near here a stream called the Burāzah River, which flows at a high level, going by the mountain-slopes. This river Alexander turned from its course, throwing it against the city [walls], and he set his army round and about until at length they obtained possession. Now the city of Fīrūzābād stands in the midst of many gorges, and all around and about its circuit there are mountains, for the which cause all the roads that lead thither have to traverse the summits of divers passes. The [diverted] river therefore soon afterwards laid the city completely under water, for the gorges filled and became as a lake, seeing that the water could find no outlet. In this condition Fīrūzābād remained for many long years, the waters continually rising, until Ardashīr the [founder of the Sassanian dynasty] came to the throne and began the conquest of the [eastern] world. And when he reached Fīrūzābād, he assembled together many engineers and sage persons in order to contrive a means of clearing away those waters. Now there was a great master among his engineers, whose name was Burāzah.2 With skill he contrived to bore [the beginning of] a tunnel to carry off the waters; but first he set in the mountain side iron posts, each one like a column for size, attaching thereto huge and strong chains, and these posts were very firmly planted. Then he continued his tunnel through the flank of the mountain,

² The name is clearly written in the MS. with all the vowels marked.

¹ The ruins are now known as Kūshk, "the Kiosk"; the older name Jūr still lingering (FNN. 241).

he himself labouring with the workmen, until but a little part remained before the boring would get through. King Ardashīr now was brought to be present, and Burāzah the master engineer spoke, saying: "When I shall have pierced this tunnel through, the water will rush out with force, which would carry me away and also [carry away to destruction] those who are working at the boring with Therefore [for our safety] I have caused this great leathern sack to be made." In this Burāzah and his many workmen now took their place, and it was firmly fastened to the great chains [above described], a great number of men being appointed to haul back with all their might on the chains as soon as the tunnel should come to be bored through. These therefore, in companies, sat down to the task. Then the portion that remained unbored of the tunnel was finally carried through. And the water now began to get power, drawing after it the sack in which the engineer Burāzah and his company of workmen were sitting, and however much from above the people strained all their strength, it was of no avail, for the stream at last became so strong that it burst the chains asunder, [whereby Burāzah and all his men perished]; and the remains of those chains are still to be seen on the mountain side. When therefore after this fashion the waters had been drawn off [King Ardashīr] laid the foundations of Fīrūzābād as the city now exists; and its ground-plan is circular, even as though drawn with compasses. In the middle of the city, even as it were the centre point of the circle, they laid out and built a platform to which the name of Iran Girdah [or Ayvan Girdah, "the circular hall"] was given, and this the Arabs call Tirbāl ["the Tower"]. On the summit of the platform pavilions 1 were built, and in their midst a mighty dome, which was called Gunbad [Kīrmān or Gīrmān]. The four

¹ The word used is sāyahā, "shades, shadows," i.e. "shady places", in this sense not found in the dictionaries.

walls below this dome, up to the spring of the cupola, measured in height 75 ells, and these walls were built of blocks of stone. The cupola rising above this was built of kiln-burnt bricks. Water was brought hither from the top of a mountain, I league distant, and carried to the height [in tubes to make] a fountain. They dug also two tanks, one called $B\bar{u}m P\bar{i}r$, "the Old Owl," the other $B\bar{u}m$ Javān, "the Young Owl," and over each of these tanks they built a fire-temple. The city [of Fīrūzābād] is most pleasant to live in and a place to see; also huntinggrounds abound near by; the climate is temperate. bracing, and very agreeable. Luscious fruit in plenty and of all kinds is found here; also digestible water is abundant, for there are many running streams. have built here too a mosque for the Friday prayers, also a fine hospital; and Sāhib 'Ādil' [the Wazīr of the last Buyid prince founded a very good Library here, the equal of which will be met with in no other place. The castle of Sahārah stands in the neighbourhood of Fīrūzābād. The people of this city are a clever folk, accustomed to business and given to good works.

Simkān and Hīrak.²—Simkān is a small town but most pleasant, and the wonder of the world, for this reason, that through its midst runs a river, spanned by a bridge, and in the one half of the city which stands on the hillside along this bank of the stream the climate is of the cold region. In this quarter there are only vineyards, producing such abundance of grapes that these fetch no price, so they [dry and] press them for the most part, making a condiment ³ thereof, while some being kept are left

¹ See Introduction, p. 8.

² Simkān is now the name of the district of which the chief city, doubtless older Simkān, is called Dīzah. Hīrak, or Habrak (for the reading is uncertain), is no longer to be found on the map. According to the Itinerary it stood half-way between Simkān (Dīzah) and Kārzīn (FNN. 225).

³ The terms used are 'asīr, "squeezed" or "expressed", and 'allāqah, "hung up," that is, "cured," "preserve."

till a syrup is formed, which after boiling down, coagulates into a block that becomes hard as stone. These blocks [of grape-raisins] are made very large, and before one can eat of them they have to be soaked in two or three times their weight of water. Further, they are sold at a very cheap rate. And as to the quarter of the city which lies on the other side of the river, this is entirely of the hot region, where the date-palm grows, also oranges, lemons, and the like. Hīrak is a large village, where there is a much venerated shrine [ribāt]. In Simkān there is a mosque for the Friday prayer; the people here are [warlike, always] carrying arms.

Maymand.¹—A small town of the hot region, where fruits of all kinds grow, especially most excellent grapes. There are running streams, and the climate is more temperate than in the other towns of the hot region. There is here a mosque for the Friday prayers.

Hatīzīr.²—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where the date-palm grows. There is no city here, and this district lies adjacent to Irāhistān. Its people always go armed.

Sarvistān and Kūbanjān.3—These are two towns that lie between Shīrāz and Pasā. Their climate is like that of Shīrāz. There are running streams and some few gardens, producing grapes and other fruits of the cold region. The hunting-grounds here are famous, especially the mountain

² The MS. is clear, but there is doubt as to the reading. Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 105 and 136) apparently mentions the same place under the spelling

Jibrin. It is wanting on the map.

¹ There is a Maymand to the east of Fīrūzābād (see FNN. 305). But possibly the chief town of the Nāband District is intended, lying on the coast to the east of Sīrāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104). This is no longer to be found on the map.

³ Sarvistān exists and Kūbanjān is presumably equivalent to the modern Kūhinjān (FNN. 221, 223). Yāqūt (iv, 316) gives Kūbanjān as "a village of the Shīrāz (District)". Probably it is identical with al-Ūsbanjān, which Iṣṭakhrī (p. 136) mentions, coupling it with Sarvistān.

region of Kūbanjān. Near here is the Salt Lake [Namakistān], where no fish or creature can exist for its saltness. Each town has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people here carry arms, being overbearing in their ways.

The Sif [or Coast] Districts.—These districts lie along the seashore. They are all of the hot region, and for the most part the inhabitants are Arabs. The climate here is extremely unhealthy. The best-known of these coast districts are the two called respectively the Sif of the People of Abū Zuhayr and the 'Umarāh Sif.' In neither district is there any town with a Friday mosque, and nothing is grown here but dates.

Lāghir and Kaharjān.³—These are districts lying near Kārzīn. They are of the hot region, and the climate is unhealthy. Dates are grown here. The people are all highwaymen, and in neither district is there any town with a mosque for the Friday prayer.

Kurān and Irāhistān. —Both the Irāhistān District and Kurān lie in the desert country, and Kurān is counted as of Sīrāf. Its climate is so extremely torrid that only men who are native-born can stay here by reason of this excessive heat during the summer. There are no running streams nor underground channels. Their corn-lands lack irrigation entirely, and no fruit is grown here excepting only dates. Further, in their plantations the date-palms

¹ Not marked on the map.

² From the accounts of the Arab geographers the Abū Zuhayr Coast lay near Sīrāf, while the 'Umārah Coast was opposite the Island of Qays. Neither name now is found on the map.

³ The town of Lāghīr exists near the bend of the <u>Th</u>akān River, 6 leagues north-west of <u>Kh</u>unj (FNN. 198). Kaharjān is no longer to be found, but Iṣṭakhrī mentions it as upon the <u>Th</u>akān River (which he calls the <u>Sh</u>ādkān), Kaharjān coming below Nāband and above <u>Dasht</u> Dastaqān on the sea-coast (Ist. 106, IH. 191).

⁴ Neither Kurān nor the Irāhistān District is to be found on the present map. Kurān, however, is given in the Itineraries as situated 8 leagues from Lāghir and four days march from Sīrāf.

do not stand on the level ground, for by reason of the lack of water, and that these may not perish from the drought, they dig in the soil a great trench, as deep down as the date-palm is high, and the palm-trees are planted in the bottom of this trench, so that only their very tops appear above the ground-level. Then during the winter these trenches are filled by the rains with water, [which sinks in], and so all the year round the palms get moisture. The dates are of rare excellence. Hence it is a saying "Where is it that the date-palms grow in a pit?" and the answer is "In Irāhistān". In this country near every village there stands out in the desert a fort, for all the people here are footpads, and everyone carries arms seeing that each man seeks to rob his neighbour and to shed his blood. When a man here is about to go out as highwayman he will take threshed corn, with some dry bread crumbled, in a wallet, and in a night and a day will cover 20 leagues of the road, and so accomplish his villainy. Further, the people here are always in revolt against the Government, since no army can stay in these parts for more than the three months of the springtime, for they cannot hold out the winter here by reason of the rains, with the consequent lack of fodder [for their beasts], nor during the summer by reason of the heat. Nevertheless, in the days of the Buyid supremacy they were brought under subjection, and for a time forced to obey authority; and during the reign of 'Adud-ad-Dawlah 10,000 of their men served in his army as soldiers. Their chief at this time was one of the name of Habi.1 Then after the days of 'Adudad-Dawlah they again revolted, and none of them could be got to pay any tribute until recently, indeed, when the Atabeg Chauli by force of arms has become master in their territories.

¹ The Paris MS. gives the name as Jābī; the corresponding passage in Ḥāfiz Abrū has Jānī; he is apparently not mentioned by Ibn-al-Athīr.

Najīram and Hūrashī. 1—Najīram is a small town and Hūrashī a village, both being of the dependencies of Sīrāf, and lying in the very hot region.

Huzū and Sāviyah.²—These, with some other districts, are of the coast-lands that belong to the Island of Qays, being under the rule of the Amīr Kaysh. They all lie adjacent to the hot region of the Kirmān province.

The islands that belong to this district of Ardashīr Khūrah are these: the Island of Lār, the Island of Afzūnah, and the Island of Qays; and the Island of Qays is the chief among them all. The description of these and of the other islands [of the Persian Gulf] will be given in the chapter which the author has written describing the seas, and which will be found on a later page, wherefore there is no need to detail them here. [It is, however, wanting.]

THE SHAPUR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district took its name from Shāpūr, son of King Ardashīr founder [of the Sassanian dynasty]; and the central city of the district is Bishāvbūr; this with the other towns and sub-districts being as follows.

 $Bi\underline{sh}\bar{a}v\bar{u}r.^3$ —The Arabs wrote the name Bi $\underline{sh}\bar{a}b\bar{u}r$, it having originally been Bī- $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}b\bar{u}r$, and then to lighten the pronunciation the $B\bar{\imath}$ was dropped, so that finally it

¹ Spelt Ḥūshī for the second time, and Khūrashī in the Paris MS. It is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Najīram, according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 34), lay to the north of Sīrāf. Neither names now occur on the map, but Najīram is probably identical with the present harbour of Bandar Dayyur in the Dashtī District (FNN. 217).

² Huzū is probably the modern Chīrū, in the Shīb Kūh sub-district of Lāristān, lying 10 leagues west of Chāruk. In Iṣṭakhrī (p. 163) the name occurs variously as Sīrū, Sūrū, or Shāhrū. Sāviyah may be a clerical error, for which we should read Tāvūnah, the name of a village lying 1 league to the westward of Chāruk (FNN. 289).

³ Modern Shāpūr (FNN. 247). Written variously in the MS. Bishāvbūr and in the Paris copy Bi-Shāpūr, and in error Nīshāpūr with other variants. The name originally was Bih-Shāpūr, "the Good Thing of King Sapor."

has come now to be called Shapur. In the most ancient days a city was founded here by King Tahmurath, at a time when there was no other city in all Fars excepting only Istakhr, and the name [of Shapur town] was then called Din Dilā. When Alexander the Great appeared in Fars, he laid this town in ruins, so that nought remained standing thereof. Then when the kingdom had come to the hands of Shapur he for the second time founded it, and brought all its buildings to completion, giving to the new city his own name. Indeed, to every city that King Shāpūr founded, he gave the same his own name, that his memory might thus be kept in mind; and this was the city of Bishāpūr. The climate here is that of the hot region; and by reason that on the north side it is shut in [by hills] the town is unhealthy and damp. The water supply is from a great stream that is called the Bishāpūr River. It is a very large river, but seeing that there are here many rice-fields, its water is noxious and unwhole-There are, however, in this district so many orchards of fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, such as datepalms, orange, shaddock, and lemon-trees, that fruit here fetches no price; and those who pass by the road even fail to pluck it. There are also aromatic flowers in great abundance, such as water-lilies, the narcissus, violets, and jasmine; further, they produce much silk here, for mulberry-trees grow luxuriantly. Then honey and wax are cheap, both in this city and in Kāzirūn. Of late years Bi-Shāpūr has fallen much to ruin through the tyranny of Abu Sa'd. 1 Now, however, since the establishment of the present Saljūq government its buildings are all being restored. It has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people are intelligent.

Jirrah.2—Called in Persian Girrah. It is a small town,

¹ Of the Shabankarah; see Introduction, p. 12.

² The district of Jirrah exists, and the town of that name is probably to be identified with the modern Ishfāyiqān (FNN. 185). For the Māṣaram District see below in the Itineraries.

having a warm climate. Its water is from a stream that is known as the Girrah River, and this takes its rise in the Māṣaram District. This town produces nothing but rice—which pays the land-tax ¹—dates, and corn. The people for the most part go armed. There is a mosque here for the Friday prayers. The district called Mūr-i-Jirrah ² is of this neighbourhood.

<u>Ghundījān.</u>³—This is known as Dasht Bārī in Persian. It is a small town of the hot region, and its water is from a single brackish well, there being no other source in the place. No corn is grown here. There is a mosque in the town for the Friday prayer, and many pious men were natives of this place. There are now many shoemakers and weavers living here.

<u>Khisht and Kumārij.</u>⁴—Two small towns lying in the hill country of the very hot region. Innumerable datepalms grow here, but no other fruit-trees. There are some running streams, but the water of these is warm and not wholesome to drink. The corn crops here sometimes fail entirely, but at other times are abundant.⁵ The people of the place carry arms, and for the most part they are robbers.

Anburān and Bāsht Qūtā.6—These places lie contiguous to Nawbanjān. Anburān is a small town, of which

¹ The MS. is without diacritical points, and in ruzz·i-<u>kharāj</u>ī the first word may, instead of ruzz, "rice," be read as zar, "gold" (i.e. money), or raz, "grapes." The translation is uncertain.

 $^{^2}$ Mūr of Jirrah no longer exists, but $4\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the north of Kāzirūn there is the village of Mūrdak, which may have a connexion with the name (FNN. 255).

³ No town of <u>Gh</u>undījān now exists, but from its position as given in the Itinerary modern Jamilah probably occupies its site (FNN, 195).

⁴ FNN. 195.

^b Bahs, "lacking," and bāryāb, with the sense, not given in the dictionaries, of "abundant". These words occur again below.

⁶ Bāsht is now the chief town of the Bāvī sub-district in Kūh Gilūyah (FNN. 271). This probably marks the site of Anburān, mentioned also by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 110), but the names Anburān and Qūṭā are now unknown, and the Arab geographers make no mention of Bāsht Qūṭā.

a number of pious folk are natives. The climate is temperate, and there are many running streams. Bāsht Qūtā is a district lying in the cold region of the mountain lands.

Junbad Mallaghān.¹—This is a small town which stands in its own district. The climate is hot, and there are many running streams. Fruit is grown, also aromatic plants. There is a castle here, among other neighbouring castles that are well fortified and celebrated. The air in this castle is so cool that [stores of] wheat can be kept here without damage, and they have made good cisterns for water. There is a mosque for the Friday prayer in the town.

Tir Murdan and Jūyikan.2—These are two districts wherein are many large villages but no town. Of villages there are Kharrārah, Dūdmān, and Dih Gawz [Nut Village]. All these districts lie among broken rocky ground, with stony ascents and descents like those in the Kharraqan [District in Persian Traq], though here the country is rougher and the roads steeper. The climate is of the cold region and good. On all sides there are orchards, with fruit of every kind; more especially groves of nut-trees, and in such numbers as to be beyond count, nuts being carried into Shīrāz and the surrounding districts from here. Honey, too, is abundant. Now all the hills here, with their ascents and descents, are everywhere sown for corn crops. Some, where the hillside is steep, lack for water, but the valleys are well irrigated, for there are numerous running brooks. The village of Kharrārah [which means

 $^{^{1}}$ The modern Dū Gunbadān (Two Domes), lying 8 leagues west of modern Bāsht.

² Tīr Murdān exists, and Jūyikān, which Iṣṭakhrī writes Jūyikhān (p. 110), is modern Chawgān, lying 4 leagues east of Fahliyān (FNN. 303, 304). Kharrārah (position given in the Itineraries), Dūdmān, and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) are not to be found on the modern maps, for this Dūdmān cannot be the present village of that name lying 1 league south-east of Shīrāz.

"humming"] is so named because near by this village a stream falls into a deep gorge, where it makes a great noise [as of humming], which in the Arabic tongue is called <u>Kharīr-al-Mā</u> ["the Humming of the Water"]. Abū Naṣr, the father of Bā Jūl,¹ and who left so many descendants, came originally from Tīr Murdān. All the people of this district go armed, and for the most part they are bandits and highwaymen by night. Further, there are excellent hunting-grounds here.

Sarām and Bāzrang.²—These are two districts lying between Zīr [or Zīz] and Sumayram. The climate is that of the cold region, for the districts stand high in the hill country, with torrents of water and many running streams. From year's end to year's end snow is never long absent from the mountains here, and there are many good huntinggrounds. The source of the Shīrīn River is in the Bāzrang District. The chief town of this region is Ṣarām. Most of the men here are muleteers.

Sīmtakht.³—This is a district of the very cold region lying near Ṣarām and Bāzrang. There are many running streams here.

<u>Khullār.</u>4—A large village where they quarry the millstones which are used throughout the greater part of the province of Fārs, for the stone here is of excellent quality. The curious part is that in all Fārs they grind

¹ The reading of the name is uncertain, and this Abū Naṣr is not mentioned in Ibn-al-Athīr.

² The modern district is called Churām, of which the chief town is called Tall-Gird, "Round Hill," lying 10 leagues north-east of Bīhbahān. The name of Bāzrang, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, has disappeared from the map, as also is wanting the town of Zīr, which Muqaddasī (p. 389) writes Zīz. Sumayram, now called Samīram, lies 4 leagues to the south-west of Isfadrān (FNN. 220, 273).

³ Spelling most uncertain, and apparently no longer to be found on the map. Variants may be read Sīmbakht, Salīmsat, Salīmnahast, etc.; and it is probably the place given in Iṣṭakhrī (p. 113) as As-Saljān (with many variants).

⁴ Khullär lies 9 leagues north-west of Shīrāz and 5 leagues beyond Guyum (Juwaym) (FNN. 191).

their corn with millstones from this village, but when the people thereof have to grind their own corn they go to some other village to do so, for in their own place there is no stream [to turn a mill], and the springs even are very scanty in their water supply, on which the people have to depend for drinking. Except for these millstones the place produces nothing; there is neither corn nor fruit grown here, and they look to the quarrying of these stones for their means of living, whereby too they are enabled to pay taxes to the Treasury to the amount of 700 dīnārs yearly.

<u>Khumāyijān and Dih 'Alī.</u>—These are two districts, and [Dih 'Alī] the chief town has a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cold, and there are many walnut and pomegranate trees here, also much honey and wax comes from these districts, which lie in the neighbourhood of Tir Murdān and near by Baydā. The people generally go armed; they are for the most part muleteers. In the neighbourhood are excellent hunting-grounds.

Kāzirūn and its District.—The original seat of Kāzirūn was at [the three villages called] Nawdar, Darīst, and Rāhbān, and the city was first founded by Tahmūrath. King Shāpūr, in later times, built greatly here, making of Kāzirūn an outlying part of Bishābūr. The climate is hot, like that indeed of Bishāvūr, and all the water they drink has to be taken from wells, for there are no running streams, only the three underground water-channels of the villages above-mentioned. Their corn-lands entirely lack irrigation and depend on the rains. The city of Kāzirūn lies in ruins, but the farms round about are populous, and their homesteads are not [mere cabins] like those of other hamlets in these parts, but are strongly

¹ Dīh 'Alī, now more generally called Dālī, lies 4½ leagues south-east of Ardakān. The name of Khumāyijān, mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 111) as a district, but with no town large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers, has disappeared from the map.

built houses, well fortified, as a defence against the Shabankarah [Kurds], who are numerous throughout this district. Each farmstead here stands separate one from another, and they are not built together [in groups of villages]. The cloths called Tūzī [originally coming from Tawwail which they make here are woven from the fibre of the flax-plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw these into a tank full of water, leaving the fibre loose until it has rotted. It is next gathered up, the fibre being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen thread is washed in the water of the Rāhbān waterchannel; and though the water here is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes white. Now, this Rāhbān water-channel is the property of the royal Treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the Amir, the Treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave the cloths under the orders of the Treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the Treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloths, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the *Kāzirūnī cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kāzirūnī broker was merely asked for and the bale would then be sold at a profit without being opened [for examination]. Thus it often happened that a load of Kāzirūnī bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest all confidence is gone, for the goods

with the Treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kāzirūn. This fraud was especially common during the reign of the Amīr Abū Sa'd,1 whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all. If, however, this evil state of things could be changed, much wealth would still accrue from this manufacture. Further, in addition to the revenues to be derived from the Kāzirūnī cloths, which belong to the house of the Amir, there are the land-tax and the customs, both of which would increase greatly under a just and stable government. In various of the townships of Kāzirūn there are mosques for the Friday prayers. The people, however, are covetous and needy; further, they are a slanderous folk. In all these parts there are places where [a criminal] may take refuge, as it were in a Harīm [or Sanctuary], and of such is [the shrine] of Shaykh Abū Ishāq Shīrāzī, whom Allah sanctify! Among the populous districts of Kāzirūn are Mūr and Shitashgan.2

Nawbanjān ³ and Sha'b Bavvān.—Nawbanjān in former times was a very great and beautiful city, but during the misrule of Abū Sa'd of Kāzirūn it was more than once taken by storm, being sacked and burnt, so that even the great mosque was then destroyed by fire. In this state of ruin it remained for many years, being but a lair for lions and wolves, a place of ravenous beasts and their prey; its population was scattered abroad, and its people perished in foreign lands. When, however, the Atabeg Chāulī arrived in Fārs, and the province was rid of Abū Sa'd, he began to rebuild the city, and it may now be hoped that under the stable government [of the Saljūqs] its prosperity will be restored.

¹ Of the Shabankarah; see Introduction, p. 12.

² Probably Mūr of Jirrah, see above under Jirrah. <u>Shitashg</u>ān is unknown.

³ Now known as Nawbandagān (FNN. 303).

The climate here is that of the hot region but temperate. It has many running streams. Fruits of all kinds grow here, also aromatic plants in abundance.

The Vale of Sha'b Bayvan 1 lies in the neighbourhood of Nawbanjan: and it may be thus described. It is a great valley enclosed between two ranges of mountains, 31 leagues in length by 11 leagues across. Its climate is that of the cold region, none better anywhere. Villages one after another extend along the valley, and a great river flows down the middle part thereof, so that no place is cooler or more healthy to live in. Further, there are many excellent springs everywhere about, and from the head of the valley to its foot, all down its length and across it, there are fruit-trees growing everywhere, so that from their shade the sunlight never falls upon the ground. The fruit here is of all kinds, and very excellent in quality. Should a man walk from one end of the valley to the other, the sunshine will nowhere fall on him; and from one end of the year to the other the snow remains on the summits of the mountains that lie on either hand. It has been said by wise men that there are four Earthly Paradises, to wit, the Ghawtah [Garden-lands] of Damascus, Sughd [Sogdiana] of Khurāsān, [this Valley of] Sh'ab Bavvān, and lastly the Meadow of Shīdān 2; by which they mean that these four places just mentioned are the loveliest and pleasantest places of the whole earth. There are here in the neighbourhood, besides this valley of Sha'b Bavvan, many other districts, both in the hill country and in the plains, which are well populated, fertile, and rich, with running streams. The White Castle-Qal'ah Sapid-stands at the distance of 1 league from Nawbanjan, and the description of the same will be given later in the section relating to the Castles. All the district

¹ See FNN. 303.

² Otherwise called the Meadow-land of Shīdān and mentioned below, but its situation, unfortunately, is nowhere given.

round Sha'b Bavvān is of the hill country, and round Nawbanjān there are limitless hunting-grounds. The people of Nawbanjān are a discreet folk, with an aptitude for politeness.

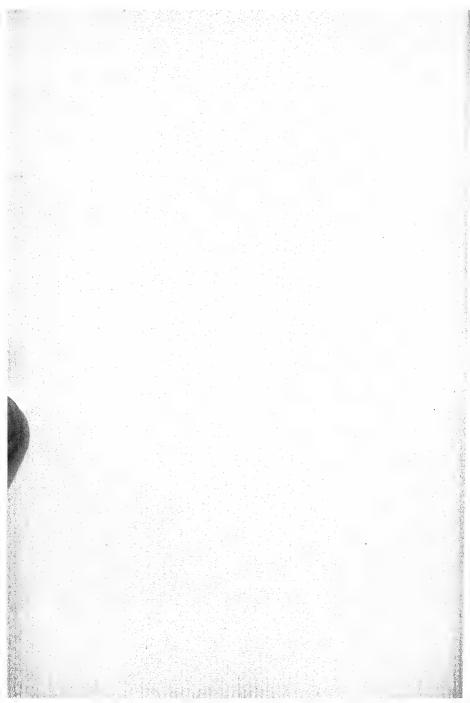
 $B\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}d$ $\underline{Sh}\bar{a}b\bar{u}r$.\text{\text{-This countryside lies between the Fars and Khuzistan provinces. In olden times it was very populous, but it now has fallen to ruin. Its climate is temperate though of the hot region, and there are many running streams.

Zīr and Kūh Jīlūyah.²—The Jīlūyah Mountain is a hill district with many lands, and its chief town is Zīr. The climate here is cold; there are abundant running streams and numerous fine villages. During the recent times of disorder, and especially when the Assassins—and may Allah cause them to perish!—held sway in the land, all this district fell greatly to ruin. Fruit orchards are numerous, and in Zīr there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. This district lies not far distant from Sumayram, and there are fine hunting-grounds within its borders.

¹ "The Country of Sapor" is still found on the map (FNN. 266). According to Muqaddasī its chief town was called Jūmah (the Township), and Hinduwān or Hindījān was within its limits (Muq. 422, Ist. 113).

² Kūh Gīlūyah is still the name for the great province, with many subdistricts, occupying all the mountain region to the north-west of Fārs (FNN. 262). For Zir or Zīz see above under Ṣarām.

(To be continued.)



A PROPOS DE LA DATATION EN SOGDIEN

PAR R. GAUTHIOT

DEPUIS qu'en avril 1911, a paru dans ce même journal une note sur la langue et l'écriture des anciens documents sogdiens retrouvés par M. M. A. Stein, dans une tour du vieux limes chinois, il nous a été possible d'étudier de plus près ces textes si curieux. M. M. A. Stein, d'accord avec M. Cowley, qui les avait le premier examinés, a bien voulu mettre à notre disposition les photographies des six "lettres" les mieux conservées. Celles-ci, malgré l'âge, et bien qu'elles soient toutes plus ou moins détériorées, constituent des documents précieux; ce ne sont pas le moins du monde des débris: toutes présentent, malgré leurs lacunes, des morceaux d'un seul tenant, dont la longueur est variable, il est vrai, mais qui fournissent des phrases suivies, des formes nominales et verbales variées, bref de véritables petits textes.

Cependant, elles restent difficiles à comprendre comme tous les documents anciens qui se réfèrent à la vie Même sur les domaines où nous sommes journalière. le mieux informés, notre connaissance de la vie pratique avec tous ses détails précis demeure fort imparfaite; la littérature, en effet, ne nous renseigne pas, ou peu s'en faut, sur ce sujet. On peut s'imaginer dès lors quelle est notre indigence quand il s'agit d'une langue ignorée pour ainsi dire il y a peu d'années, et qui était parlée par des hommes dont les mœurs, les conditions et le genre d'existence nous sont encore inconnus. Il est à craindre d'ailleurs, que la littérature religieuse bouddhique traduite du sanskrit ne nous donne guère de renseignements sur le vocabulaire technique et familier des Sogdiens; mais on peut espérer que les apocryphes, les textes contenant des recettes magiques ou autres, et les progrès de l'archéologie de l'Asie centrale dans son ensemble nous aideront davantage. Dans quelque temps, peut-être, il sera possible de donner une véritable édition des documents de M. M. A. Stein, surtout si la fortune qui a tant fait déjà pour les archéologues et les linguistes en Asie centrale se montre favorable. En attendant, leur étude linguistique attentive, à l'aide des renseignements fournis par le sogdien bouddhique, manichéen et chrétien, ainsi que par les autres dialectes iraniens, peut donner dès maintenant des résultats positifs.

Il est déjà possible, par exemple, de se rendre compte, que le sogdien apparaît dans les textes anciens rapportés, par M. M. A. Stein et qu'il a trouvés, d'après les renseignements qu'il nous a obligeamment fournis, auprès de documents chinois datés des années 1 à 20 de notre ère. sous une forme déjà nettement définie et qui n'a varié sur aucun point essentiel jusqu'au septième siècle au moins, où elle servait de langue littéraire aux bouddhistes, et jusqu'au neuvième, où les rédacteurs manichéens de l'inscription de Kara Balgassoun l'écrivaient encore (cf. F. W. K. Müller, Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin, 1909, nº xxvii). Sans doute n'était-elle plus parlée alors comme elle était notée: les manichéens et les chrétiens qui se sont adressés au peuple ont usé d'une langue sensiblement plus évoluée et débarrassée des cryptogrammes; car le sogdien a été traité sur ce point comme le moyen persan. Dans les documents bouddhiques eux-mêmes, ou du moins dans certains, se manifeste le désaccord entre la vieille orthographe traditionelle et l'usage familier au copiste ou au rédacteur: pour n'en donner qu'un exemple, le mot "monde" est '\(\beta^c np\) dans les textes bouddhiques, et sur l'inscription de Kara Balgassoun (cf. Müller, loc. laud., p. 729) dont le caractère littéraire et savant est un trait essentiel, qu'il faut mettre avant tout en relief. Mais la spirante bilabiale β a tendu assez tôt à perdre sa

sonorité et à passer à f au contact d'une consonne sourde, et cette modification est indiquée parfois par les bouddhistes au moyen d'un point souscrit au 🗅 (ainsi Documents Pelliot, Inventaire, nº 3519); quant aux chrétiens ils écrivent fčmβδ (cf. F. W. K. Müller, Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin, 1907, nº xiii, p. 6); le même fait s'est produit pour le \(\beta \) de \(\cepti t \beta' r \) "quatre" (cf. M\(\cepti m \). Soc. Ling., t. xvii, pp. 137 et 151). Mais la force de la tradition littéraire a été grande en sogdien (cf. JA., juillet-août, 1911, p. 56 et suiv.), et elle a pesé sur les innovations des manichéens eux-mêmes, ainsi que l'on peut s'en rendre compte facilement en lisant le premier des Zwei soghdische Exkurse de M. F. C. Andreas (v. Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin, 1910, nº xv), où est donné un apercu du rôle des graphies historiques en sogdien manichéen. Dans l'ensemble d'ailleurs, l'unité mise en relief ici-même (JRAS., April, 1911, p. 501 et suiv.) se confirme à l'examen: on avait déjà signalé (ibid., p. 505) que le participe passé du verbe "aller" était "γt¹ dans les documents Stein comme dans l'ensemble du sogdien; on peut ajouter qu'il en est de même pour presque tout le vocabulaire et, en particulier, les verbes dont voici quelques exemples:

pr'δ-, "vendre" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, ligne 3).
δβr-, "donner" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, l. 10).
δ'r-, "avoir" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 3, l. 8).
prm'y-, "ordonner" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 4, l. 5).
γryn- (prés.), γryt- (part. pass.), "acheter" (p. ex. T. XII, a. ii, 8g, ll. 5 et 6).
tys-, "entrer" (T. XII, a. ii, 1, ll. 7 et 8).

A côté de cela les quelques traits d'archaïsme, d'ailleurs

¹ Nous transcrivons ici le sogdien tant des lettres rapportées par M. Stein que des textes bouddhiques ou de l'inscription de Kara-Balgassoun, c'est-à-dire tout le sogdien noté en écriture "sogdienne" conformément aux indications données dans le *Journal Asiatique*, janvier-février, 1911, p. 81 et suivantes.

précieux, paraissent peu de chose. Notons, cependant, que l'équivalent de l'iranien commun *hača (pers. j\), qui doit être régulièrement en sogdien ač (cf. Mém. Soc. Ling., t. xvii, p. 155), est précisément attesté sous cette forme dans les documents Stein où on le trouve, entre autres, T. XII, a. ii, 5, ll. 11 et 32, T. XII, a. ii, 1, l. 9, tandis qu'en sogdien bouddhique, manichéen et chrétien on ne rencontre plus que čan noté respectivement čnn et \(\frac{1}{2}\); or ce čan est visiblement un dérivé de *hača. Ajoutons que la lettre T. XII, a. ii, 3 présente la forme δωγδryh soit *δωγδαr-"fille" à la ligne 27, au lieu du *δωπ"t des textes bouddhiques, écrit tantôt δωγt, tantôt δγωt, et dont le -t est dû à l'analogie de m't (*māt), "mère," et autres semblables.

Un point particulier où se marque la continuité de la tradition littéraire du sogdien est la forme de la clausule qui sert à dater les lettres rapportées par M. M. A. Stein. Quatre sur six sont munies de cette formule qui se présente d'abord sous l'aspect suivant dans le document publié en fac-similé dans le cahier de janvier, 1911, de ce Journal:

krt ZNH lykh ko 10 myk m'yw ko 14 syth.

Il est en effet une partie essentielle de la formule que nous étudions et se retrouve partout. Dans le document T. XII, a. ii, 8g la clausule est très endommagée, mais on y lit clairement :

 $krt\ ZNH\ lykh\ \dots\ 20\ (?) + 6\ s\gamma th,$

c'est à dire, en somme, la même chose que plus haut. Les autres documents datés présentent de légères variations; mais l'un au moins emploie syth de la même façon et à la même place; on a dans T. XII, a. ii, 3:

np'γšt ZNH lykh pr 'tδrtyk YRH' pr 10 sγth. L'autre (T. XII, a. ii, 5) porte:

np'yšt ZNH lykh 'č kč'n pr '8rtyk m'yw p 12 (??), suivi d'une abréviation ou plutôt d'un complexe de lettres écrasées et surchargées où il est difficile actuellement de rien distinguer. Le scribe sentant venir le bout de la ligne dès la fin de $m'\gamma w$ a laissé tomber le r du second pr qui n'est représenté que par p, a écrit verticalement au lieu de les aligner horizontalement les unités du nombre 12 et a réduit ce qui devait suivre à un tracé pour ainsi dire illisible et qui peut-être, ou même probablement, doit signifier syth. Quoiqu'il en soit ces deux dernières formules ne sont pas plus difficiles à comprendre dans l'ensemble que les deux premières : np'yst correspond évidemment à krt, la préposition pr est l'équivalent de $k\delta$ et elle signifie de façon sûre, car elle se rencontre fréquemment à travers tous les textes sogdiens, "à, sur." Quant à 'tδrtyk et 'δrtyk ce sont deux formes de l'ordinal "troisième" sur l'explication duquel il est inutile d'insister ici et pour lequel il suffit de renvoyer aux Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, t. xvii, pp. 147-8. Enfin YRH' est le cryptogramme sémitique qui répond au sogdien m'yw, "mois" (cf. hébr. אין, syr. איב), et 'č kč'n est une indication de provenance, ainsi qu'il ressort de la lettre même.

En somme, si on réserve momentanément les autres points intéressants que soulèvent les formules qui viennent d'être citées et analysées, on constate d'abord que syth,

sans que le mot "jour" soit exprimé, et joint à un nom de nombre cardinal (l'opposition avec l'ordinal qui précède le mot "mois" est flagrante) indique la date de la journée dans les lettres anciennes que nous devons à M. M. A. Stein. Or, il en est de même exactement dans les documents bouddhiques de la collection de Paris qui proviennent de Touen-houang et dont la date, sinon d'origine première, du moins de copie est singulièrement plus basse. La plupart sont incomplets et, comme il est naturel, ce sont les deux extrémités qui manquent généralement. Mais parmi ceux dont la fin est à peu près conservée, il en est un dont le témoignage est parfaitement clair; c'est celui qui se termine (Documents Pelliot, Inventaire, n° 3520) par cette indication

pr myw sró wywśwmy m'yy pnios sytyh

c'est à dire "en l'année du tigre (myw srδ), sixième (cf. Mém. Soc. Ling., t. xvii, pp. 152 seq. et 158) mois, quinze (jours) écoulés". Il n'y a donc pas de doute sur la manière de dater en question, ni sur son caractère traditionnel en sogdien; les bouddhistes du septième siècle et après se servaient encore de syt- et opposaient encore l'ordinal du mois au nombre cardinal du jour.

Ce qui est tout à fait remarquable c'est qu'en faisant ainsi, ils continuaient un vieil usage iranien qui est attesté en vieux perse. Le verbe iranien sak- dont $s\gamma t$ - (c'est à dire *saxt-) est le participe passé passif régulier sert tout spécialement à indiquer l'écoulement du temps (cf. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wb., colonne 1553). Dans la grande inscription de Bisutūn $\theta^a k^a t^a a$ avec le pluriel (souvent) et $\theta^a k^a t^a m^a$ avec le singulier (une fois) sert précisement à indiquer la date du jour (v. pour les renvois Bartholomae, Altiran. Wb., col. 784). La tournure perse n'est d'ailleurs pas tout à fait claire: $\theta^a k^a t^a a$ et $\theta^a k^a t^a m^a$ sont suivis du verbe "être" et précédés du mot rauča-à l'instrumental dans le cas du pluriel, au nominatif dans

celui du singulier et d'une forme du mot "mois" qui peut être soit le locatif de $m\bar{a}h$, soit le génitif de $m\bar{a}ha$; toutefois il reste que $\theta^a k^a t^a$ est inséparable de l'avestique sak, saxt, et plus encore du sogdien $s\gamma t$. Le mode d'emploi du radical sak, θaka diffère dans la langue ancienne du Fars, et dans celle, plus récente, du Nord scythique qui est étudiée ici, mais sa valeur est la même, et il remplit sur l'un et l'autre domaine linguistique le même rôle spécial et, pour ainsi dire, technique. En vieux perse comme en sogdien le quantième du mois est désigné par un nom de nombre cardinal.

A côté de ce point essentiel pour l'intelligence des formules qui servent à dater les documents en sogdien, il en est quelques autres qui s'y rattachent et qu'il convient d'examiner dès maintenant. On a vu plus haut que deux des quatre clausules qui terminent les lettres que nous devons à M. M. A. Stein commencent par krt, participe passé du verbe *kr-, "faire," forme facile à comprendre, et que les autres débutent par un autre participe passé np'yšt, dont nous nous sommes contenté d'indiquer provisoirement qu'il remplissait le rôle de krt. Mais la signification exacte de ce np'yst est particulièrement intéressante. Il figure dans l'inscription sogdienne de Kara Balgassoun; M. F. W. K. Müller l'a déchiffré très exactement à la ligne 2, où il a lu np'yštw δ'rnt (cf. Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin, 1909, p. 727) qu'il a traduit par "ont écrit". Cette traduction manque un peu de précision; c'est "ont composé", "ont rédigé", qu'il faut dire (c'est à dire en allemand, "haben zusammengesetzt," "haben festgestellt, verfasst") car np'yštw δ'rnt rend exactement le chinois 理 d'une part et de l'autre se distingue nettement de pyst "écrit" en sogdien même. Ce pyst figure au début des documents Stein et sur leur adresse, ainsi que l'on a vu dans ce Journal même (April, 1911, p. 505), et dans les deux lettres qui se terminent par la clausule du type np'yštw ZNH . . . , à savoir T. XX, a. ii, 3, et T. XX, a. ii, 5, il se trouve répété à la fin du texte. Ainsi dans T. XII, a. ii, 5 on lit:

.... pyšt MN γγρδ βntk pryγusp npyšt ZNH lykh 'č kč'n pr tδrtyk etc.

d'où il ressort clairement que la lettre a été "écrite (de la part de) son esclave Pryywsp (un nom d'aspect bien iranien, à lire peut-être Frīxvasp?), 'mais que,' ceci a été arrangé (fixé, rédigé) au troisième mois" etc. Ce sens de np'yst explique d'ailleurs bien mieux son alternance avec krt, "fait," que ne pourrait le faire celui de "écrit"; np'yst et krt portent sur le fond, pyst ne concerne que l'exécution matérielle en quelque sorte. Dans ces conditions il est intéressant de noter que np'yst se rencontre aussi à la fin des textes bouddhiques, ainsi Documents Pelliot, Inventaire, no 35112, où on lit: np'ysty ZNH pwst'k, c'est à dire "ce sûtra (livre) a été arrangé (fixé, rédigé)". Et la comparaison s'impose avec le turc yarat-, qui figure par exemple dans le fameux colophon que M. F. W. K. Müller a découvert et si ingénieusement utilisé (v. Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin, 1907, pp. 958-60): le sens propre de yaratmis est justement celui de np'yšt; l'un et l'autre indiquent une "rédaction" (cf. S. Lévi, JA., Mai-Juin, 1911, p. 437, au mot tokharien, rittos). On sait que la dépendance où sont les scribes turcs par rapport à leurs collègues sogdiens, surtout en matière de locutions traditionnelles et de formules, est tout à fait étroite. Quant à l'étymologie de np'yst, sa signification étant ainsi précisée, elle n'est pas douteuse: le mot se compose d'abord du préfixe ni-, le même que dans v. perse nipišta-, et ensuite d'un participe passé *p'yšt, qui est à un radical indo-iranien *pāg- ce que Byšt (le mot est bien attesté en sogdien; cf. pers. (حشدر) est à indo-iranien *bhag-; or *pāg- est attesté par ailleurs en indo-européen avec précisément le sens de "arranger, fixer, rédiger": on a par exemple en latin pango, pēgi, e compāgēs; en grec πήγνυμι, "ajuster, fixer."

Restent le cryptogramme sémitique ZNH et le mot lukh importants l'un et l'autre. Le premier répond lettre pour lettre au pehlvi sassanide ~ \ \ \ , ZNH, de façon moins exacte au pehlvi littéraire , qui ne peut guère être lu que DNH (avec la correspondance régulière de z et de d issus d'un ancien *8, arabe ;) soit l'araméen הנה. Sa présence était attendue comme on le voit; c'est le démonstratif normal servant à désigner l'objet rapproché, "ce. cette, celui-ci, celle-ci." Mais son identification est néanmoins importante. D'abord elle a permis de compléter l'alphabet sogdien, auquel il manquait le h, 7. Il est vrai que son absence ne se faisait pas beaucoup sentir: ainsi qu'on l'a montré dans le Journal Asiatique (janvierfévrier, 1911, p. 85) le h iranien disparaît en sogdien à l'initiale des mots et devient à l'intérieur x. Il ne restait donc de possible que des finales nouvelles où il se présente, en effet. Sa forme est semblable à celle du h des inscriptions sassanides qui lui ne se rencontre effectivement que dans des cryptogrammes, et n'est pas sans rapport avec celle de la finale pehlvie of que l'on lit trop souvent encore MN comme s'il s'agissait d'une ligature. On le trouve reproduit d'une part avec le fac-similé du document Stein, T. XII, a. ii, 5, publié dans ce Journal (January, 1911, p. 166) et dans l'alphabet dressé par M. Cowley (JRAS., January, 1911, p. 166, et April, 1910, p. 500, colonne de droite, dernier caractère à droite), d'autre part dans le Journal Asiatique (janvierfévrier, 1911), au deuxième spécimen sogdien, ligne 2, troisième mot. Ce mot a d'ailleurs été transcrit de façon erronée (ibid., p. 95) par čwrnč; c'est čwrh qu'il faut lire, -č et -nč finaux ayant nettement une forme différente. Ainsi, l'alphabet sogdien est bien près sans doute d'être connu en entier: il n'est pas jusqu'au signe assez bizarre qui commence le mot que M. Cowley avait reconnu devoir signifier "to" (v. JRAS., January, 1911, p. 163), qui ne

puisse être identifié aujourd'hui. Ce mot avait été transcrit par M. Cowley par Ty, et cette interprétation avait été acceptée par nous (v. JRAS., April, 1911, p. 506). Pour celà nous avions été obligé d'admettre que notre système de lecture ne s'appliquait pas nécessairement aux cryptogrammes sémitiques et de maintenir dans le cas spécial en question la valeur δ à un signe que partout ailleurs nous proposions de lire correctement r. C'est là un point qu'il faut corriger: c'est par Jy, 'R, qu'il faut transcrire le petit mot qui précède sur l'adresse et au début de la lettre la désignation du destinataire. Dans d'autres documents de M. M. A. Stein la lettre initiale n'est pas tracée aussi négligemment que dans T. XII, a. ii, 4, qui a été étudié spécialement par M. Cowley et reproduit à la suite de son article (JRAS., January, 1911); sa forme ne laisse alors plus de doute sur sa valeur et son origine: c'est un y très pareil par exemple, à celui de l'alphabet des inscriptions sassanides 2, c'est à dire à un 2, mais renversé sur la droite et couché. D'autre part il a tendu à se rapprocher du 1, W; et en sogdien bouddhique l'on rencontre parfois un cryptogramme WR qui a la valeur d'une préposition et signifie "à". L'évolution du y a donc été pareille en pehlvi et en sogdien; dans les deux langues iraniennes à cryptogrammes sémitiques que l'on connaît, le même signe étranger et qui n'était jamais prononcé a abouti au même terme final.

Ce n'est pas tout. La lecture y qui n'était qu'un expédient, puisqu'en pehlvi $\hat{\boldsymbol{\beta}}_1$ est la graphie de moyen pers. $t\bar{a}k$, pers. U, qu'il signifie, en tant que préposition et que conjonction à la fois, "jusqu'à" et non "à", et qu'il ne sert pas du tout à exprimer le datif, est rendue impossible par suite de l'existence de WR en sogdien bouddhique. Dès lors, c'est y, pehlvi $\hat{\boldsymbol{\beta}}_1$, que la tradition lit val et ol, qui seul entre en ligne de compte: son sens est exactement celui que l'on attend, car il doit être lu

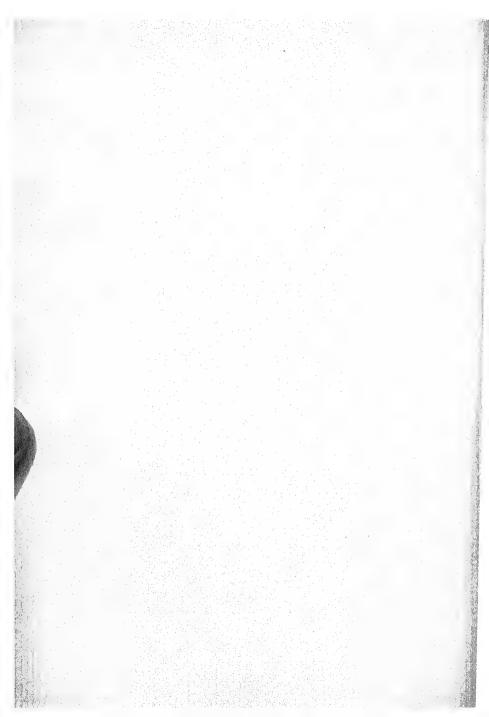
awi, aw et se traduit précisément par "à". Il reste, il est vrai que l'on a un r final pour un l attendu et que la confusion de r et de l apparaît comme exclue en écriture sogdienne; autant vaudrait parler d'une confusion entre le lamed et le res en syriaque. Mais il est une possibilité qu'il faut envisager et que l'on nous permettra d'indiquer ici: c'est que l'interversion en question remonte au pehlvi de Perse. Là, en effet, r et l ont fini par être confondues dans l'écriture, assez tôt à ce qu'il semble; et l'usage des cryptogrammes en sogdien est inséparable de celui que l'on en a fait en moyen persan. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'introduction de mots araméens, non point dans la langue, mais dans la graphie d'un idiome étranger est le fait de scribes formant une sorte de caste, d'une forte tradition bureaucratique, d'une chancellerie où un dialecte sémitique jouait un rôle prépondérant. Or rien de tout cela n'a existé en Sogdiane, ou ne pouvait même s'v établir, tandis que les Perses l'ont précisément créé; la circulaire portant traduction de la proclamation que Darius avait fait graver dans le roc à Bisutun et que M. E. Sachau vient de publier (Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka, Tafel 52 und 54-6) en est un témoignage éclatant parmi bien d'autres. Les successeurs des rois perses, les souverains grecs et arsacides, les princes locaux, ont pu endommager de façon plus ou moins grave, laisser péricliter par endroits et par moments l'ancien et grandiose appareil administratif; mais loin de le détruire ou de le remplacer, ils en ont au contraire utilisé les débris. Les nombreuses dynasties diverses qui ont gouverné en Perse depuis les Achéménides jusqu'aux Sassanides se sont toutes appuyées sur cet élément national si stable et si résistant. C'est à lui que les Arsacides doivent leur style officiel, c'est lui qui a fourni aux Sogdiens le modèle de leur langue commune. Ainsi s'explique qu'à travers le pehlvi du Sud-Ouest, le pehlvi septentrional et le sogdien le même stock de cryptogrammes se retrouve à peu de chose près pour les démonstratifs, les

conjonctions, les prépositions et un certain nombre d'adjectifs et de substantifs. Dans les trois langues l'ancien *δ du démonstratif sémitique est représenté également par z, qui se rencontre aussi dans les papyrus d'Egypte de l'époque perse et les inscriptions d'Asie Mineure (cf. Brockelmann, Grundriss d. vergl. Gr. d. sem. Spr., p. 134, et E. Sachau, Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka, p. 262), comme en assyrien, tandis que les dialectes araméens voisins de l'Iran ont à sa place d. Ainsi s'explique aussi que le sogdien ne présente en quelque sorte qu'un minimum de cryptogrammes. Ce qu'il en possède ne forme qu'un groupe réduit et qui n'a pas été s'accroissant comme celui du pehlvi, puisqu'il n'était pas en contact direct avec le monde sémitique; il est tout à fait caractéristique que l'on n'ait rencontré jusqu'ici en sogdien aucun verbe, aucun pronom personnel et deux noms de nombre seulement notés sous leur forme sémitique. L'usage des cryptogrammes institué en Perse par l'administration centrale et pour elle, a bien pénétré jusque dans les pays du Nord de l'Iran, mais il est allé s'atténuant et ne s'est maintenu dans ces provinces lointaines et mal jointes à l'empire que sous une forme comparativement fort modérée.

Mais l'unité fondamentale est certaine. Les cryptogrammes du sogdien ne peuvent pas être considérés à part de ceux du pehlvi ni du style de la chancellerie perse. Dans ce Journal même (April, 1911, p. 506) on a essayé d'expliquer la forme singulièrement altérée du sémitique présultat d'une oblitération purement graphique. L'identification de *\(\frac{1}{2}\)) était sûre, mais il est évident que le moyen qui s'offrait alors d'en rendre compte était désespéré. La solution est aujourd'hui fournie précisément par des documents sortis des bureaux administratifs des Achéménides: il faut lire non point \(\frac{1}{2}\)), NLP, mais \(\frac{1}{2}\)!, 1 LP. Par exemple, la circulaire officielle portant traduction de la proclamation de Darius que l'on a retrouvée à Elephantine

écrit 5 au lieu de 5% quand le mot est précédé d'un signe pour "un", c'est à dire d'une barre 1: l'on trouve ainsi 51, c'est à dire "1 mille" pour 58, "mille," à la ligne 11 du papyrus 61 (recto) et ailleurs (cf. E. Sachau, Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka, pp. 19 et 189).

Pour finir, il convient de revenir en peu de mots sur le terme lykh, qui a été traduit par "lettre" au cours de cette note. Il ne paraît pas être attesté en iranien en dehors des documents examinés ici; nous n'ayons pas non plus retrouvé de cryptogramme sémitique dont le sens fût satisfaisant et qui s'écrivît δykh ou lykh. Mais sa valeur est sûre. On a vu que la clausule où entre lykh est tout à fait parallèle à celle qui figure à la fin d'un sûtra bouddhique: or cette dernière portant après np'ysty ZNH . . . "arrangé (rédigé) ce . . . " la désignation exacte du texte qu'elle termine, savoir pwst'k, "sûtra (livre)," il n'est guère douteux que dans np'yst ZNH lykh . . . "arrangé (rédigé) ce lykh . . . " lykh ne soit le nom du document au bas duquel il figure et qui, dans l'espèce, est une "lettre". Le mot se retrouve dans le texte de deux des documents Stein, et, dans tous les passages le sens de "lettre" lui convient parfaitement; ainsi, l'on a, dans T. XII, a. ii, $3 \dots 'yw \ lykh \ L' \beta yr'm \dots "... je n'ai$ reçu aucune lettre . . ." Aussi n'est-il guère douteux que lykh est commun au sogdien d'Asie centrale et au prākrit du Khotan: c'est exactement le lekha, "lettre," des documents en kharoșthi, sur le rôle duquel on consultera avec profit le Ancient Khotan de M. M. A. Stein, p. 365 et suiv. La notation de l est la même que dans $py\delta$, soit * $p\bar{\imath}l$, "éléphant," et le h rend la voyelle finale du mot sanskrit. En effet, les aspirées des langues de l'Inde sont toujours rendues en sogdien par les occlusives simples correspondantes, et le h représente dans l'écriture sogdienne non pas une consonne, mais une voyelle: lykh doit être lu à peu près *lekă.



DOCUMENTS SANSCRITS DE LA SECONDE COLLECTION M. A. STEIN 1

By L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

CH. VII, 001A

FRAGMENTS DE L'UDANAVARGA DE DHARMATRATA

 MS. sur papier; slanting brāhmī; 12 folios. Voir JRAS. 1911, p. 762.

On remarquera la fréquente confusion de la sonore et de la sourde gena = kena, dv = tv (xxx,34), spantati = spandati (xxxi, 2), angusena = ankusena; yonisas tvijam = yoniso dvijam (xxxi, 5), ja = ca (ii, 5), nipadinah = nipatinah (xxxi, 1), edam = etan, tavati = dhavati (xxxi, 33), etc.

La ponctuation est parfois marquée, tantôt par le visarga (que, dans cet emploi, nous représentons par :) ² tantôt par un trait horizontal ~ (représenté par une virgule). Ce trait sert aussi de trait d'union entre deux parties d'un mot coupé en passant à la ligne.

Le visarga est souvent omis devant k ou p, souvent aussi ailleurs, notamment en finale; il est parfois confondu avec l'anusvāra (dans kimcanah—cf. kimcanam des MSS. du Turfan, xxx, 49, 50—le visarga est peut être une marque de ponctuation), parfois simplement fautif (xxxi, 23, 29).

L'anusvāra remplace la nasale ou fait double emploi (xxii, 2; xxx, 37, etc.). De nombreux hy préviennent l'élision de la voyelle, et sauvent le mètre, menacé par la transposition du prâcrit en sanscrit.

La nasale linguale (n) est, quatre ou cinq fois, négligée (i, 7; xxi, 29; xxx, 32; xxxi, 9); les erreurs de copiste sont assez rares (cĭrṇa, i, 27; dhṛdha, ii, 5; chana, xxxi, 11).

On remarquera le redoublement du groupe t s, xxx, 43, utstsuka, xxxi, 5, tat stsamgrhnāmi.

¹ See JRAS. 1911, pp. 758 and 1063.

² Voir, par exemple, xxxi, 1 et 2.

2. L'Udanavarga est connu depuis longtemps par la traduction que W. W. Rockhill en a donnée d'après les versions tibétaines du Kandjour et du Tandjour.¹

Les diverses sources sont unanimes à nommer Dharmatrāta comme l'auteur de cette collection d'udānas. Mais, bien qu'il n'ait pas été compilé par Ānanda et les autres saṃgītikaras, bien qu'il porte le nom d'un moderne, l'Udānavarga est "parole du Bouddha" et, reconnu comme tel, il a pris légitimement place dans le Kandjour et dans le Tandjour. Les Vaibhāṣikas soutiennent que leurs sept Traités d'Abhidharma, pour avoir des auteurs, sont aussi authentiques que le Vinaya et les Sūtras, que l'Udānavarga: "car ils ont été dits par morceaux par Bhagavat et réunis en un tout par Kātyāyana, etc., comme l'Udānavarga a été réuni par le Bhadanta Dharmatrāta" . . . "comme l'Udānavarga a été mis en collection (varga, nikāya) par Dharmatrāta." 2

3. La troisième mission allemande du Turfan (Grünwedelvon Le Coq) a rapporté trente-cinq feuillets en *slanting*, appartenant à divers MSS. et contenant les fragments d'un

¹ Udānavarga, a collection of verses from the Buddhist Canon, compiled by Dharmatrāta, being the Northern Buddhist version of Dhammapada, translated . . . , Londres, 1883.—Par le fait l'Udānavarga n'est ni une version ni une recension du Dhammapada, mais une collection d'udānas, prose ou vers.

L'excellente édition que M. H. Beckh vient de donner de la traduction tibétaine de l'Udānavarga (Berlin, G. Reimer) me parvient au moment où je corrige l'épreuve du présent article. Elle permettra d'identifier les sources de Dharmatrāta: j'ai du moins retrouvé dans l'Udānavarga tous les udānas de l'Udāna pāli.

² Voir Wassilieff, p. 270 (297), qui traduit le Siddhānta de Mañjughoṣahāsa, première partie, fol. 143 de mon edition: mion pa sde bdun... bcom ldan hdas [kyis sil bur gsuñs pa ka tai bu sogs kyis gcig tu bsdus pa yin te btsun pa chos skyoñ kyis ched du brjod pai tsom bzhin.—Comme il est dit dans le Rañ hgrel (Bhāṣya):... btsun ka tai bu la sogs pas bsdus nas bzhag ste btsun chos skyoñ kyis ched du brjod pai sde sde thsan du byas pa bzhin no.

Le Dharmatrāta dont il s'agit est désigné par Tāranātha (p. 68) comme le compilateur (bsdu ba po, Sammler) de l'Udānavarga, dont Wassilieff (ibid., p. 300) dit très bien qu'il est fait de ślokas (?) réunis du Vinaya et des Sūtras.

ouvrage dont R. Pischel a reconnu les étroites relations avec l'Udānavarga tibétain. À en juger d'après le titre de sa notice ("Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada," Sitzungsberichte de Berlin, 1908, pp. 968–85), il paraît penser que cet Udānavarga doit être regardé comme une recension du Dhammapada, et que les MSS. Grünwedel—Le Coq contiennent des fragments de diverses recensions du même Dhammapada.

Par le fait, les divergences des MSS. du Turfan sont trop insignifiantes pour justifier le terme de recension; et ces MSS. contiennent la rédaction originale de Dharmatrāta, conservée dans le canon tibétain. Pischel le dit lui-même: "aucun doute n'est possible: notre recension sanscrite est la source de la traduction tibétaine" (Pischel, p. 968).1

La parenté des MSS. du Turfan et du MS. Stein est prouvée par les lectures fautives ou anormales qui leur sont communes (ṛṣayor, xxix, 44, etc.); le MS. Stein, comme les MSS. B et C du Turfan, comme le tibétain, omet dix des douze stances śubhānudarśinam, aśubhānudarśinam, chap. xxix, qui figurent dans le MS. A; contient, comme B, la stance xxx, 50; présente les mêmes fautes que B ad xxix, 40, 45 (B 54), mais la même lecture que A, xxix, 46.

4. Aux douze folios de la collection Stein, il faut ajouter trois folios de la collection Pelliot, publiés par M. Lévi (JA. 1910, ii, p. 444). Quinze folios de l'Udānavarga de l'illustre grotte ont donc été sauvés; ils contiennent—

- 1. Anityavarga, st. 24–42. (fols. 3–4.)
- 2. Kāmavarga, st. 1–19. (fols. 4–5.)
- 12. Mārgavarga, st. 18-20.
- 13. Satkāravarga, st. 1-11a-b. (un folio.)
- 21. Tathāgatavarga, st. 8-18.

¹ Il est facheux que R. Pischel ne s'explique pas sur les divergences "nicht ganz gering" du chapitre xxvi. Il arrive que la version tibétaine soit plus proche des originaux pālis que nos rédactions sanscrites.

- 22. Śrutavarga, st. 1-2, 19 [Pelliot].
- 23. Atmavarga, st. 1-26 [Pelliot].
- 24. Sahasravarga, st. 1-2 [Pelliot]. (trois folios.)
- 29. Yugavarga, st. 39-53. (fols. 52.)
- 30. Sukhavarga, st. 26-52. (fols. 55-7.)
- 31. Cittavarga, st. 1–38. (fols. 57–9.)
- 32. Bhiksuvarga, st. 3-14 [Pelliot], 15-29. (fols. 62-3.)

Le folio 63 est le seul qui porte une indication complète; encore le chiffre des dizaines est-il douteux; on lit nettement les 5 et 6 des folios 55 et 56. Mais la comparaison avec la version tibétaine est décisive; à calculer depuis notre premier feuillet du Yuga jusqu'au feuillet du Bhikṣu on a 162 stances pour douze feuillets, soit une moyenne de $13\frac{1}{2}$; ce qui donne presque exactement 54 feuillets pour les 732 stances qui précèdent, dans le tibétain, la stance xxx, 26.

D'après le même comput, les feuillets du groupe xxi-xxiv seraient les 33, 34 (manquant), 35, et 36.

Les titres de 1, 12, 21, 22, et 30 sont attestés par notre MS.; ceux de 2, 29, 31, par Pischel; 13, 23, et 24 paraissent au moins très vraisemblables (Rockhill: satkāra, ātma, et "Numbers").

- 5. L'importance de l'Udānavarga est attestée par les bilingues sanscrit-"tokharien", Feuillet Berezovski (Izvestia de Saint-Petersbourg, 1909, p. 547) et Feuillet Pelliot, FM. 8a, que MM. Lévi et Meillet ont étudiés (JA. 1911, i, p. 434). Ils contiennent Udānavarga, i, 40-2; ii, 1-2; et xxix, 45-51.
- 6. Nous n'entreprenons pas l'édition critique de nos fragments de l'Udānavarga, mais seulement la lecture de nos feuillets. Toutefois, il a paru convenable d'indiquer les références pâlies et sanscrites (dues pour une bonne part à M. R. O. Franke, voir JRAS. 1910, p. 759), et les données, surtout tibétaines, qui ont servi à la restitution de passages illisibles ou disparus.

Les syllabes entourées de "square brackets" sont celles qui ont, probablement, figuré dans le MS. lorsqu'il était intact. On a placé entre parenthèses les lettres omises par le scribe.

I

...[3A]...22]

[sarvasattvā maris]yant[i] maraṇāntam hi jīvitam yathākarma gamiṣyanti puṇyapāpaphal[opagāh [narakam pāpakar]māṇa[h] krtapunyās tu svargatim anye tu margam bhavyeha nirvasyanti nirasravah 24 nai[vānta]rīkse na sam[u]dramadhye na parvatānām vivaram pravišva na vidyate sau prthivipradeśo yatra sthitam na prasa[heta] mrtyu(h) 25 [ye] ceha bhūtā bhavisyanti vā punah sarve gamişyanti vihāya deham tām sarvahānim kuśa[lo viditvā] dharme sthito brahmacaryam careta, 26 cirnam ca drstveha tathaiva roginam mrtañ ca drstvā vyapayātacetasam ja[hāti] dhī[r]o [gr]habandhanāni, kāmā hi lokasya na supraheyā(h) ciryanti vai rājarathā(h) sucitrā hy ato śarīram api ja[3B][rām upe]ti sat[ā]n tu dharmo na ja[rā]m upeti santo hi tam satsu nivedayanti dhik tvām astu jare grāmye [varņā]pakār[i]n[i jade ta]thā manoramam bimbam tvayā yad abhimarditam 29 vo pi varsasatam jīvet so pi mṛtyuparāyaṇah anu hy enam ja[rā yāt]i_ .i mo_ .i vāntakah sanā vrajanti hy anivartamānā divā ca rātrau ca vilujyamānāh matsyā ivā l palcyam[ā]nā duhkhena jätimaranena yuktāh āyur divā ca rātrau ca caratas tisthatas tathā,

nadinām [hi] yathā sroto [ga]c[cha]ti na nivartate yesām rātridivāpāye hy āyur alpataram bhavet alpodake ca matsyānām kā nu [tatra rat]i[r bhavet] 33 [par]ij[i]rnam idam [rū]pam roganīdam prabhamguram bhetsvatepütyasamndeham maranantamhi jivitam [4A] [34] [aciram bata kāyo yam prthi]v[īm adhi]s[e]syati śūnyo vyapetavijňano nirastam va kadamgaram kim anena śarīrena [visra]vāpūtinā [sa]d[ā] [ni]tyam [r]og[ā]bh[i]bhūtena jarā maraṇabhīruṇā anena pūtikāyena hy ātureņa prabhanguņā, nif]? parām śāntim yogakṣemam anuttaram iha varsam karisyāmi hemantam grīsmam eva ca, bālo vicinta[yat]ī[ti] hy antarāyam na paśyati tam putrapaśusammattam vyāsaktamanasam naram suptam grāmam mahaughaiva mṛtyu[r ādāya] gacchati 39 na santi putras trāṇāya na pitā nāpi bāndhavāli antakenābhibhūtasya na hi trānā bhavanti te idam [me kārya]m kartavyam idam krtvā bhavisyati, ity evam spantano martya jarā mrtyuś ca mardati tasmāt sadā dhyānaratā(h) samāhitā hy ā [4B] tāpino [jā]tijarāntadarśinah māram sasainyam abhibhūya bhiksavo bhaveta j[ā]timaraņasya pāragāļi || anityavarga prathama [h 1] ||

Les chiffres placés entre "square brackets" renvoient à l'édition de M. H. Beckh.

23-4. a-b. [21-2] Sam. i, 97; Netti, p. 94; 23-4, Mhv. ii, pp. 66 et 424.

[23] ??

25 [24]. Dhp. 128; Petav., p. 21; Mil. 150; Div. 532, 561; Tantrākhyāyika, ii, 6.

26 [25]. Udāna, v. 2 (p. 48). α. bhavĭsyanti; d. brahmacăryam.

27 [26]. Cf. Therag. 73, et Jāt. 9, Comm. (i, p. 139). La dernière ligne, SN. 772d. a. cirnam (jirnam?); b. roginam; c-d. brtan pas . . . khyim spańs gyi.

28 [27]. Dhp. 151; Sam. i, 71; Jat. 537, 42 et 76 (v, 483, 494);

Dutreuil, Cvo 21 (p. 98).

29 [28]. Sam. v, 217; cf. Div. 361, 24. b. rga ba khyod ni blun zhin nan | khyod ni mi rigs byed pa ste | yid du on bai . . . Rockhill,

"thou . . . doest not what is right"; mais rigs=kula, varna. d. jade=blun.

30 [29]. a-b. Sam. v, 217; Dutreuil, C^o 2 (p. 90). a. Suttanipāta, 589. c-d. hdi dag rga bar hgyur ba am l yan na na ba an hchi bas hjoms, "ils deviendront vieux ou seront vaincus par la mort, devenus malades."

31 [30]. c. chu thsan nan du gdus pai ña dan hdra, "semblables à des poissons bouillis (kvath) dans l'eau chaude" = matsyā ivātaptajale pacānāh.

32 [31]. Cf. Sam. i, 109; Therag. 145, 452; Jāt. 538, 106 (vi, 26). d. Jāt. 510, 1 (iv, 494); Dutreuil, C^{vo} 5 (p. 91) et Frag. xviii^{vo}. a. āyur tivā.

33 [32]. Jāt. 538, 101 (vi, 26); Dutreuil, C^{vo} 6 (p. 92). d. de la dga bar bya ci yod.

34 [33]. Dhp. 148; cf. Itiv., p. 37; Dutreuil, C^{vo} 3 (p. 90). d. Lalita,

p. 328, etc.

35 [34]. Dhp. 41; Dutreuil, C¹0 14 (p. 95); Therig. 468; Rockhill, cf. Manu, iv, 247, et Suttanipāta, 200. a. aciram, acirena (Dhp. et Dutreuil) est représenté par mi thogs par, "sans obstacle" (sans délais?). b. adhisessati, hgyel bar hgyur, "sera oublié, négligé."

36 [35]. Cf. Dutreuil, C^{vo} 19 (p. 97). b-c rgyun du nad kyis mnon gdun zhin | rtag tu mi gtsan hdzag pa dan, "laissant toujours s'écouler

des impuretés," d de sadā probable.

37 [36]. c-d. Therag. 32; a-b. Therag. 140 = Sam. i, 131; Dutreuil, C^{ro} 17 (p. 96). c. Le nimedha de Dutreuil est traduit par don du güer bar gyis = prārthayet.

38 [37]. Dhp. 286; Dutreuil, Cro 36 (p. 86). c. rnam par sems byed

pas.—ī parait visible ainsi que hya.

39 [38]. Dhp. 287; Dutreuil, C¹⁰ 37 (p. 86) et Frag. xxxiv¹⁰.

40 [39]. Dhp. 288.

41 [40]. Cf. Dutreuil, Cro 35 (p. 86); JA. 1911, i, p. 440; cf. Therīg. 95b. a. spandanam martyam. Traduit en Tib. en pādas de 9 syllabes (cf. Dutreuil): hdi ni bya ba byas zin don hdi bya | de dag byas nas bdag gis hdi byao zhes | de ltar mi ni yons su çom pana | rga dan nad beas hchi bas mnon du beom, "Ayant fait cette action, cette chose est à faire; ayant fait ces deux, je dois faire ceci: tandis que l'homme achève ainsi, il est écrasé par la mort accompagnée de la vieillesse et de la maladie."

42 [41]. Itiv., p. 40; JA. 1911, i, p. 440.

II

kāma jānāmi te mūlam samkalpāt kāma jāyase, na tvā samkalpayiṣyāmi tato me na bhaviṣyasi 1 kāmebhyo jāyate śokaḥ kāmebhyo jāyate bhayam kāmebhyo vipramuktānam nāsti śokaḥ kuto bhayam ratibhyo jāyate śokaḥ ratibhyo jāyate śokaḥ ratibhyo vipramuktānām nāsti śokaḥ kuto bhayam 3 madhurāgra vipāke tu kaṭukā hy abhi []? itāḥ

kāmā [da]hanti [v]ai bāla[m] ulkevāmuncatah karam na tad dhrdham bandhanam āhur āryā vad āvasam dāravam balbajam [samraktacittā manikundalesu p[u]tres[u] dāres[u] ja vā aveksāļī etad drdham bandhanam āhur āryāļi sama(m)tatah susthiram duspra[54] muncam etad api cehittvā parivrajanti anape]ks[i]nah kamasukham prahaya na te kāmā yāni citrāņi loke samkal[parāgalı p]urusasya k[ā]m[ah] tisthanti citfra ni tathaiva loke athādr dhīrā vinayanti cchandam na santi nityā manuvesu kāmāh [sa]nti tv anityā(h) kāmino y[e] tra baddhāh tāms tu prahāya hy apunarbhavāya hy anagatam mrtyudheyam vadami chandajā[t lvasrāvī manasānāvilo bhavet kāmesu tv apratibaddhacitta ŭrdhvasroto nirucyate anupūrvena medhāvi sto[kam] stokam ksane ksane, karmāro rajatasyeva nirdhamen malam ātmanah rathakāra iva carmaņah parikartunn upānaham yad ya[j ja]hāti kā[m]ā[n]ā[n ta]t tat sampadyate sukham 11 sarvam cet sukham iccheta sarvakāmām [pa]ri[tyaj]et sarvakāmaparityāgī hyatyantamsukha [5B] [m e]dhate 12 y[a]vat kaman anusaram na trpti[m] manaso dhyagat tato nivrtti[m] pravipasya[mā]nās [t]e [v]itrptāḥ prajñay[ā] ye sut[rpt]ā[ḥ [śre]yasi prajñayā trptir na hi kāmair vitrpyate, prajňayā purusam trptam trsnā na kurute vasam grddhā hi kāmesu narāh prama[tto] hy adharme pana te ratāh

antarāyam na te paśyamty alpake jīvite sati 15 durmedhasam hanti bhogā na tv ihātmagave[ṣi]nam durmedhā bhogatṛṣnābhir hanty ātmānam atho parān 16 na karṣāpaṇavarṣeṇa tṛptiḥ kāmair hi vidyate, [a]l[p]āsvādasukhāḥ kāmā iti vijňāya paṇḍitah 17
api divyeṣu kā(me)ṣu sa rati(m) nādhigacchati,
tṛṣṇākṣayarato bhavati bu[1]8
parvato pi suvarṇasya samo himavatā bhavet
vittan taṃ nālam ekasya eta(j) jňātvā samaṃ caret [6A]

- 1. Pelliot, FM. 8a (JA. 1911, i, p. 447); Jāt. 421, 4 (iii, p. 450); Mhv. iii, 190; Madhyamakavṛtti, 350 et 451; cf. Cūlaniddesa, ii, 17 (Siam Trip. ii, 19, p. 21); Mahāniddesa, i, 2; ii, 2, Sūtra en 42 articles, xxx bis (trad. Feer, pp. 33 et 65, Leroux, 1878).
 - 2. Dhp. 215.

3. Dhp. 214; cf. Avadānaśat. i, p. 191.

- 4. Cf. Therig. 507; Sam. i, p. 74. d. Sütra en 42 articles, xxiv (trad. Feer, p. 27). a. Lire madhurā agre; hdod dgai rnam smin sdug bshal te | dan po mnar la hbras bu thsa = kāmarativipāko duhkhah prathamam svāduh phalam usnam; b. le groupe qui précède itāh peut être nd; on aurait abhisyanditāh, "dans leur écoulement"? Cf. nisyandaphala.
- 5. Dhp. 345; Sam. i, 77; Suttan. 38; Jāt. 201, 1 (ii, 140); Netti, 35; Dutreuil, C^{vo} 31 (p. 102). a. dh_idham ; b. on peut corriger $d\bar{u}ravabalbajam$; c. yons su chags sems; d. ja = ca.

6. Dhp. 346; Sam. i, 77; Dutreuil, Cvo 32.

- 7. Sam. i, 22; Ang. iii, 411; Kathāvatthu, viii, 4, 3 (p. 370); Lüders, Gött. Nachrichten, 1899, p. 476. c. tistvanti; d. lire athātra.
- 8. Sam. i, 22. b. hdod can gan la chags de mi rtag pas=kāmini yasmin baddham so nitya iti ou kāmī yasmin baddhas tad anityam.
- 9. Therig. 12; Dhp. 218. b. cf. SN. 1039b. a. les lectures sr et $\bar{\imath}$ sont douteuses. Traduit en pādas de 9 syllabes: bdun pa skyes çin zag par mi byed dam | sems la skyon med pa dan dran pa dan = chandajātah, an-āsrava-kṛd vā (= anāsrutah), adoṣacittas ca, smṛtas ca.
- 10. Dhp. 239; Kathāvatthu, p. 108, 219; pour la seconde ligne SN. 962.
- 11. Jāt. 467, 8-9 (iv, 172-3); Dutreuil, C^{vo} 40-1 (p. 106), voir ZDMG. lx, 489; Mbh. xii, 174, 45 (6502); 177, 48 (6633). Cf. Jāt. 539, 115 (vi, 51). b. la lecture nnu paraît certaine (voir JRAS. 1911, p. 765, 59c); a-b. go ba dag. . . yons su sbyans nas lham byed ltar: carmāṇi parikṛtya upānaham karoti yathā. Le Tib. traduit rathakāra = lham mkhan = carmakāra (comme le Comm. du Jātaka, v, p. 174).

12a-b. Jāt. 467, 8-9; Dutreuil, C° 41. 12d. Jāt. 141 (i, 488), 397, 3 (iii, 323).

13. Jāt. 467, 6 (iv, 172). b. Je pense qu'on peut lire $pravipasya-[m\bar{a}]n\bar{a}s$, bien que dernier akṣara soit plutôt $v\bar{a}s$ ou bhas. Le Tib. a quatre pādas de 7 syllabes: de las gan dag çes rab kyis | ldog byed de dag thsim pa thob=tato ye $prajñay\bar{a}$ $nivrtt\bar{a}s$ te trptim labhanti.

14. Jāt. 467, 7.

15a. Cf. Sam. i, 74. a-b. hdod pa chags pai mi gan yin | de dag kye ma chos min dga = $k\bar{a}marakt\bar{a}$ ye nar $\bar{a}s$ te bata adharme ratah. Kye

ma (=bata) représenterait le pâli pana. La graphie hy porte à croire que la syllabe précédente élidait a de adharma, donc pramatto (le Tib. lit prasakta) en accord avec narah au singulier.

16. Dhp. 355.

17. Dhp. 186; Jat. 258, 2 (ii, 313); Div. 224.

18. Dhp. 187; Jāt. et Div., ibid.—d. rdzogs sans rgyas dan nan thos rnams=le[s] complet[s] Bouddha[s] et les Śrāvakas.

19. Sam. i, 117; Div. 224; cf. Jat. 467, 4. c-d (iv, 172). Rockhill, renvoie à Schiefner, Tibetan Tales, p. 19. d. samam caret = legs par spyod = samācaret.

[20.] Div. 224: yah preksati duhkham . . .

XII

]? [t]ribhir ālayāms trī[m]
jahāti bandhā[m] nipakaḥ pratismrtaḥ 18
prajñāyudho dhyānabalopapetaḥ
samāhito dhyā[narataḥ] smṛtātmā
lokasya bu(d)dhvā hy udayavyayam ca
vimucyate vedakaḥ sarvato sau 19
sukham sukhārthī labhate samācaram
kīrtim [sa]māpnoti yaśaś ca sar[va]taḥ
ya āryam aṣṭāṅgikam āmjasam śivam
bhāvayati mārgam hy amṛtasya prāptaye 20
|| mā[rgava]rgaḥ 12 ||

18. "Il attache l'esprit aux trois samādhis; il médite les aprāmānyas produits par l'isolement; il brise, au moyen de trois, les trois séjours . . " (voir la glose dans Rockhill).

19. a-b. Cf. Therag. 12a-b; SN. 212a-b. b. Sam. i, 53. c. Sam. i, 46, 52; Therag. 10d. b. dhyānarata=tin hdzin la dga ba.—Le Tib. ajoute deux pādas, "Celui qui comprend la fin du monde, on l'appelle lokāntaya, pāragata." (Sam. i, 62, iv, 157.)

20. Therag. 35. d. Therag. 1115; Sam. v, 402.

XIII

|| phalam vai kadalīm hamnti phalam veņum phalam nadam satkārah kāpuruṣam hanti svagarbho śvatarīm yathā [1 yāvad e]va hy anarthāya jñāto bhavati bāliśah hanti bālasya śuklāmśam mūrdhānam cāsya pātayet 2 asanto lābham icchanti satkāram cai[va . . . ā]vāseṣu ca mātsaryam pūjām parakulād api 3 mā me k[r]t[ā]ny ājānīyu[r] gṛhī pravrajitas tathā,

mama prativaś[ā]ś ca sy[uh] k[rtyākr[B]tyesu] k[e]su cit 4 iti bālasya samkalpa icchāmānābhivardhakah anyā hi lābhopanisad anyā nirvāņagāmini [evam jñātvā] yathābhūtam buddhānām śrāvakah sadā satkāram nābhinandeta vivekam anubrmhavet na vyāyameva sarvatra nānyesām sprhako bha[ve]t nanyam nihértya jiveta dharmena na vanik caret svalābham nāvamanyeta nānyesām sprhako bhavet anyesam spr[ha]k[o] bhiksuh samadhim nadhigacchati sukham jīvitum icchec cec chrāmanvārthesv aveksavāmn ahir mūs[i]kadurgam . . . se[v]eta [śa]ya[nā]sanam sukham jīvi[tu]m icchec cec chrāmanyārthesv aveksavāmn itaretarena samtusyed ekadharmañ ca bhavayet 10 sukham jīvi[tum icchec cec chrāmanyārthesv aveksa]vāmn sāmghikam nāvamanyeta cīvaram [pā]nabhojanam alpajñāno pi ced bhavati śīles[u] s[u

Culla, vii, 2, 5; Sam. i, 154; ii, 241; Ang. ii, 73; Netti, 130;
 Dulva, v, 406b. a. yāvad = ji-srid.

2. Dhp. 72; Dulva, v, 406b.

3. Dhp. 73; cf. Jāt. 477, 9 (iv, 222). b. dge sloù hkhor ni, bhikṣusutkāra; soit satkāram caiva bhikṣusu; mais la syllabe qui précède āvāsesu est gaḥ ou śaḥ.

4-6 [4-5]. Dhp. 74-5.—4d. bya ba byas run ma byas run = "kṛtyā-kṛtyāsu kṛtyāsu"; sur kṛtyākṛtya, voir J. S. Speyer, ZDMG. lxv, p. 317. 7 [6]. Udāna, vi, 2. a. eva est tres net; Pāli vyāyameyya; rtsol =

vyavasāya, vyāyāma.

8 [7]. Dhp. 365; Dutreuil, B 20; Therag. 102d.

9 [8]. Therag. 228. a. mūṣakadurginvā, i a demi-effacé et laissant comme un trait d'anusvara—byi bai knun nas sbrul lta bar = mūṣikabilād ahir iva.

10-11 [9-10]. Therag. 229-30.

12 [11]. Cf. Ang. ii, 7; Therag. 988.

XXI

[vī]rā[h sa]ddh[armeṇa ta]thāgatā(h)
dharmeṇa na[y]amānānāṃ ke [.] vasth[]n[]kāḥ 8
ye dhyānaprasṛtā dhīrā naiṣkramyopaśame ratāḥ
devāpi spṛhayaṃty eṣāṃ buddhānāṃ śrīmatāṃ sadā: 9
teṣāṃ devamanuṣyāś ca saṃbuddhānāṃ yaśasvinām

spṛhayaṃty āśubuddhī[nāṃ] śarīrāntimadhāriṇām 10 ye cābhyatītā saṃbuddhā ye ca buddhā hy anāgatāḥ yaś cāpy etarhi saṃbuddho bahūnāṃ [ś]okanāśakaḥ 11 sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca athāpi vihariṣyanti eṣā buddheṣu dharmatā 12 [ta]smāt [t]a[r]h[y] ātmakāmena māhātmyam abhikāṃ-kṣatā

saddharmo gurukartavyalı smaratā buddhaśāsanam na śraddhāsvanti vai ve tu: [bālā bu]ddhasya śāsanam vyasanan te gamisyanti vanijo rāksasīsv iva śraddhasyanti tu ve nityam nara buddhasya [śa]sanam[B] [sva]st[inā] te gamisya[n]ti vālāhenaiva vā[ni]jāh tathagatam buddham iha svaya[m]bhuva[m] dvau v[ai] v[i]tarkau bahula[m] samud[ā]carete [ks]emas tathaiva pravivekayuktas tamonutam pāragatam maharsim prāptah sa cāryo vasimān asesām viśvottara[h] sarvabhayād vimukta[h] [i]cchāprahāno vimalo nirāśaś calokayaml lokahitaya satvan śaile yatha parvatamurdhani sthito yathai[va paś]y[ej ja]natām samantāt, tathā hy asau dharmamayam sumedhāh prāsādam āruhya samantacaksuh śokābhibhūtām janatām aśoko]kṣid imām [jāt]i[jarā]bhibhutām || tathagatavargah 21 ||

^{8.} Sam. i, 127; Mahāvagga, i, 24, 6; Mhv. iii, 90, 16—dpa po de bzhin gçegs pa rnams | hdi na chos kyis hdul bar mdzad | de dag chos kyis bdul ba la | mkhas pa su yan smod mi byed. d. le Tibétain donne: na ko pi pandito nindati; sth est possible; le Pāli: kā usūyā vijānatām.

^{9.} Dhp. 181; cf. Itiv. 41, 3. Le Tib. omet c-d.

^{10 [9].} Itiv. 41, 3. Lire myur avec les xyll.11 [10]. Sam. i, 140; Ang. ii, 21; Mhv. iii, 327, 10.

^{12 [11].} Sam. i, 140; Ang. ii, 21 et 47 (α-b).

^{13 [12].} Sam. i, 140; Ang. ii, 21 et iv, 91; vv, i, 5, 12a-b.

^{14-15 [13-14].} Jāt. 196, 1-2 (ii, 130); Mhv. iii, 89, 17-20. 15d. lire °heneva.

16-18 [15-17]. Mahāvagga, i, 5, 7; Itiv. 38, 1-3. 16a. buddhamihi, mi d'une seconde main, dans l'interligne; d. lire tamonudam. 18. Le Tib. ajoute deux pādas, deux pādas illustres: "ils ouvrent la large porte (sgo mo) de l'immortalité; que ceux qui désirent entendre (ñan hdod) rejettent le doute (the thsom)"; cf. Mahāvagga, i, 5, 12.

XXII

|| sādhu śrutaṃ sucaritam, sādhu cāpy aniketatā, pradakṣiṇaṃ pra[śrāmaṇasyānu]lomikam 1 bālā ihāvijānantaç [c]aranti h[y] amarā iva, vijānatāṃn tu saddharmaṃm āture

1. Therag. 36a-b; cf. 588; Mahāniddesa, xvi, 47 (p. 473). c-d. spon bar byed pas rab bskor zhin | dge sbyon gi ni rjes mthun legs=pravrajya

pradaksinam . . .

2. Therag. 276. a. le MS. ne porte certainement pas avijānantas, mais plutôt avijākantas, la partie inférieure du k étant effacée; corriger avijānakās? c-d. mkhas pa dam pai chos dag la (= pandito saddharmeşu) | mthsan moi nad pa bzhin du byed = "The wise man applies himself day and night to the holy Law" (Rockhill)? mthsan mo = nuit, nad pa = malade. Pāli: āturesu anāturā.

XXIX

[yogān jayati medhāvī ye divyā ye ca mānusālı] [52A] [sarvayog]ān pranudyeha, s[arva]duḥkh[ā]t pramucyate 39 yogād bhava(h) prabhavati viyogād bhavasamksayah eta[d] dvaidhāpatham jñātvā bhavāya vibhavāya ca, tatra śi[kseta] medhāvī yatra yogān atikramet 40 akrtam kukrtāc chreyah paścāt tapati duskrtam śocate duskrtam krtva śocate durgatim gatah krtan tu [sukr]tam śreyo yat krtvā nānutapyate nandate sukrtam krtvā nandate sugatimn gata(h) 42 nābhāsamānā jñāyante miśrā bālai[r hi] panditāh jñāyante bhāṣamāṇās tu deśayanto rajahpadam 43 bhāsaye(d) dyotayed dharmam ucchrayed rsinām dhvajam subhā[si]tadvajā nityam rsayor dharmagauravāmh 44 nindanti tūsnīmm ā[sī]na[m] nindanti bahubhāsiņam alpabhāniñ ca nintanti nāsti lokesv anindi[tah 4]5 ekāntanind[i]tah pur[uṣ]ah [e]kāntam vā praśamsitah nābhūd bhaviṣyati ca no na cāpy e[ta]rhi vidyate [46

yam tu vi]jñ[āh] praśam[santi] hy a
[52B][nuyu]jya śubhāśubham

prašamsā sā samākhvātā na tv ajnair valı prašamsitam 47 medhāvinam vrttavuktam prājnam šilesu samvrtam niskam jämbuna dalsyeva kas tam ninditum arhati śailo yathapy ekaghano vayuna na prakampyate evam nindāpraśamsābhir na kampyante hi panditā(h) 49 [va]sya mūlam kšitau nāsti, parnā nāsti tathā latā, tam dhiram bandhanan muktam ko nu ninditum arhati 50 vasveha prapancitam, [] no sat santānam parakham ca yo nivrttah trsnāvigatam munim carantam na vijānāti sadevako pi lokah 51 yasya jitam no[paj]īyate jitam anveti na kañ cid eva loke, tam buddham anandagocaram hy apadam gena padena nesyasi yasya jālīnī visaktikā trsnā nā[sti hi] lokanāvinī tam buddham anandagocaram hy apadam gena padena nesyasi yasya jālīnī visaktikā trsnā nāsti hi lokanāvi[53A][nī

Voir Udānavarga du Turfan (Pischel, Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhanmapada, p. 982 et suiv.).

39 [43]. a-b. cf. Therig. 76; d. Dhp. 362. a-b. mkhas pa lha dan mi dag gi | sbyor ba gan yin hjoms byed pa | sbyor ba kun . . .

40 [44]. Cf. Dhp. 282. a-b. Atthasālinī, 229; c-d. SN. 856. a. bhava comme Turfan A; c. eta comme Turfan B; d. vibhavāya, seconde main, dans l'interligne.

41 [45]. a-b. Dhp. 314; cf. Sam. i, 49; Dutreuil, Coo 40 (p. 88).

42 [46]. Dutreuil, C^{vo} 40 [manque dans Turfan B de Pischel, n'est pas transcrit dans le document A, mais y est compté: notre 40 = 50 A et 40 B, notre 41 = 52 A et 42 B].

43-4 [47-8]. 43d. Tib. sāntam padam. Sam. ii, 280; Ang. ii, 51; Jāt. 537, 122-3 (v. 509). 44d. rṣayor comme dans Turfan A et B.

45 [49]. Dhp. 227. Pour cette stance et les suivantes, feuillet Berezowski (Izvestia, 1909, p. 547, et JA. 1911, ii, p. 434). a. tuṣnēmm ata nindanti (Turfan A tūṣnēm, B tuṣnēm); c. nintanti, Turfan B nintitum (p. 984, n. 21).

46 [50]. Dhp. 228; cf. Udāna, vi, 3; Therag. 180. a. puruṣaḥ, visarga comme Turfan; c. A et Berezowski, nābhūd bhavisyati ca no, B na cābhūn na bhavisyati.

47 [52]. Cf. Dhp. 229a-b. b-c manque dans le tibétain.

48 [52]. Dhp. 229c-d-30a-b; cf. Ang. ii, 8, 29, iii, 47. b. śāleṣu.

49 [53]. Dhp. 81; Mil. 386; cf. M. Vagga, v, 1, 27, 4a-b.

50 [54]. Udāna, vii, 6a–d. a. Pischel lit yasya mūle tvacā ; mais voir p. 984, n. 21, où B 54 correspond exactement à notre 50. b. Tib. kuto latā.

51 [51]. Udāna, vii, 7 (d. nāvajānāti); Netti, 37 (d. na vi°); [sur la place de ce śloka dans l'Udānavarga, voir Rockhill, p. 149, note]. a. Pischel yasya ha, A parikham, B parigha. b. nivṛtta, comme, xxx, 37b.

52 [55]. Dhp. 179; Nidānakathā, 280 (i, 79); Mhv. iii, 91. b. kañ cid comme Turfan (rgyal cun zad med); pāli = kaś cid. c. ananta, kena.

53 [57]. Dhp. 180; Sam. i, 107; Mhv. iii, 92.

54 [56?].

55 [58 ?].

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[duhkho [55A] bālair hi saṃvāso] hy amitre[neva sarvadā] dhīrais tu sukhasamvāso jñātīnām iva samgama(h) 26durlabhah puruso jānyo nāsau sarvatra jāyate [yatrāsau] jāyate vīras tat kulam sukham edhate sarvathā vai sukham sete brāhmaņah parinirvrtah yo na lipyati kāmebhir vipramukto [ni]rāsrava(h) 28 sarvā hy āśāstaya cchitvā vinīva hrdavajvaram upaśānta[h] sukham śe(te) śāntim prāpyeha cetasa(h) 29 [mā]trā[su]khaparityāgād yah paśyed vipulam sukham tyajen mäträsukham dhīrah sa[m] paśyam vipulam sukham 30 yac ca kāmasukham loke yac cāpi tivijam sukham trsnāksayasukhasyaitat kalām nārghati sodašīm 31 niksipya hi gurum bhāram nādadyād bhāram eva tu bhārasya dukham ādānam, bhāraniksepanam sukham 32 sarvatrsnām viprahāya, sarvasamyojanaksayāt sarvopa[55B][dhīn pa]rijnāya nāgacchanti punarbhavam 33 arthesu jātesu sukham sahāyā(h) punyam sukham jivitasamksaye ca, tusti(h) sukhā yā dv itaretareņa sarvasya duhkhasya sukho nirodha(h) ayoghanahatasyeva jvalato jātavedasah anupūrvopaśāntasya ya[thā] na jñāyate gati(h) 35 evam samyag vimuktānām kāmapankaughatāriņām

prajňápayi gatir násti praptánám acal[am] s[u]kham yasyāntarato na santi kopā, itthambhāvagatamň ca yo nivrtta(h), sukhilamn tam sukhitam sadā viśokam [de]v[ā nānu]bhavanti darśanena sukham hi yasyeha na kiñcanam syāt svākhyātadharmasya bahuśrutasya sakiñcanam paśya vihanya[mānam] [janam]jan[eśu] pratibaddhacittam sukham hi yasyeha na ki(ñca)nam syāt svākhvātadharmasva bahuśrutasya, sakiñcanam [564] [paśya vi]ha[n]yam[ānam] jana[m] janes[u] pratibaddharupam sukhino hi janā hy akinca(nā) vedagunā hi janā hy akincanāh sa[kiñca]nam paśya vihanyamānam janam janesu prati(baddha)cittam sukhino hi janā hy akiñcanā vedaguņā hi janā hy akincanāh sakin[canam] paśya vihanyamanam, janam janesu pratibaddharūpam sarvam paravasam duhkham sarvam atmavasam su[kha]m sādhāraņe vihanyante yogā hi duratikramā(h) susukham bata jīvāmo hy utstsukesu tv anutsukā(h) [u]tsukesu manusyesu vi[ha]rāmo hy anutsukā(h) susukham bata jīvāmo yesān no nāsti kincana: mithilāyām dahya mānā lyām na no dahyati kincana susukham bata jivāmo hy āturesu tv anāturāh āturesu manusyesu viha[56B][rāmo] hy anātur[āh] susukham bata jīvāmo himsakesu tv ahimsakāh himsakeşu manu syeşu viharamo hy ahim sakah susukham bata jīvāmo vairikesu tv avairikāh vairikesu manusyesu viharāmo hy avairikā[h] susukham bata jīvāmo hethakeşu tv ahethakāh hethakeşu manuşyeşu viharamo hy ahethaka(h) 48 susukham bata jīvāmo yesān no nāsti kiñcana:

prītibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo devā hy ābhasvarā yathā 49 susukhaṃ bata jīvāmo yeṣān no nāsti kincana: prītibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo satkāyenopaniḥśritā(ḥ) 50 grāme []raṇye sukhaduḥkhaspṛṣto naivātmano no parato dadhāti: sparśāḥ spṛśanti hy upadhiṃ pratītya nirau[pa]dhiṃ kiṃ sparsāḥ [57a] [] 51 sa[rva]tra v[ai satpu]ru[ṣā vra]jaṃt[i] na kāmahetor lapayanti santaḥ spṛṣtā hi dukhena tathā sukhena nnoccāvacā(ḥ) sa[tpuruṣā] bhavaṃti 52 || sukhavarga 30 || 26 [27a-b, 28c-d]. Dhp. 207; Dutreuil, Cro 38-9.

27 [28a-b, e-f]. Dhp. 193; Dutreuil, Cvo 35; Mhv. iii, 109.

 $28-9\,[29-30].$ Sam. i, 212; Ang. i, 138 (cf. WZKM. xxiv, 260), 28d; Itiv. 57d; Therag. 516d.

30 [31]. Dhp. 290; Dutreuil, Cvo 26 + Fr. C xxxix.

31 [32]. Udāna, ii, 2; Mbh. xii, 174, 46, 177, 51, 276, 6. b. divijam.

32 [33]. Cf. Sam. iii, 26. d. niksepanam.

33 [34]. b. cf. Therag. 182. d. cf. SN. 733, 743; Itiv. 49. 2, 93. 7, 95. 4, 104. 3.

34 [35]. Dhp. 331. c. yā tv . . .

35-6 [36-7]. Udāna, viii, 10; Apadāna in Par. Dīp. v. 157; kāma-panka, Therīg. 354a, SN. 945d.

37 [38]. Udāna, ii, 10; Cullav. vii, 1, 6. gan zhig srid dan srid min las log pa | de dag hjigs bral bde zhin mya nan med | lhas kyan blta zhin bsam du med par hgyur= . . . ye bhavābhavād nivrttās te bhayamuktāh sukhitā višokā devair acintyā bhavanti daršanena.

38–41 [39–42]. Udāna, ii, 5–6 ; cf. Therag. 149. 40–41a. $vedagun\bar{a}h=$ yon tan rtogs pa = gunavidah. 39–41d. skye bo skye boi . . . lus la . . .

42 [43]. Udāna, ii, 9; Manu, iv, 160a-b. a. $s\bar{a}dh\bar{a}rane = \text{thun mon gyur pas.}$

43 [44]. Dhp. 199; Sam. i, 114; Dutreuil, Cvo 27.

44 [49]. a-b.= Dhp. 200 a-b; mais Jāt. 539, 125 (vi, 154), Uttarādhyāyana, ix, 14 (SBE. xlv, 37); Mbh. xii, 276, 4 (9917), xii, 17, 19, xii, 178, 1; Mhv. iii, 453, 1 (WZKM. xx, 352; Pischel, p. 972). b. kiū ca nah, cf. Turfan A, Pischel, p. 972, n. 8.

45 [45]. Dhp. 198.

46 [46].

47 [47]. Dhp. 197; Dutreuil, Cvo 28 (p. 100).

48 [48].

49 [50]. Dhp. 200; Sam. i, 114; Jat. 539, 128; Pischel, p. 972.

50 [51]. Turfan-Dhp. A, st. 50; manque dans B, Pischel, p. 972.

51 [52]. Udāna, ii, 4. b. lire ātmato. na dadhāti = reg par mi hgyur
"Il ne sera pas touché par douleur-plaisir engendré par soi ou autrui".
52 [53]. Dhp. 83. d. skyes bu dam pa mtho dman mi hgyur zhin.

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durnigrahasva laghuno vatrakāmanipādinah cittasya damanam sadhu cittam dantam su [kh]avaham: vārijo vā sthale ksipta okādoghāt samuddhrta(h) parispandati vai cittam, māradheyam prahātavai: dhavate citta(m) sūryasyeva hi raśmayah tat pandito vārayati, hy ankušeneva kunjaram 3 bhrunadheyam idam cittam nihsāram anidarsanam sadainam anuśāsāmi mā me narthāya niścaret 4 idam purā cittam acāri [cā]rikām yenecchakam yena kamam yathestam tat samnigrhnāmi hi yoniśas tvijam nagam prabhinnam hi yathangusena 5 [57B] fanelkam jātisamsāram safmldhavitvā punah punah grhakārakam esamā(na)s tvam dukhā jāti(h) punah punah 6 grhakāraka drsto si, na pu(na)r g[r]ha[m] karisyasi sarve te pārsukā bhagnā grhakūta(m) visamskrtam visamskāragate citte ihaiva ksaya[m adhya]gāh spandanam capalam cittam, düraksam durnivāraņam rjum karoti medhāvī, isukāra iva te[janam] 8 na dvesī dvesina(h) kuryād vairī vā vairiņo hitam mithyā pranihitam cittam yat kurvād ātmanātmana(h) na tā [mā]tā pitā vāpi kuryā[j] jñātis tathāparah samyak pranihitam cittam yat kuryad dhitam atmanah 10 yathā hy agāram ducchanam vrstish samati]bhindati, eva[m] hy abhavitam cittam ragah samatibhindati yathā hy agāram ducchanam vrstih samatibhindati evam [58A]

] bhindati 13

yathā hy agāram ducchanam vṛṣṭi[h sa]matibhindati, e[va]m hy abhā[vi]tam cittam mānah samatibhindati [14 yathā hy agāram du]cchanam vṛṣṭih samatibhindati, evam hy a[bhāvitam citta]m lobhah samatibhindati 15 yath[ā hy agāram ducchanam] vṛṣṭih samatibhindati, evam hy abhāvitam cittam [t]ṛṣṇā samatibhindati 16 yathā hy agāram su[cchanam vṛṣṭi]r [na] vyatibhindati,

evam subhāvitam cittam rāgo na vyatibhindati yathā hy agāram succhanam vrstir na vyatibhin dati, evam subhā]vitam cittam dveso na vyatibhindati yathā hy agāram [succha]na[m] vṛṣtir na vyatibhindati, [evam subhāvitam [58B] cittam māno na vyati]bhindati 20 yathā hy agāram succhanam vrstir na vyatibhindati, evam subhāvitam cittam losbho na vyatibhindati vathāl hy agāram succhanam vṛṣtir na vyatibhindati, evam subhāvitam cittam, tṛṣṇā na vyatibhindati manaḥpūrvanga[mā dharmā, manaḥśreṣṭhā manobha]vā(ḥ) manasā hi pradustena, bhāṣate vā karoti vā tatas te dukham anveti cak[r]am vā vaha[tah padam malna(h)pūrvangamā dharmā, manahśresthā malnlo-

[bhavāh] m[anas]ā hi prasamnnena, bhāsate vā karo[t]i [vā] [tatas te sukham anvet]i, cchāyevā hy anugāminī nāprasamnena cittena, [dvi]stena ksubhitena vā, dharmo hi sakyam ājñātum [samyaksambuddhadesitah] 25

[59A] na vi]jñ[eyat] subh[āṣi]tam upakl[i]st[e]na c[i]tt[e]na samra[m]bh[a]samh[. . ena] v[ā] a[nava]sth[i tacitta]sya [saddharmam avijā]natah pāriplavaprasādasya, prajñā na paripūryate srotā(m)si yasya sa(t)tri(m)sat manahprasrāvanāni hi, durdrsteh samkalpair gredhaniśritai(h) ratimanasrtam indriyanugam, purusam cittavasanuvarta lha hi, jāvāti sarvadā drumam iva šīrņaphalam yathāndajah ātāpī vihara tvam apramatto, [mā kāmagune prama]theta cittam mā lohagudām gile pramatta, krandan vai narakesu pacyamāna(h) 31 utthānakālesu nihīnavīryo

[yuvā balī — ~ ~]ko nirāśa(h),

sadaiva samkalpahata kusido, jñānasya mārgam satatam na vetti: 32 sthūlām vitar[k]ām [ana[59B]vo vitarkā antahst]h[i]tām mānasah samplavārtham vitarkayan vai satatam vitarkān edām sadā tāvati bhrāntacittah etāl āltāpavām samvaratām smrtātmā, jahāty aśesān apunarbhavāya, samāhito dhyānaratah sumedhā(h) 34 kumbhopa[mam kāyam imam vi]ditvā, nagaropamam cittam adhisthitañ ca, yuddhyeta māram prajnāyudhena, iitam ca raksed aniveśana[h svat 35] phfelnopamam kāyam imam viditvā nagaropamam cittam adhisthitam ca, yuddhyeta māram prajnāyudhena, jistam ca raksed ani]veśanah syāt kumbhopamam lokam imam viditvā, nagaropamam cittam adhisthitam ca, yuddhyeta māram prajnāyu dhena jitam ca raksed ani]veśanah syāt phenopamam lokam imam viditvā, nagaropamam cittam adhisthitañ ca yu[ddhye]ta māram [praj]ñāyu [60A]

Dhp. 35; Jāt. 70 et 97, Comm. (i, 312, 400); Bodhicaryāv. ad v, 6.
 lire nipātinah.

^{2.} Dhp. 34.

^{3.} a. bgag gi . . . so sor rgyug = pratidhāvati me cittam.

^{5.} Dhp. 326; Therag. 77, 1130. a. MS. tat stsamnigrhnāmi; c. lire dvijam; d. lire ankušena.

Dhp. 153; Pischel, pp. 974-5; Nidāna, 278; Sam. i, 16; Asl. 46;
 Therag. 283. c. Pischel, eşāmānas.

^{7.} Dhp. 154; Nidāna, 279; cf. Therag. 284.

^{8.} Dhp. 33; Dutreuil, Fr. A viii (p. 35); cf. Therag. 29.

^[9.] Dhp. 37.

^{9 [10].} Dhp. 42; Udāna, iv, 3. a. lire dvesiņaķ.

^{10 [11].} Dhp. 43; Par. Dip. iv, 203.

11 [12]. Dhp. 13; Therag. 133.

12 [13]. Dhp. 14.—Le Tibétain a 12 stances du "toit", 6 pour le mauvais, 6 pour le bon : mais elles sont mêlées.

23 [24]. Dhp. 1. a. chos kyi shon du yid gro ste = $dharmap\bar{u}rram-gamam manal_i$; b. ° $bharal_i$, $v\bar{u}$ est certain, et on peut distinguer la partie supérieure de bha; cf. 24b; c. MS. hih.

24 [25]. Dhp. 2; Asl. 211 = Netti, 129, 133.

25 [27]. ? c. sic MS.

26 [28?]. ?

27 [26]. ? d. MS. samhu??

28 [29]. Dhp. 38; Jat. 96, Comm. (i, 400); Dutreuil, A, Frag. i, 3 (p. 33).

29 [30]. Dhp. 339. b. lire prasrāvaņāni; c. MS. durvrsteh; d. MS. gredhahni. kun rtog la hchums rten pa yis | lta nan sum eu rtsa drug gi | chu boi rgyun ni gan yin pa | yid kyi rgyun las rab tu hbab. Rockhill paraît peu satisfaisant.

30 [31]. Lacune de 5 ou 6 akṣaras. a. On entend bien qu'il faut lire ratim anusṛtam; mais le Tib. semble avoir lu ratimanas; c. jāyāti = jāyati. dga sems dban po phal pa dan | sems kyi rjes hbran zhan pa yi | mi dei grags hgrib hbras lhags pai | ljon çin la ni bya bzhin no = "...de cet homme la gloire disparait comme l'oiseau sur l'arbre où il n'y a plus de fruits (?)."—Pour la comparaison, voir Jāt. 429, 1 (iii, 491).

31 [32]. Cf. Dhp. 371; Dutreuil, B 34 (p. 54). Tib.: Ô pensée, ne

vous réjouissez pas dans le plaisir . . .

32 [33]. Cf. Dhp. 280; Dutreuil, A³, 9 (p. 23). D'après le Tib.: "L'homme qui reste immobile au temps de se lever, jeune, fort, sans effort, qui reste à la maison, paresseux au temps de penser (bsam pardzogs thee? dhyānasampattikāle?)..."

33 [34]. Udāna, iv, 1.—Tib.: phran thsegs rnam rtogs zhib mor rnam rtog pas | nan na gnas pai yid ni gyen yan spyo | yid kyi rnam rtog de dag ma çes na | hkhrul sems yan dan yan du rgyng par byed | = sthūlavitarkāh sūkṣmavitarkā antahsthitam mana upahanti; tān manovitarkān ajñātvā bhrāntacittah punah punar dhāvati.

On peut donc lire-

sthūlavitarkā anavo vitarkā antaḥsthitā mānasasamplavārtham; vitarkayan vai satatam vitarkān etān sadā dhāvati bhrāntacittah.

34 [35]. Udāna, iv, 1.—d. Sam. i, 53; Therag. 126; ci-dessus Mārgavarga, 19b. b. lire samvararān:—

gan zhig dran ldan rnam hbyed brtson pa dan rnam par rtog pa mkhas pas de çes na nan na gnas pai yid ni gyen spyo ba thams cad ma lus blo yis rab tu spon.

La correction de M. Beckh (gyen spyod pa) est infirmée par Madhyamakāvatāra, 367 et 345, 18.

35 [36]. Dhp. 40.

36 [38].

37 [37].

38 [39]. JRAS. 1912.

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ya[63A]thāpi] parvatah śail[o vāyunā] na prakampyate: evam lobhakṣayād bhik[ṣu]ḥ śailavan na pra[kam]pyate 15 yathā[p]i [parva]taḥ śai[lo vāyunā] na prakampyate: evam tṛṣṇākṣayād bhikṣuh śailavam na prakampyate: 16 yasya saṃn[i]cayo nāsti yasya nās[t]i mamā[y]i[tam] [abhā]ve śocate naiva sa vai bhikṣur nirucyate 18 (= 17) bhikṣur na tāvatā bhavati yāvatā bhikṣate parān veś[y]āṃ [dharmān samādā]ya bhikṣur bhavati na tāvatā: 18

yas tu puṇyaṃ ca pāpañ ca prahāya brahmacaryavāṃ: vi[ś]re[ṇībhūtaś cara]ti [sa] vai [bhi]kṣur nirucyate 19 maitrāvihārī yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane: adhigacchet padaṃ śāntaṃ saṃskā[ropaśamaṃ śivam 20] [mai]trāvi[hārī y]o bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane [a]dhigacchet padaṃśā[ntam]asecanakadarśanam: 20(=21) maitrā[v]i[hārī yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno [63B] buddhaśāsa]ne:

Le feuillet 62 a passé dans la collection Pelliot, voir JA. 1910, ii, p. 450.

15-16 [16-17]. Cf. Udāna, iii, 4; Therag. 651, 1,000 (et 191). α . = Ang. i, 152; B ii, 154 α .

17 [18]. a. Dhp. 92; Turfan, xxix, 35a. b-d. Dhp. 367; cf. SN. 950, Dutreuil, B 38 (p. 56). c. [abhā] w = med na an.

18 [19]. Dhp. 266; Dutreuil, B 26 (p. 50); Sam. i, 182; cf. Mhv. iii, 422, 12-13. c. vešya est traduit par gron pai (?), "les dharmas du village," voir le Comm. du Dhp.

19 [20]. Cf. Mhv. iii, 422, 14-15; Dhp. 267; Dutreuil, B 27; Sam. i, 182. Le Tibétain a six stances du maitravihārī, 21-6.

20 [22]. Dhp. 368; Dutreuil, B 29 (p. 52).

21 [21]. Cf. Mhv. iii, 421, 17-18. b-c. Dutreuil, B 31 (p. 53).

23 [27c-d]. c-d. cf. Dutreuil, B 31 (p. 53); Dhp. 376; Therag. 11; Sam. i, 203; Mhv. iii, 422, 7.

[23.]

[24.]

[25.] Dutreuil, B 28; Therag. 2b-c.

[26.]

[27.] a-c. Mhv. iii, 422. 6; b-c. Dutreuil, B 31a-b; c-d. st. 23 ci-dessus.

24 [28]. Dhp. 378. Tib. = śāntakāyaḥ śāntavāk susamāhitacittaḥ.

[29.] a-c. Dhp. 372; d. = sa vai bhikkhūti vuccati.

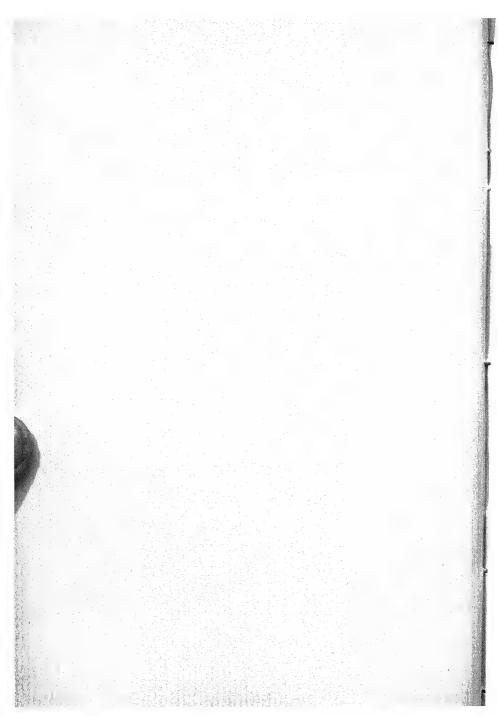
25 [30]. Dhp. 372; Dutreuil, B 16 (p. 45). d. Version du Kandjour, "he shall be called a Bhikṣu"; version du Tandjour, "he is near to nirvāṇa" (Rockhill).

26 [31]. a-b. cf. Therag. 204 ; Visuddhimagga, viii, $tasm\bar{a}$ have apparatto anuyuijetha pandito.

26c-d, 27a-b. Dhp. 375; Dutreuil, B 17 (p. 45).

27 [32]. b-f. Dhp. 185; Dīgha, ii, 49-50; Udāna, iv, 6. a. MS. gusthih.

28 [33]. Itiv. 97, 1. a-b. Dhp. 391 = Jāt. 348, 3 (iii, 148), 435, 4 (iii, 525).



GOTHS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By STEN KONOW

THE oldest instances of the use of the word yavana, yona, in India were discussed by the late Professor Weber in his paper on the Greeks in India. He maintained that the Indians adopted this denomination of the Greeks from the Persians. He also remarked that the name was then later on transferred to the Indo-Scythian successors of the Greeks in North-Western India, and, further, to the Parthians, Persians, and Arabs. There can be no doubt that the word was in later times commonly used to denote the Musalmans, and sometimes also, in a more general way, as synonymous with mleccha.² On the other hand its original meaning was certainly 'a Greek'. That is the case in the Asoka inscriptions, in the Besnagar column inscription, and in some of the Nasik and Karle epigraphs. In the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Siri-Pulumāyi Vāsithīputa (EI, 8. 60) we find the yavanas mentioned together with sakas and palhavas, and it is just possible that the word here denotes some Indo-Scythian tribe and not exactly the Greeks. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman of the year 72, i.e. probably of A.D. 150,3 we hear of a yavana 'king' (rājan) Tusāspha, who was governor of Kāthiāvād under the emperor Aśoka. The name Tusāspha cannot be Greek, but must be Iranian. Still he is called a yavana. This shows that in the second century A.D., the name yavana was not restricted to the Greeks.

³ Epi. Ind., vol. viii, pp. 36 ff.

¹ "Die Griechen in Indien": Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1890, pp. 901 ff.

² Compare Kielhorn, Epigraphia Indica, vol. iv, p. 246.

The word yavana also occurs in three Junnar inscriptions which must be assigned to the second century. One of them, Burgess-Indraji No. 7, does not give any further indication of what can be meant by the name. The two remaining ones both mention some yavanas who are further characterized as gatas. The first of them, Burgess-Indraji No. 5, runs:—

yavanasa Irilasa gatāna deyadhama be poḍhiyo.
"Gift of two cisterns by the yavana Irila of the gatas."

The second, Burgess-Indraji No. 33, reads:—
yavaṇasa Ciṭasa gatāna bhojaṇamaṭapo deyadhama saghe.
"Gift of a refectory to the community by the yavaṇa
Ciṭa of the gatas."

The names Irila and Cita and the word gata do not occur in other inscriptions, and they have not been satisfactorily explained. Professor Lüders thinks that gata represents a Sanskrit garta.² The only thing which is certain is that the two yavanas are characterized as belonging to the gatas.

Junnar played a rôle of considerable importance under the Western Kṣatrapas. According to Dr. Bhandarkar,³ it was the capital of Nahapāna. There cannot then be any objection to explaining the word yavana, yavana in the Junnar inscriptions as a name of other foreign tribes than the Greek, just as in the case in the Rudradāman inscription. It may denote any of those tribes which formed the following of the Kṣatrapas.

The name of the yavana of No. 5 is *Irila*, and this word leads me to think that the *gata-yavanas* were in reality Goths. *Irila* is the regular Gothic form of a well-known Germanic name. It is found in Runic inscriptions from

³ Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 160.

¹ See Burgess & Bhagwanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cavetemples of Western India, Bombay, 1881, pp. 41 ff.

² List of Brahmi Inscriptions, Epi. Ind., vol. x, appendix, Nos. 1154, 1182.

By and Veblungsnes in Norway, Kragehul in Denmark, and Lindholm and Varnum in Sweden as Erila, Eirila, and Lindholm and Varnum in Sweden as Erila, Eirila, The word is essentially identical with Anglo-Saxon eorl, English earl, Old Norse jarl, Old Saxon erl, and it is further connected with the ethnic name eruli, heruli. There are also several names in Germanic languages which contain the base erla.

The name Cita of the gata of the Junnar inscription No. 33 can also be explained as a Gothic name. In an old Runic inscription from Tjurkö in Sweden occurs a name Helda. The Gothic form of this word would be Hild-. The initial h must have had a sound similar to the modern German ch in the Gothic language of the second century, and it is quite conceivable that an Indian would have tried to mark this sound by the palatal c. An ld would probably become lt, lt, as is commonly the case in modern vernaculars. Dr. Grierson has been good enough to inform me that, at the present day, the English ld becomes, in some mouths lt, and in other mouths l-d. In the latter case the two letters are separated as if in different syllables. If a Gothic name Hilda were adopted in the form Cilta or Cilta, the result in a Prakrit dialect would be Cita or Citta, both of which would be written Cita. It is therefore quite possible that Cita is an attempt at reproducing the sounds of a Gothic name Hild-.

Both Irila and Cita are characterized as gatas, and this latter word is the regular Indian form corresponding to Latin goti, the Goths.

The oldest indigenous forms of the name of the Goths, which occur in the inscription on the gold ring from Pietroassa, gutaniowihailag, and in the words gutpiudai, in the Gothic people, in the fragment of a Gothic

¹ See Sophus Bugge, Noryes Indskrifter med de ældre Runer, [vol. i], pp. 100 ff., 195 ff.; Kristiania, 1893-95.

² See Rudolf Henning, Die deutschen Runendenkmüler; Strassburg, 1889, pp. 27 ff.

calendar preserved in the Codex Ambrosianus A of Wulfila, contain an u and not an o in the first syllable. The Gothic language differs from other Germanic tongues in retaining an old u in such cases where the following syllable contains an a or an o. The Goths must accordingly have called themselves gutans or gutōs and not gotans or gotōs.\(^1\) It is, however, remarkable that their ethnic name has been adopted in so many foreign languages in forms which seem to presuppose an original gotans or gotōs. The o of Anglo-Saxon gotan, Old Norse gotar, does not, it is true, prove anything, because it can be explained as due to the laws prevailing in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse respectively. The state of affairs is different, however, when we turn to the forms which the name of the Goths assumed in Latin and Greek.

The oldest classical authority who mentions the Goths is Pliny. He mentions the guttones among the five Germanic nations who, according to him, lived on the shores of the Baltic (iv, 99). In another passage, xxxvii, 35, he reproduces a statement made by Pytheas from Marseilles, about a tribe which lived near the Frische Haff and traded in amber. The name of the tribe has been handed down in the manuscripts in the forms quiones. gutones, guttones, and gotones, and should probably be read guttones, though the famous German scholar Müllenhoff was of opinion that we should correct into teutones. Guttones or gutones represent the old Gothic gutans. The same is the case with the Greek form Tύθωνες of Ptolemy (III, v, 20). Most classical authors. however, use forms containing an o in the first syllable. Thus Tacitus calls the Goths gotones (Annals, ii, 62) or gothones (Germania, 43), both of which forms apparently reproduce a Gothic gotans. The commonest forms are Latin goti, Greek Γότθοι. The latter is probably the base of Slavonic gotthi, which already occurs in the Legend of

¹ It seems as if the oldest form was an n-base and not an a-base.

St. Konstantinos (lived ninth century). Goti and $\Gamma \acute{o}\tau \theta o \iota$ seem to reproduce a Gothic $got \bar{o}s$.

Forms such as gotans, gotos would not be possible in the Gothic of Wulfila. The usual classical forms must, therefore, either belong to other Gothic dialects in which the u in the name of the nation had become o, or they must have come to the classical peoples indirectly through some other Germanic tribe, or they might be an inaccurate rendering of the Gothic word. If I am right in identifying the gatas of the Junnar inscriptions with the Goths, the only theory which will suit the facts is, I think, that the various forms goti, Γ' o $\tau\theta$ oi, gata have all been taken from some Gothic dialect which agreed with most Germanic tongues in changing an old u to o when an a or o occurred in the following syllable. For the Indians have always been keen observers of sounds, and would not easily confound an o and an u, and those who wrote the word gata in the Junnar inscriptions can only have heard the original denomination from the mouth of these gatas themselves.

Now we know next to nothing about Gothic dialects. The Goths, the Gepides, the Vandals, the Burgunds, the Herules, and the Rugians form a distinct group of Teutonic tribes, and the Goths who began to push southwards about the middle of the second century were certainly not an unmixed tribe. According to Richard Löwe, the Goths of the Crimea were properly Herules, and their dialect in later times presents some peculiar features. One of these is of interest in the present connexion, viz. the substitution of a for a before an a or a; compare baga, bow. There is no reason for doubting that this change is old in the dialect, and we would then have a Gothic language of the kind needed in order to explain the forms Latin goti, Greek Γ' abaab

To sum up, it will be seen that the word gata, which

¹ Die Reste der Germanen am schwarzen Meere, Halle, 1896, pp. 111 ff.

has hitherto remained unexplained, exactly corresponds to Latin goti, and that we know of a Gothic dialect in which the name of the Goths must have contained an o in the base. The two names Irila and Cita, moreover, seem to be the Gothic forms of two well-known Teutonic names. Both Irila and Cita are called yavanas, and this denomination was not, in the second century, restricted to the Greeks. Finally, it seems impossible to explain the words gata, Irila, and Cita in any other way. Taken together, all these points make it highly probable that Irila and Cita were two Goths, who had found their way to India and entered the service of the Western Kṣatraps.

It is more difficult to see whence these Goths can have come to India. We know from Ptolemy that about the middle of the second century the Goths were still dwelling on the banks of the Vistula. Their southward movement is generally believed to have had some connexion with the war against the Markomanni (166-80 A.D.), and it is often stated that they did not reach the Black Sea before the beginning of the third century. Irila and Cita could not, in that case, well have come from that neighbourhood. Their home must have been the north, either the country on the Vistula, or Scandinavia, or the Danish isles. Jordanes (ch. 4) tells us that the Goths had come ex Scandza insulu, and the Herules who are mentioned as the old inhabitants of Southern Scandinavia, Denmark, and the Danish isles have certainly been their near kindred. names Irila and Cita, however, can hardly hail from any of these countries, because the old northern forms of these names contain an e and not an i in the first syllable. It therefore seems necessary to infer that Irila and Cita had come from the country where Ptolemy locates the Goths, viz. the banks of the Vistula. In this connexion the statement of Pliny, that the Goths traded in amber, if we adopt the reading guttonibus in xxxvii, 35, is of some interest. It might be conceived that Irila and

Cita had left their home as traders in amber, that they had proceeded to Rome, and thence to Asia, where they were attracted by the fame of the riches of India. desire to see foreign countries and to accumulate fame and wealth probably urged them to leave their home, just as we find it to have been the case with the Vikings in later times. Archæologists, however, state that there are some indications that the Goths have been settled on the Black Sea at a much earlier date than is usually assumed. In that case the appearance of Goths in Ancient India is more easily explained. It has already been remarked that the word gata seems to represent a form which is in accordance with the rules prevailing in the dialect of the Goths of the Crimea, and the most likely assumption is perhaps that Irila and Cita originally came from that neighbourhood.



IRANIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE

By Dr. M. N. DHALLA

I (=L 1). VENDIDAD SADA (Avesta)

 29.8×23.7 cm.

Fols. 246, marked in Gujarati.

19 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

No colophon, but on fol. 246 the year 804 A.Y. (=1435 A.D.) is inserted by a later hand. A short postscript in Guj. on the last page states that this Vendidād with Yasna and Visperad is 300 or 350 years old.

II (L 2). VENDIDAD SADA (Av.)

 35.7×27.3 cm.

Fols. 350, marked in Guj.; fols. 349-50 blank.

17 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, and written with red ink.

The first folio has short Pers. and Guj. scripts, which state that this Vendidād with Yasna and Visperad is written in a very clear script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

Colophon at the end in Phl., Pers., and Guj.; written by Mobed Rustam Bahram Darab Sorab Manek Peshotan Sanjana at Surat in the year 1129 A.Y. (=1759 A.D.).

¹ The references L 1, L 2, etc., are to Geldner's *Avesta* (Stuttgart, 1896), Prolegomena, pp. viii-x.

III (L 3). VENDIDAD SADA (Av.)

 35.1×26.7 cm.

Fols. 294, marked in Guj.; fols. 63, 67a blank.

15 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Pazand written in Av. characters, and in an upturned Guj. script. These rubrics appear in red. Some additional rubrics in Phl. appear on the margin or above the lines. These rubrics are by another hand, and are in black.

Prefatory notes in Pers. and Guj. on the first page state that the writer of the MS. is the learned Dastur Darab, the teacher of Anquetil, and that it is the best of all existing MSS. Geldner, however, brands it as less carefully written; see his *Avesta*, prol., p. ix.

IV (L 4). VENDIDAD (Av., Phl.)

 $26.5 \times 21.5 \text{ cm}$.

Fols. 304, marked in Guj.; fols. 153-304 incorrectly marked, but changed to correct ones by a later hand.

15 lines to a page.

The MS. has some damaged pages which are restored by a later hand on separate papers pasted on the old folios.

Fols. 153-85 contain occasional interlinear glosses in Persian.

The colophon is missing, but Geldner (Avesta, prol., p. ix) notes that it is found in the MS. Pt₂, which is a transcript from this codex. According to this, the writer of the MS. is the well-known Mitrō Apān Kaikhūsrōb (692 a.y. = 1323 a.d.). A short script in Guj. appearing on the first page mentions that the MS. is very old and rare and may bear the date 652 a.y. (=1283 a.d.).

V (L 5). VENDIDAD SADA AND VISHTASP YASHT (Av.) 28.4×25.1 cm.

Fols. 387, marked in Guj.; fols. 327-34 and 360-87 not marked; fol. 358 incorrectly marked 353; 7 blank folios at the end.

15 lines to a page.

The MS. begins with a list of contents in Pers. and Guj. After 3 blank folios the Av. text of Vīshtāsp Yt. is copied in very small letters on 8 pages, with 46 to 54 lines to a page. These 8 pages are not numbered. The numbering of the folios begins with the first chapter of the Vendidād.

Rubrics in Guj., but written in Av. characters and in red.

Two diagrams appear on fols. 38, 357.

The MS. ends with a colophon in Paz. written in Av. characters and one in Guj. Finished on the 5th day of the 10th month of the year 1161 A.Y. (=1792 A.D.) by Ervad Rustam Darab Framroz Minochihr Kershaspji Pavri at Bombay.

VI (L 6). YASNA (Av.)

 25.8×14.7 cm.

Fols. 198, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Interlinear glosses in Pers., generally on the margin.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

A Pers. colophon on fol. 197 states that the MS. was finished on the 17th day of the 10th month of the year 1110 A.Y. (=1741 A.D.) by Ervad Rustam Bahram Ardashir Noshirvan.

VII. BUNDAHISHN (Paz. in Av. characters)

 29.8×19.1 cm.

Fols. 99, not marked; first and last five folios blank.

15 lines to a page.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The text begins with the chapter on the Gokard tree. According to West (SBE, v, Intr., p. xxxi) a copy derived from L_{12} . On fols, 70–6 appears the text of Mātīgān-i Haft Amshāspand.

The MS. ends with a colophon in Pers. which states that the codex was finished on the 11th day of the 9th month of the year 1174 a.v. (=1805 a.p.) by Ervad Darab Dastur Rustam Jamshed Bahram Framroz at Surat.

VIII. RIVAYAT (of Kamdin Shapur of Cambay. Paz. in Av. characters)

 21.3×17 cm.

Fols. 150. First 3 folios, which contain lists of contents in Pers. and Guj., are not marked; fols. 1-34 marked in Av. figures; one folio between 34 and 35 is not marked; fols. 36-150 marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Fols. 138–49 give the Pers. texts (20 lines to a page); fols. 27, 31, 35, 80 contain diagrams; fol. 25 has a Phl. Nirang; fols. 134–6 give an index in Paz., written in Av. characters.

A Paz. colophon on fol. 133 states that the MS. was finished on the 10th day of the 10th month of the year 1020 A.Y. (=1652 A.D.) at Navsari by Peshotan Faridun. A further colophon possibly copied from an older MS. appears on fols. 149–50 in Pers. and Paz. (Av. characters). The latter bears the date 13th day and 12th month of the year 896 A.Y. (=1527 A.D.). A short Guj. script on the first folio says that the MS. was obtained from Navsari with great difficulty, and is not found elsewhere.

IX (L 9). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Guj.)

 20.1×11.1 cm.

Fols. 214, marked in Guj.

13 lines to a page.

The MS. contains the introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd Yt., Patīts, Nīrangs, 3 Āfrīngāns, viz.: Dahmān,

Ardafravash, and Gahanbār, Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds. The Guj. version appears in Skt. characters and in an upturned script.

No colophon, but the Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds give the year 1012 A.Y. and Samvat 1701 (=1644 A.D.). A short Guj. script on the first page mentions that the MS. is good and very rare.

X. KHORDAH AVESTA (in Guj. characters)

 $24.5 \times 14.2 \text{ cm}$.

Fols. 126, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

A Guj. index on fols. 125-6.

Contents: The introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd, Ardabahisht, 2 Srōsh, Hōm, Vanand, Yashts, 5 Gāhs, Patīt, Nīrangs, and Namaskārs.

A Guj. colophon on fol. 124 states that the MS. was copied by Behdin Aga Bahram Dhanji Jivaji Dalal. Samvat 1842 (=1786 A.D.).

XI. PAZAND GLOSSARY

 20.4×14.1 cm.

Fols. 93, marked in Guj.

Words written in Av. characters.

Fols. 1–23 contain Pers. meanings of some Paz. words. No colophon.

XII (L 12). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Phl.) 18.7×13.6 cm.

Fols. 119, marked in Guj.; fols. 113-16 blank.

11 to 14 lines to a page.

Contents: Introductory prayers, Khurshēd, Māh, and Ātash Nyāishes, Hōrmazd and 2 Srōsh Yashts, 2 Sīrōzahs, occasional explanatory glosses in Pers. Fol. 102 has a Pers. colophon which gives the date, 15th day of the 4th month of the year 1124 A.Y. (=1755 A.D.); but the name of the scribe is blotted out.

XIII (L 13). YASNA (Av.)

 21×11 cm.

Fols. 259, marked in Guj. Many folios have two different numbers in Guj. First 24 and the last 2 folios supplied by a later hand.

12 lines to a page, with the exception of the new folios,

which give 13 lines to a page.

No colophon.

XIV. ZOROASTRIAN LITURGY (Av.)

 24×14.4 cm.

Fols. 150, marked in Guj.

19 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, written in black as well as red.

The MS. contains various Bāj liturgies, and is called (p. 1) in Guj. Bāj Dharnā and in Pers. Darūn Yashtān.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The last page gives Samvat 1847 (= 1790 A.D.).

A postscript in Pers. states, "I have finished this book with my own hands in the month Adar." The whole line is afterwards scratched out. Neither the year nor the name of the scribe is given.

XV. SHIKAND GUMANIK VIJAR (and other texts. Phl., Paz.)

 20.3×14.9 cm.

Fols. 119, not marked.

10 to 13 lines to a page.

The first folio gives the following list of contents in Guj. and Pers.: Shikand Gümānīk Vijār, Yōsht-i Frayān, Patīt, and Pursish Pāshōkh. The MS. begins with a description of the Darūn ceremony. In addition to the above, the MS. gives the text of Mātīgān-i Haft Amshāspand.

The Patīt is written by another hand and on different papers, and is in the Paz. script, written in Av. characters. The last thirty-six folios contain the text of Shikand Gumānīk Vijār, which is incomplete.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

A Pers. colophon appears at the end of the Patit. It has "the 5th day and 10th month", but the year is not given, and the name of the scribe is carefully blotted out. The handwriting of this MS. resembles that of L₂₆, which was written in 1737 A.D. (see Haug & West, Arda Viraf, Intr., pp. ix-x, Bombay, 1872).

XVI (L 16). NYAISHES AND YASHTS (Av.)

 20×11.5 cm.

Fols. 116, marked in Guj. After one blank folio the second one begins with the number 6. Fols. 6-16 are marked twice. One folio after fol. 96 is not numbered, and the numbering of fols. 111-16 is cut off in the margin.

Contents: 5 Nyāishes and Srōsh Yasht Hādhōkht. No colophon.

XVII (L 17). YASNA (Av.)

 22.3×16.2 cm.

Fols. 198, marked in Guj.

15 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in Guj. written in an upturned script.

A short Guj. script on the first page says that the MS. is about 300 to 350 years old. The first folio contains a deed of sale of the MS. made in Samvat 1847 (= 1790 A.D.). The MS. ends with a colophon in Pers. Finished by Mobed Ardashir on the 20th day of the 8th month of the year 920 A.Y. (= 1551 A.D.).

XVIII (L 20). YASNA (Av.)

 24.6×13.7 cm.

Fols. 169, marked in Guj.

15 to 18 lines to a page.

Rubrics in Guj. in an upturned script, written in red.

No colophon. The MS. is modern.

XIX. MINOKHIRAD (Paz., Skt.)

 19.8×13.4 cm.

Fols. 148, marked in Guj., but mostly cut off in the margin.

15 lines to a page.

The Skt. version appears in alternate sentences and in an upturned script.

Fols. 133-48 contain Av., Paz., Skt. fragments of Āfrīn and Aogemadaecā.

A Phl. colophon appears on fol. 132, which, according to West (SBE., 24, Intr., p. xxi), is copied from some older MS., and which says that the MS. was completed by Ervad Shatroyar, contemporary (?) of Neryosangh. This is followed by a Skt. colophon reading: Finished on the 18th day of the 2nd month of the year 890 A.Y. (= 1520 A.D.) by Mihrvan Mahyar, grandson of Padam at Navsari.

XX (L 18). KHORDAH AVESTA AND YASHTS (Av.)

 $24.4 \times 17.4 \text{ cm}$.

Fols. 508, marked in Guj.; fols. 481-90 marked also 449-58, but this erroneous numbering is scratched out; fols. 491-508 not marked.

13 lines to a page.

The MS. begins with a detailed index in Guj.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, 2 Patīts, Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds, Āfrīns Gahanbār, Ardafravash,

and Hamkār, 5 Gāhs, the Yashts, viz.: Hōrmazd, Haftān, Ardabahisht, Avardād, 2 Srōsh, Bahrām, Ābān, Khurshēd, Māh, Tīr, Gōsh, Mihr, Rashna, Fravardīn, Hōm, Vanand, Dīn, Āshtād, Zamyād, and Nīrangs.

The old MS ends at fol. 490a, after which new folios are added by a later hand.

Fol. 231 blank. Concerning the disorder in the arrangement of the text see Geldner's Avesta, prol. ix.

No colophon, but the Paz. and Skt. Āshīrvāds have the years 1042 A.Y. (fol. 111) and Samvat 1729 (fol. 118) = 1672 A.D. The Guj. index is made in Samvat 1832 (= 1775 A.D.).

XXI (L 11). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av.)

 21.7×12.2 cm.

Fols. 277, marked in Guj.

13 lines to a page.

Fols. 1–79 have rubrics in upturned Guj. script in red; fols. 82–229 rubrics in Pers. but written in Av. characters; fols. 230–77 rubrics in an upturned Guj. script in black, and in Pers. written in Av. characters in red. Fols. 1–88 written by another hand.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Gāthā, Gahanbār, and Dahmān Āfrīngāns, 5 Gāhs, Hōrmazd, Haft Amshāspand, Ardabahisht, 2 Srōsh, Hōm, Vanand, Bahrām Yashts, Bājes, Nīrangs, Av. fragments, and Sīrōzahs.

Colophon in Pers. at the end. Finished on the 10th day of the 2nd month of the year 1093 a.y. (=1723 a.d.) by Ervad Mihrnosh Dastur Bahram Khūrshed Sanjana at Navsari.

A short Guj. script on the cover says that the MS. is very correct; another one on the first folio says that it is copied by Darab, the disciple of Jamasp, who brought the MS. from Kirman to Surat.

XXII. BUNDAHISHN (Paz. in Av. characters)

 21.3×14.1 cm.

Fols. 153, of which the first 136 folios marked in Av. figures, fols. 137-51 in Guj., as also in Av. figures, fols, 152-3 blank.

14 lines to a page.

The MS begins with the chapter on the Gokard tree. For the details of the arrangement of the chapters see West in SBE., vol. v, Intr., p. xxxi. The Paz. text of the Mātīgān-i Haft Amshāspand appears on fols. 113-22.

Colophon in Phl. on fol. 111, which West thinks as having been copied from some older MS. The colophon runs thus: Copied by Ashdin Kaka Dhanpal Lakhmidhar Bahram Lakhmidhar Manpat Kamdin Zartusht Mobed Hormazdyar Ramyar in 936 A.Y. (=1567 A.D.).

SHIKAND GUMANIK VIJAR (Paz.)

 20.4×13.5 cm.

Fols. 79, marked in Guj.; fols. 51-79 are incorrectly marked 56-85.

10 to 12 lines to a page.

The first page gives the title of the MS. in Pers. and Guj. as Purshis Pashokh in Pahlavi. Concerning the arrangement of the chapters see Hoshang & West, Shikand Gumanik Vijar, Intr., p. xxv, Bombay, 1887.

No colophon, but the MS. is in the same handwriting as L_{26} , which is dated 1106 A.Y. (=1737 A.D.).

XXIV. ZOROASTRIAN LITURGY (Av.)

 23.1×13 cm.

Fols. 164, marked in Gui.

17 lines to a page.

Extensive rubrics in an upturned Guj. script.

Short Guj. and Pers. scripts on the first page state that this MS. Vazargorad contains an account of the Baj, Barsam, and Darun ceremonies.

Fols. 155-63 give the text of Patīt in Paz. written in Av. characters. This work, however, is not to be confused with the well-known Phl. Vijirkard-i Dēnīk.

Colophon in Paz. written in Av. characters, and another in Guj.

Finished on the 6th day of the 1st month of the year 1131 A.Y. (=1761 A.D.) by Ervad Khūrshed Minochihrji Cavasji Jamaspji Bhaiji Sanjana.

XXV (L 25). KHORDAH AVESTA (Av., Pers.)

 $24.7 \times 14.2 \text{ cm}$.

Fols. 85, marked in Pers.

15 lines to a page.

Contents: Introductory prayers, 5 Nyāishes, Hōrmazd Yt., Gahanbār, Gāthā, and Dahmān Āfrīngāns.

Written by Dastur Caoos of Surat in 1223 A.H. (=1808 A.D.).

XXVI. SIROZAH (Phl.) AFRINS (Paz.)

 $20.1 \times 13.8 \text{ cm}$.

Fols. 86, not marked; last two folios blank.

The first page contains a list of contents in Pers. and Guj.

Contents: Sīrōzahs (Phl.), Pershad (Av. with occasional rubrics in Guj.), Gahanbār, Buzurg, Vadardagān Āfrīns (Paz. in Av. characters).

A Pers. script occurs at the end of the Pershad, which states, "finished on the 17th day and 10th month of the year $1106\,$ A.Y." (=1737 A.D.). The writer's name is not given.

XXVII (L 27). VISPERAD (Av.)

 16.31×13.8 cm.

Fols. 121, marked in Guj.

Rubrics in Paz. in Av. characters and in an upturned Guj. script written in red.

Catchwords at the bottom of the pages on the right-hand side.

The Visperad text ends on fol. 86, and is followed by the latter part of Yasna. The MS. breaks up on fol. 121 with an incomplete sentence.

No colophon. A short Guj. script on the first page says that the MS. is accurately written.

There are 6 loose pages $(19.9 \times 10.8 \text{ cm.})$ which contain Kustī formulas in Paz. written in Av. characters and in an upturned Guj. script.

For other MSS. (mostly Persian) on Zoroastrian literature see Ross & Brown, Catalogue of two collections of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library, pp. 127–40, 171–2, London, 1902; and Ethé, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, vol. i, cols. 1518–24, Nos. 2818–27; cols. 1622–4, Nos. 2986–8; Oxford, 1903.

XIV

JATAKAS AT BHARAUT

By E. HULTZSCH

CINCE my publication of the Bharaut inscriptions in the Indian Antiquary, vol. 21, p. 225 ff., Professor von Oldenburg has subjected the Bharaut sculptures to a careful examination in a Russian article which Professor Lanman has made generally accessible by an English translation in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 18, p. 183 ff. Professor von Oldenburg succeeded in tracing in the Pāli Jātaka book three of the Bharaut bas-reliefs which had not previously been identified.1 The references to four other jātakas 2 could not be given in my first list, because at the time when it was drawn up vol. 6 of the Jātaka book had not yet been published. The same volume enabled me to restore conjecturally one of the Bharaut inscriptions,3 while a repeated perusal of vol. 5 yielded explanations of two bas-reliefs which had remained unidentified.4

I. Mahābodhi-jātaka, No. 528

Cunningham's plate xxvii, No. 14

This sculpture, which is somewhat damaged, shows on one side an ascetic who is carrying an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a staff on his left shoulder. The other side is occupied by a man and woman wearing

¹ Nos. 17, 20, and 23 of the list on p. 406 below.

² Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 21 of the new list.

³ See III below.

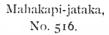
⁴ See I and II below.

rich ornaments. A big dog forms the centre of the group. In Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut this relief is connected with the Dasaratha-jataka (No. 461 of Fausböll's edition), which, the author says, is "recognizable at the first glance" (p. 71). "We see Bharata standing in front of Rama and Sita" (p. 74). But if these three persons were really meant, Bharata ought to be dressed as prince and Rāma and Sītā as hermits, while the sculpture shows just the reverse of this arrangement. Besides, Rāma's brother Lakshmana would be missing, and the dog in the centre of the group, "which apparently belongs to Rāma" (Cunningham, p. 74), would be unconnected with the story in hand. Professor von Oldenburg was therefore fully justified in stating: "I am not convinced of the correctness of this identification, and I regard the bas-relief as unexplained" (JAOS., vol. 18, p. 191).

It is the dog figured in the centre which led me on the right track. In the Mahābodhi-jātaka (No. 528) the hermit Bodhi, who visits the king of Benares, ingratiates himself with the king's favourite dog by sharing his food with the animal (Mr. Francis' translation, Jātaka, vol. 5, p. 116). As the ascetic gradually gains influence at court, he is slandered by five wicked ministers, who prevail on the king to assent to their plot of murdering him. On the night before the chief queen "asked him [the king], saying: 'How is it, Sire, that you do not say a word to me? Have I in any way offended you?' 'No, lady,' he said; 'but they tell me the mendicant Bodhi has become an enemy of ours. I have ordered five of my councillors to slay him to-morrow.' . . . At that moment the well-bred tawny hound, hearing the talk, thought: 'To-morrow by my own power I must save this man's life.' So early next morning the dog went down from the terrace, and coming to the big door he lay with his head on the threshold, watching the road by which the Great Being came. . . Then the JOURNAL ROY. As. Soc. 1912.

Jatakas at Bharaut.

Mahabodhi-jataka, No. 528.







Mahajanaka-jataka, No. 539,



Reproduced from Sir A. Cunninghams' "Stupa of Bharhut" by permission of the Secretary of State for India.



hound seeing him opened his mouth and showed his four big teeth . . . and he gave a loud bark. From his knowledge of the meaning of all sounds Bodhi understood the matter, and returned to the park and took everything that was necessary for his journey. But the king standing at his window, when he found he was not coming, thought: . . 'I will find out what he is about.' And going to the park he found the Great Being coming out of his hut of leaves and with all his requisites at the end of his cloister walk, ready to start, and saluting him he stood on one side and uttered the first stanza:—

'What mean these things, umbrella, shoes,
Skin-robe and staff in hand?
What of this cloak and bowl and hook?
I fain would understand
Why in hot haste thou wouldst depart
And to what far-off land.'

"On hearing this the Great Being . . . repeated two stanzas:--

'These twelve long years I've dwelt, O king,
Within thy royal park;
And never once before to-day
This hound was known to bark.
To-day he shows his teeth so white,
Defiant now and proud,
And hearing what thou toldst the queen,
To warn me bays aloud.'"

(Francis, p. 119.)

The Bharaut sculpture no doubt represents Bodhi taking leave of the king. He is provided with the necessaries for his projected journey, viz. an umbrella and sandals in his right hand and a skin over his left arm, in which he holds a staff with a bundle attached to its end. It is true that in the prose version of the Jātaka text neither

the queen nor the dog are stated to have been present at the king's last interview with the hermit. But the artist was quite justified in including both of them in the sculpture, which otherwise would have lacked individuality and defied identification. He may have inserted the queen in order to remind the spectator of the first scene of the Jātaka story, the nocturnal conversation of the king and queen, and the dog in order to recall its second scene, the barking of the king's favourite dog. This arrangement was quite unobjectionable, as both the queen and the dog might have accompanied the king on his visit to the ascetic, which forms the third and last scene of the story.

It is, however, just possible that the Bharaut sculptor followed a different version of the Mahābodhi-jātaka, which resembled No. 23 of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. Although here the queen is not mentioned at all, the dog is present at the king's visit to the hermit and is barking angrily at the latter (p. 144 of Professor Kern's edition). In this respect the last of the archaic verses quoted from the Pāli Jātaka on p. 401 above seems to agree rather with the Jātakamālā version than with the modern prose version of the Jātaka book.¹ Consequently I consider it not unlikely that in the original version of the story, which was known to the Bharaut artist, the dog was stated to have barked at the hermit on the occasion of his last interview with the king, as represented on the bas-relief.

II. Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516

Cunningham's plate xxxiii, No. 5

According to Cunningham (p. 105) this sculpture, which is partly damaged, "represents a fight between a man and

¹ The words "to warn me" are not found in the Pāli original, but have been inserted by the translator owing to the exigencies of the metre.

monkeys." In reality it consists of three successive scenes from the Mahākapi-jātaka, No. 516. Another jātaka of the same name (No. 407) is known to be figured in another Bharaut sculpture (pl. xxxiii, No. 4). These jātakas are both included in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā (Nos. 24 and 27 = Jātaka, Nos. 516 and 407 respectively).

In No. 516 we are informed that a Brahmin had lost his way in looking for his stray oxen. "He roamed about for seven days fasting, but seeing a tinduka tree he climbed up it to eat the fruit. Slipping off the tree he fell sixty cubits into a hell-like abyss, where he passed ten days. At that time the Bodhisatta was living in the shape of a monkey, and while eating wild fruits he eaught sight of the man, and after practising with a stone he hauled the fellow out. While the monkey was asleep, the man split his head open with a stone." (Mr. Francis' translation, vol. 5, p. 38.)

In the subsequent poetical version more details are given:—

"The monkey stepping on the height above Carried a heavy stone, his strength to prove, And when by practice he was perfect grown, The mighty one his purpose thus made known. Climb thou, good Sir, upon my back and cast Thy arms about my neck and hold me fast; Then will I with all speed deliver thee From the stone walls of thy captivity."

The monkey then—so brave and strong was he—Exhausted by the effort though he be,
From rocky fastness soon uplifteth me.¹

¹ The speaker is the ungrateful Brahmin, who is relating his own story to the king of Benares.

While, as I watched, he took a moment's rest, An ugly thought was harboured in my breast. 'Monkeys and such like deer are good to eat; What if I kill him and my hunger cheat?'

Taking a stone his skull I wellnigh broke."
(Op. cit., p. 40.)

The Bharaut sculpture shows first on the left side the monkey either looking down into the abyss or practising with a stone. In the middle scene he is carrying up the Brahmin on his back. In the last scene the ungrateful fellow is trying to kill the sleeping monkey by throwing a stone on his head.

III. Mahājanaka-jātaka, No. 539

Cunningham's plate xliv, No. 2

This bas-relief shows three figures: (1) a sitting layman holding an arrow, (2) an ascetic addressing him, and (3) a queen standing behind the ascetic. An inscription at the top labels No. 2 as "King Janaka" and No. 3 as "Queen Sivala". This enabled Cunningham (p. 95) to connect the bas-relief with the Mahājanaka-jātaka (No. 539); but, as the text of this jātaka was not available to him, he could not furnish the correct explanation of the scene represented in the sculpture.

Towards the end of the Mahājanaka-jātaka we are told that king Mahājanaka left his kingdom to become an ascetic, and was followed by his queen Sīvalī against his own will. In their wanderings the king and queen reached the city of Thūṇa. "After they had entered, the Bodhisatta [Mahājanaka] went on his begging-round and reached the door of the house of a maker of arrows, while Sīvalī stood on one side. Now at that time the arrow-maker had heated an arrow in a pan of coals and had wetted it with some sour rice-gruel, and, closing one eye, was looking

with the other while he made the arrow straight. The Bodhisatta reflected: 'If this man is wise, he will be able to explain the incident,—I will ask him.' . . . Then the Great Being said to him:—

'One eye thou closest and dost gaze
With the other sideways,—is this right?
I pray, explain thy attitude;
Thinkest thou, it improves thy sight?'

He replied:-

'The wide horizon of both eyes
Serves only to distract the view;
But if you get a single line,
Your aim is fixed, your vision true.
It is the second that makes jars,
That which is single cannot jar;
Would'st thou be happy? be alone;
Only the lonely happy are.'"

(Cowell's translation, vol. 6, p. 36.)

This is the incident figured at Bharaut, and its identification enables me to restore the damaged label at the top of the sitting figure of the arrow-maker. The first letter of the inscription is an u, after which there are traces of the syllable su; see the plate in ZDMG., vol. 40, p. 60, No. 20. No doubt we have to read $usuk\bar{a}ro$, "the arrow-maker." See Jātaka text, vol. 6, p. 66.1

IV

I subjoin a revised list of those Bharaut inscriptions and sculptures which can be traced in the Pāli Jātaka book, adding a few supplementary remarks to Nos. 1, 4, 12, 18, and 19 of the list.

¹ The same restoration has been made independently by Professor Lüders; it is presupposed by his remark on the Bharaut inscription in E_p . Ind., vol. 10, Appendix, p. 68, No. 709.

	rial No.	Cunningham's Plates.	BHARAUT INSCRIPTIONS (Ind. Ant., vol. 21).	No. and Title in Fausböll's Jātaka.
	1	xviii	86. Vitura-Punakiya jatakam	545. Vidhurapandita-jātaka.
	2	xxv, 1	37. Miga-jātakam	482. Ruru-jātaka.
	3	,, 2	32. Nāga-jātaka	267. Kakkata-jātaka.
	4	., 3	72. Yavamajhakiyam jātakam	546. Mahāummagga-jātaka.
	5	,, 4	155. M[u]ga[pa]k[i]y[a] j[ā]ta[ka]	538. Mūgapakkha-jātaka.
	6	xxvi, 5	109. Latuvā-jātaka	357. Latukika-jātaka.
	7	,, 6	85. Chhadamtiya jātakam	514. Chhaddanta-jātaka.
	. 8	7	156. Isis[imgiya jā]ta[ka]	523. Alambusa-jātaka.
	9	,, 8	157. Yam bram[h]ano avayesi jatakam	62. Andabhūta-jātaka.
	10	xxvii, 9		206. Kuru gamiga-jātaka.
	11	,, 11	158. Hamsa-jätaka	32. Nachcha-jātaka.
	12	,, 12	12. Kinara-jātakani	Episode of No. 481, Takkāriya- jātaka (vol. 4, pp. 252-4).
	13	,, 13		18I. Asadisa-jātaka.
	14	,, 14		528. Mahābodhi-jātaka.
	15	xxxiii, 4		407. Mahākapi-jātaka.
	16	,, 5		516. Mahākapi-jātaka.
	17	xli, 1, 3		324. Chammasāṭaka-jātaka.
	18	xlii, l		518. Paṇḍara-jātaka.
	19	xliii, 2	10. Isi-migo jataka	Nigrodhamiga-jātaka.
	20	,, 8		372. Migapotaka-jātaka.
	21	xliv, 2	20. U[su][kāro*], Janako rāja,	539. Mahājanaka-jātaka.
			Sivala devi	
1.5	22	xlv, 5		46, 268. Arāmadūsaka-jātaka.
	23	., 7		42. Kapota-jātaka.
	24	xlvi, 2	14. Uda-jataka	400. Dabbhapuppha-jātaka.
	25	., 8	15. Sechha-jataka	174. Dūbhiyamakkata-jātaka.
	26	xlvii, 3	6. Sujato gahuto jataka	352. Sujāta-jātaka.
	27	,, 5	7. Bidala-jata[k]a, Kukuṭa- jataka	383. Kukkuṭa-jātaka.
	28	xlviii, 2	3. Maghādeviya jataka	9. Makhādeva-jātaka.
	29	,, 7	17. Bhisaharaniya jataka[m]	488. Bhisa-jātaka.

Remarks on the above list

No. 1. In accordance with the label at Bharaut, this jātaka is elsewhere quoted as Puṇṇaka-jātaka; see Dr. Andersen's *Index*, p. 87. The footnote in the translation, vol. 6, p. 128, has to be modified accordingly.

No. 4. The name given to this jātaka at Bharaut is derived from the village-name Yavamajjhaka; see Fausböll's Jātaka, vol. 7, Preface, p. xv, and Professor Oldenberg, ZDMG., vol. 52, p. 643.

No. 12. I still uphold my identification of this bas-relief, on which the king is represented sitting on his throne, with an episode of the Takkāriya-jātaka. The Chanda-kinnara-jātaka (No. 485) and the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka (No. 504) do not fit because in both of them the scene is laid in the Himālaya.

No. 18. I am not sure whether my present identification of this bas-relief with the Paṇḍara-jātaka is correct. Dr. Rouse (translation, vol. 2, p. 197, n. 1) suggests the Maṇikaṇṭha-jātaka (No. 253).

No. 19. Professor von Oldenburg (p. 191) sees in this bas-relief a scene from the Migapotaka-jātaka (No. 372). But the man with the axe cannot be a hermit because he wears a turban, and the deer is placing its fore-feet on a block which recalls the dhammagandikā of the Pāli text of the Nigrodhamiga-jātaka; cf. Jātaka, translation, vol. 5, p. 159, n. 1, and Vinaya Texts, pt. 3, p. 213, n. 4. The man with the axe is evidently the king's cook (bhattakāraka).

V

It is a well-known fact that in the earliest period of Buddhist art, viz., at Bharaut, Bōdh-Gayā, and Sāňchi, the founder of the religion was never represented in human form, but the spectator was made aware of his presence by various symbols. The Buddha type with which we are familiar was created later on by the Greek artists of the Gandhāra school, who took the bold step of shaping the likeness of Sākyamuni in imitation of the Hellenic Apollon. In the third period of Indian Buddhist iconography, as at Amarāvati and Ajaṇṭā, this type was adopted by Hindū artists, and it continues to exist with certain modifications in Tibet, China, Japan,

and Further India. To take an example, Buddha's descent from heaven at Sankīsā is represented at Bharaut (Cunningham's plate xvii, middle) by a flight of steps with a footprint at the top and another at the bottom, and with the bōdhi-tree on one side, while on the sculptures of the Gandhāra period Buddha himself is figured descending the flight of steps; see M. Foucher's Basreliefs du Gandhāra, figs. 264, 265. The Bharaut inscriptions Nos. 60 and 77 read: "The Nāga king Airāvata is worshipping the Blessed one," and "Ajātaśatru is worshipping the Blessed one." On the corresponding bas-reliefs (Cunningham's pl. xiv, No. 3, and pl. xvi, No. 3), we do not find Buddha figured at all, but the Nāga Airāvata and king Ajātaśatru are paying worship to his empty throne.

These preliminary statements were necessary for supporting my present view that the well-known Bharaut inscription No. 46, bhagavato Sakamunino bodho, on Cunningham's pl. xxx, No. 3, cannot be translated, as was done by me before, by "the bodha (tree) of the blessed Śākyamuni". It is true that the substantive bodhi is employed in Buddhist literature not only in the sense of "supreme knowledge", but as a designation of the pipal-tree under which supreme knowledge was attained by Gautama; see the Nidanakathā in Jātaka, vol. i, p. 71, l. 22, and p. 78, ll. 2 and 10; Buddhacharita, xiii, 32; Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, vol. iii, Index. The Bharaut inscriptions themselves supply an unmistakable instance of this use of the word bodhi in No. 24, where the śala, i.e. the tree Vatica robusta, is called the bodhi of the mythical Buddha Viśvabhū. On the other hand, the cognate word bodha means only "wisdom, supreme knowledge"; see Nidānakathā, p. 67, 1. 5 from bottom; Buddhacharita, xii, 98, 112, and xiii, 1, 67; Mahāvastu, vol. iii, Index. Consequently the Bharaut inscription No. 46 must be translated by "the

attainment of supreme knowledge by the blessed Śākyamuni". On the corresponding bas-relief the chief actor, Buddha himself, is of course missing, and we see nothing but his empty throne under the bōdhi-tree, surrounded by divine and human worshippers. In the Gandhāra sculptures the throne is occupied by Buddha, seated and touching the earth with his right hand (bhūmi-sparśamudrā). He is generally surrounded by Māra's army; see M. Foucher's Bas-reliefs du Gandhāra, figs. 201–4. The later Buddhist art of India adds the daughters of Māra; see the Ajaṇṭā bas-relief, a sketch of which is given on plate li of Cave Temples of India, and on plate xxxix (p. 176) of Mr. V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.

It will not be considered out of place if I draw attention to a bas-relief of the earliest period which represents the same scene. Plate xxviii of Mr. Rea's South Indian Buddhist Antiquities figures a marble slab from Ghantaśālā, now at Rāmanagaram, which, in the editor's opinion, "represents the worship of the sacred $b\bar{o}dhi$ tree" (p. 37). A comparison with the Ajanta bas-relief referred to in the preceding paragraph will show that we have here in reality a representation of Buddha's temptation by Māra, his army, and his daughters. At Ajantā Māra is figured four times. At the left bottom he is standing with bow and arrow and directing the dance of his daughters. At the right bottom both he and his three daughters are represented squatting, evidently disappointed at their failure. At the top on the left Mara is figured seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimekhala,2

² See the Nidānakathā in Jātaka, vol. i, pp. 72, 73, 74.

¹ Two male figures standing in the background express their astonishment by waving their shawls (this action is called *chelukhhepa* in Pāli; see Professor Grünwedel's *Buddh. Kunst in Indien*, p. 37) and grasping the tip of their tongues. This gesture seems to correspond to the present Indian habit of covering the mouth with the palm of the hand. I have seen this practised by all classes.

wielding the thunderbolt in one of his four arms, and supported in his attack by his demon followers, while on the right he and his army are turning to flight. On the Ghantaśālā bas-relief Māra's three daughters appear on the right of Buddha's throne; the second of them has lost the head, and of the third only the right foot with its anklet is preserved. On the other side Mara is seen squatting and raising his right hand, perhaps for instructing his daughters. At the top on the left he appears seated, with an attendant behind him, on his elephant Girimekhala and surrounded by his attacking army; his head and his four arms are apparently damaged in the original sculpture. On the right we see his army in retreat; the figure on the shoulder of the elephant must be intended for Mara, as at Ajantā, but has been changed by the draughtsman into a comical dog-like figure which faces the back instead of the front of the elephant. So far the Ajanta and Ghantaśālā sculptures are in tolerably close agreement. The chief difference between both consists in this, that the former shows under the bodhi-tree a sitting figure of Buddha with the bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā, while in the second he is represented only by symbols, viz. the throne with two pillows in the shape of lotus-flowers. The Ghantaśālā slab is of some interest, because, as far as I know, no other early bas-relief of this type has been discovered. A good photograph of it would perhaps show some more details which are indistinct or distorted in the drawing.

THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY AND THE AKHYANA

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L.

T

In my paper on the Vedic Akhyāna I referred briefly to Professor Ridgeway's theory of the origin of tragedy in Greece; the importance of the question and the light it throws on the value of comparative mythology and religion render it worth while to consider that theory in further detail.

Professor Ridgeway has, of course, to face the accepted view that tragedy had its origin in the satyric drama, as stated by Aristotle in the *Poetics*,³ where he ascribes it to those who began or composed the Dithyramb and refers to its slow development from the satyric form. It is true that various doubts had been thrown upon this theory, both by the theoretic difficulty of the transmutation of an original satyric drama into tragedy, and still more by the discovery that the satyrs of Attica were not goat-shaped but horse-shaped.⁴ But all these difficulties were met by Dr. Farnell's new statement of the theory of tragedy.

In this version tragedy arose from the solemn ritual in which was portrayed the combat of summer and winter. Such a ritual which is in essence only a special form of the death and revival of the vegetation spirit is

¹ JRAS. 1911, p. 1007, n. 3.

² The Origin of Tragedy, Cambridge, 1910. It is almost needless to say that Professor Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic², p. 290, accepts the theory, but adds to it a reference to Schurtz, Altersklassen und Männerbunde, which already has inspired von Schroeder in his conception of the origin of drama; see Keith, JRAS. 1909, pp. 204, 205.

³ c. 4. ἀπό τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον and ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν δψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη.

⁴ See references in Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, v, 233; cf. also Dieterich, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1908, pp. 168, 169.

undoubtedly very widely spread. and a clear proof of its connexion with the Dionysiac myth was seen by Dr. Farnell in the legend 2 of the fight between the Boiotian Xanthos and the Neleid Melanthos. At the moment of combat Melanthos perceived a form beside his foe, whom he taunted with bringing a comrade to help him. Xanthos turned round, and Melanthos slew him. The figure was Dionysos Melanaigis, and hence the Athenians admitted Dionysos to the Apatouria, giving the festival a name commemorating the "deceit" of the god. Thus the "black" Melanthos, with the aid of Dionysos of the black goat-skin, slays the "fair". Beside this ancient legend, which probably is derived from Hellanikos, is to be set the fact that in Northern Thrace a popular festival still exists in part of which a man dressed in a goat-skin is addressed as king and scatters seed over the crowd. and is eventually cast into the river, while in a similar mummery performed near the ancient Thracian capital there is a band of men disguised in goat-skins, one of whom is killed and is lamented by his wife.3 It is deduced 4 from these facts and some minor evidence that tragedy had its origin in a traditional passion play performed by men who wore the dark goat-skin of the god, in which some one, probably the embodiment of the winter or spring divinity, was killed and lamented, this fact accounting for the dirge-like character of Greek tragedy. Tragedy was thus the song of the goat-men, worshippers of Dionysos of the goat-skin. And Dionysos, as wearer of the goat-skin, is a vegetation spirit who from time to time may be incarnate in the goat.5

To this view Professor Ridgeway 6 opposes the theory

¹ See Usener, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1904, pp. 303 seq.

² Schol. Plat. Symp. 208 D; Schol. Arist. Acharn. 146.

² See Dawkins, Journ. Hell. Stud. 1906, pp. 191-206, and see also Wace in Ridgeway, pp. 16-24.

Farnell, op. cit. v, 230-6.
 Farnell, v, 161 seqq.
 Op. cit. pp. 1-108. The criticism of Dr. Farnell is at pp. 73-93.

that the key to the origin of tragedy is to be found in the tragic choruses which, once performed in honour of Adrastos in Sikyon, the tyrant Kleisthenes restored to the god.1 The wearing of goat-skins by the performers was due to the fact that the goat-skin was the ancient garb of primitive peoples and of the aborigines of Peloponnesos, Crete, Thrace, etc. The use of tragic choruses was the honouring and appeasing of the dead, a practice illustrated by many parallels. This kind of performance was common in Greece, while the Dionysiac ritual was a foreign importation from Thrace; it brought with it a change by which the local cults of heroes became the cultus of Dionysos, and the distinctive element in the ritual was the dithyramb, celebrating the deeds and sorrows of Dionysos and his attendant satyrs; hence developed the satyric drama, and its signal distinction from tragedy is thus explained.

For this theory on its merits there seems little or nothing to be said, except that it is of an engaging lucidity and simplicity. What the tragic choruses were which were celebrated in honour of Adrastos we cannot say: Professor Ridgeway treats them as representing the sorrows of Adrastos, but Herodotos certainly does not say so, but merely asserts that they honoured Adrastos with tragic dances $(\tau \rho a \gamma \iota \kappa o i \sigma \iota \chi o \rho o i \sigma \iota)$ in view of his sorrows $(\pi \rho o i \sigma \iota \chi \sigma \iota)$ in view of his sorrows $(\pi \rho o i \sigma \iota \chi \sigma \iota)$ has no more than that as his fate had been sorrowful the dances were solemn and mournful instead of lively and joyous. Nor is there other evidence of such dances being of a mimetic character; the

¹ Herodotos, v, 67. That ἀπέδωκε has been rendered "restored" is perfectly natural and very possibly what Herodotos meant. It is absurd to say, as does Professor Ridgeway (p. 28, n. 1), that ἀποδίδωμι means "assign"; Liddell & Scott are perfectly correct in taking the normal sense as "to render what is due", which gives the sense of "restore", and the zeugma is one of the least difficult possible.

² That there was anything but a dance is not certain; χορός has no necessary allusion to more, and τραγικός may refer to the dancer's dress.

ceremonies of Tegea, which were intended to commemorate the slaying by Limon of Skephros and the death of the murderer, show nothing more than a ritual pursuit, a fairly common ceremony. Professor Ridgeway can and does adduce no evidence to show that these dances ever generated tragedy in Greece, and his explanation of the name—though it avoids the absurdity of the rendering beer-song —is assuredly so feeble as by itself to discredit the theory.

But the weakness of the case is still further emphasized by the parallels adduced from the East to lend it support. "The oldest Hindu drama, the Ramayana," we are told,3 "celebrates the life, exploits, and sufferings of Rama, son of Dasaratha, who reigned in Ayodhya (Oude), and it includes the loves of Rama and his wife Sita, the rape of the latter by Ravana, the demon-king of Ceylon, the overthrow of Ravana by Rama, the subsequent sorrows of the hero and his wife, the death of Sita, and her husband's translation into heaven. Since Rama was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, and since a verse in the introduction of the work declares that 'he who reads and repeats this holy life-giving Ramayana is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven', it is the keeping in remembrance of the hero god, his exploits and his sufferings, that is the essential element in this great drama." But what connexion an elaborate epic has with mimetic dances or the origin of drama I fear I cannot Nor is anything to be gained by adducing the Thibetan "sacred plays", which are held to be relics of Shamanistic ancestor worship 4 (the Shamanism is clear, the ancestor worship is less certain); the Malay drama, conjectured on quite inadequate grounds 5 to be closely

¹ Paus. viii, 23; see Farnell, v, 231.

² See Dieterich, op. cit. pp. 168, 169. The idea is that of Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 421; cf. Farnell, v. 232, n.

³ Op. cit. pp. 94, 95. ⁴ Op. cit. pp. 95-100. ⁵ Op. cit., pp. 100-2.

connected with the spirits of the dead; or the drama of the Veddahs of Ceylon.¹ This so-called drama is nothing more or less than a magic device by which the Shaman obtains for the time the possession of the spirit of the Yaku which will inspire him for a successful hunt. Now admitting that the Veddahs are one of the most primitive races which survive (and it must not be forgotten that in the very rite as performed for Dr. Seligmann the latter sees satisfactory evidence ² of Singhalese influence), and that the Yaku are spirits of the dead (which is by no means certain), all that we find is that a mimetic ceremony takes place. Of a parallel to the development of Greek tragedy from dances round a hero's tomb there is not the faintest trace, and the allegation of these parallels seems merely destined to darken counsel.

After an examination of the objections to Professor Ridgeway's own theory, the objections which he makes to the theory of Dr. Farnell seem very insignificant. The story of Melanthos and Xanthos he lightly dismisses as historical³; it embodies an actual border war between the fair-haired Boiotian from the Upper Balkan and the dark aboriginal Neleid. The citing of the pedigree of Melanthos makes him historical,4 and the presence of the figure of Dionysos Melanaigis is no more discordant with history than the presence of the mullet of five points which in the pursuit of Antioch in 1098 A.D. shone excessively on the standard of Aubrey de Vere. But this light-hearted argument would hardly have been written had the author examined the authority for the interpretation of the tale as resting on the old combat of winter and summer in one of its variant forms; but curiously enough neither Dr. Farnell's book ⁵ (published in November, 1909) nor

¹ The Origin of Tragedy, pp. 102-6.

² Ibid. p. 106.

⁴ Clearly this can hardly be taken seriously.

⁵ He knows only a lecture of May, 1909, before the Hellenic Society; see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909, p. xlvii.

Usener's article 1 seems to have attracted Professor Ridgeway's attention, though he wrote in 1910.2 Here, too, the history of the Sanskrit drama lends a piece of evidence of which neither of these writers has taken notice. The clear evidence of the Mahābhāsya, as I have already shown,3 proves the connexion of the earliest Indian literary form which was clearly dramatic with the contest of the two figures Kamsa and Kṛṣṇa, and the actors coloured their faces, the followers of Krsna being raktamukha, those of Kamsa kālamukha. It is true that Indian tradition tells us that Kamsa was Kṛṣṇa's uncle, and that we can, if we like, insist that this is a piece of history, but such euhemerism is, if at present again fashionable, hardly likely to remain long in vogue. That Krsna⁴ was divine is, of course, asserted by the earliest texts which refer to him, and the Mahābhāsya parallel is of singular importance in that it shows the drama dealing with a subject which reveals itself clearly as one side of the widespread belief 5 in the slaying of the vegetation spirit, which is certainly found also in India. In the case of Greece we have merely conclusions drawn from scattered data, the contest of Melanthos and Xanthos. the modern Thracian folk ritual, and of course the Bakchai. It is really impossible to doubt that Bather 6 is right in seeing in the Pentheus legend a relic of ancient ritual, even if Dr. Farnell 7 is also right in thinking

¹ Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 1904, pp. 303 seqq. The importance of this paper for the origin of drama in Greece and in India was first (so far as I am aware) pointed out by me in JRAS. 1908, p. 172, and in 1909 by Dr. Farnell, v, 235; Dieterich, op. cit., ignores it.

² The preface is dated August 6, 1910.

³ ZDMG. lxiv, 534 seqq.; JRAS. 1908, p. 172; 1911, p. 1008; Classical Quarterly, iv, 283, 284.

⁴ Cf. my notes in JRAS. 1908, pp. 169 seqq. The human character of Kṛṣṇa is not older than the divine; it is an essential characteristic of vegetation spirits that they take temporary embodiments in man or animal; compare the extremely human character of the Greek Dionysos.

⁵ Established beyond all doubt by Frazer in The Golden Bough.

⁶ Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894.

⁷ Op. cit. v, 168.

that the reference is not to the annual slaying of the worn-out representative of the vegetation spirit but to the dismemberment and sacramental slaying of the young god, and Professor Ridgeway is wise in ignoring the value of the evidence of the Bakchai in this regard. The Mahābhāsya furnishes us with evidence parallel to that of the Bakchai, but of a clearer and simpler kind.

The other argument of consequence brought against the position of Dr. Farnell rests on the view that there is very little connexion between Dionysos and the goat.1 This, however, is only proved by explaining away all the evidence. Apart from clear references to the sacrifice of goats to Dionysos,2 involving in some cases a sacramental meal,3 there is the most significant legend of the sacrifice of a goat to Dionysos Aigobolos at Potniai.4 The legend recounts that in drunken orgy a priest of the god was slain and as atonement a youth was offered until the god permitted the sacrifice of a goat instead. can be no doubt that this is a legend of the ceremonial slaying of the representative of the god, and that the god was conceived as in goat form. Professor Ridgeway 5 disposes of this case by pointing out that the goat was not the original victim, thus completely ignoring the epithet Aigobolos (which he gives incorrectly as Tragobolos) taken in conjunction with the slaying of the priest and the reason of the substitution. It is true that, apart from the satyrs of the satyric drama, the satyrs of Arion's dithyramb, and perhaps the tragic choruses of Sikyon, we do

¹ Cults of the Greek States, v, 78 seq.

 $^{^2}$ e.g. Servius ad En. viii, 343: "caper quæ est hostia Libero propria," which is of special value as showing the intimate connexion; see also Farnell, v, 303.

³ The assertions of Arnobius (adv. Nat. v, 19) and Lactantius Placidus (ad Stat. Theb. v, 159) are supported by the inscription at Mykonos in Dittenb. Syll. 373, 27, which seems to refer to a sacramental meal.

⁴ Paus. ix, 8. 1, 2. Dionysos was Melanaigis at Eleutherai and Hermione and in the Apatouria.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 81.

not find in classical Greece any direct record of dances by men in goat-skins ($\tau\rho\dot{a}\gamma\alpha$) in honour of Dionysos, but there were $\ddot{a}\rho\kappa\tau\alpha$, maidens who danced in bear-skins in honour of Artemis of Brauron, and $\tau a\hat{v}\rho\alpha$ who honoured the bull-god Poseidon, and the train of argument is completed by the $\tau\rho a\gamma\eta\phi\dot{\delta}\rho\alpha$, maidens in goat-skins, who performed a formal function in honour of the god, and the Argive–Eubæan legend of men dressing in goat-skins also in honour of the god. Add to these the goat-skin clad maidens of Northern Thrace and any real doubt of the existence of $\tau\rho\dot{a}\gamma\alpha$ must disappear, nor can we doubt that the goat-skin was worn, not as the oldest garb of Greece, but as the means of attaining community with the vegetation spirit in its goat form.

The evidence of the Mahābhāṣya, however, carries us further. It is a clear defect in the version of the origin of tragedy given by Dr. Farnell ⁵ that it throws over the Aristotelian account of its development from the dithyramb and its gradual acquisition of dignity. Dr. Farnell holds that the original drama was tragic, and so far he agrees with Professor Ridgeway, who also lays stress on the mournful character of its origin and its rigid distinction from the satyric drama. But in the Mahābhāṣya the two parties of granthikas, "reciters," who represent the feelings of either side, do so by words alone (śabdagranthanamātram), that is to say, they do not act as do the śaubhikas. Surely we have here in perfect form the dithyramb on its way to complete drama, as it has

¹ Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, ii, 434 seqq. ; Arist. Lys. 645.

² Farnell, op. cit. iv, 26; v, 233; Athen. 425 E.

³ Hesychius, s.v.

⁴ Farnell, op. cit. v, 233, 328; Paus. ii, 23. 1.

⁵ Op. cit. v, 233. ⁶ Op. cit. p. 108.

⁷ te 'pi hi teşām (i.e. Kṛṣṇa, Kaṃsa, and their followers) utpattiprabhrty ā vināšād buddhir vyācakṣānāḥ sato buddhiviṣayān prakāšayanti; ataš ca sataḥ vyāmiṣrā drṣyante kecid Kamsabhaktā bhavanti kecid Vāsudevabhaktāḥ; varnānyatvam khalv api puṣyanti, kecid kālamukhā bhavanti, kecid raktamukhāḥ; see Weber, Ind. Stud. xiii, 354 seqq., 488 seqq.

regularly been conceived in reconstructing the probable history of drama as sketched by Aristotle. No doubt the drama already existed at the time of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the dithyrambic form has not disappeared as a species of art.

Dr. Farnell objects to the ordinary theory on the ground that the dithyramb appears to have had no mimetic element and to have been connected rather with the bullgod than the goat-god. Neither objection appears to have any justification, and the disadvantages of the view are seen in the only effective part of Professor Ridgeway's criticism.1 That the dithyramb was especially and probably at first exclusively connected with Dionysos is proved by its mention in Archilochos (670 B.C.), who calls it Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν μέλος, apparently identifying it with Dionysos.² He adds that he knows how to start it (ἐξάρξαι) when his mind is smitten with wine, which hardly fits in with Professor Ridgeway's 3 theory that the "earliest dithyrambs of which we hear were grave and solemn hymns rather than rude licentious vintage songs". The next notice of importance of the dithyramb is the record 4 that Arion at Corinth, about 600 B.C., introduced satyrs speaking in metre. Now Aischylos 5 and Euripides 6 show beyond doubt that the satyrs in the satyric drama wore goat-skins, so that we have for the

¹ The Origin of Tragedy, pp. 86 seqq.

³ Op. cit. p. 38.

⁵ Fragm. 207.

² Fragm. 72. According to Bywater, Aristotle on the Art of Poetry, pp. 134, 135, the sense is "compose and teach to the chorus" as in Herodotus, i, 23, where διδάσκεν is used. This interpretation makes no difference to the argument. It should be noted that Archilochos' dithyramb may have been a literary form, not sung by satyrs. But this we do not know.

⁴ Suidas, s.v. Arion; Solon in his elegies is said to have referred to him as introducing τη̂s τραγφδίας δρ \hat{a} μα; see Rabe, Rhein. Mus. lxiii, 150; Dieterich, op. cit. p. 170.

⁶ Cyclops, 74-81. On the other hand, satyrs as opposed to actors in the satyric drama were horse-shaped; see Ridgeway, p. 72.

dithyramb evidence more than adequate to show that it was sung by satyrs clad in goat-skins in honour of Dionysos, for Pindar¹ tells us that Arion's dithyramb at Corinth was in honour of Dionysos, and there is not a scrap of early evidence for a non-Dionysiac dithyramb; that it was gradually extended to other topics is, of course, natural and intelligible, and has always been recognized, but the extension affords no ground for denial of its original connexion.²

In face of this evidence it cannot really be said that the dithyramb is connected solely with the bull-god, i.e. Dionysos in another form, the bull being a suitable incarnation for a vegetation spirit. Nor is it reasonable to deny the mimetic character of the dithyramb. It must have expressed the deeds of Dionysos; clearly it was danced and sung, and must have served as effectively as the recitation of the granthikas to reproduce the emotions of the followers of Dionysos in his adventures. When we add to this the ease of the development of the drama from the separation of persons through the introduction of a spoken part by the man who commenced or composed $(\epsilon \xi \acute{a} \rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu)^3$ the dithyramb, the traditional

¹ Ol. xiii, 18, 19; the reference is clearly to Arion.

² Simonides (556-467 B.C.) is said to have composed dithyrambs called Europa and Memnon; see Fragm. 27, 28; Strabo, p. 619, 43. But even Lasos is not said to have composed non-Dionysiac dithyrambs, though Ridgeway, pp. 8, 9, assumes that he did. Both are too late to be evidence of the early dithyramb. The nineteenth (eighteenth) of Bacchylides' Odes was held by Kenyon (p. 185) to be a dithyramb because of the introduction of an allusion to Dionysos' birth; cf. Plato, Legg. 700 B, where the dithyramb is associated with the birth of Dionysos. Jebb, pp. 38 seqq., classifies xiv-xix as dithyrambs, xiv and xviii being really connected with Dionysos, xv and xvii perhaps performed by a chorus (xvii is in dialogue), and the other two being merely formally so called.

³ Arist. Poet. c. 4; cf. Archilochos, loc. cit.; Pollux, iv, 123, who tells us that even before Thespis some one got upon an $\lambda \lambda \delta \sigma_s$, or ancient table, and held a dialogue with the members of the chorus. Aristotle, as reported by Themistios (Or. xxvi, p. 382), ascribed the introduction of $\delta \eta \sigma \sigma_s$ to Thespis.

account of the growth of tragedy, written within a couple of centuries of its origin, appears to be established beyond all reasonable possibility of doubt. Nor, again, is it possible to accept Dr. Farnell's insistence on the serious character of the early ritual. The modern parallels from Thrace are certainly not overburdened with sadness, and the essence of the ritual is its double side, the tragedy of the death and the joy of the revival of the vegetation spirit.1 It is much more in keeping with primitive thought to find these sides closely allied than to believe in a solemn ritual of death alone, and the earlier mummeries, now lost, no doubt showed in combination those elements which in separation gave us tragedy and satyric drama, and thus most naturally is to be explained the strong comic element seen, for example, in Aischvlos' Agamemnon, but never wholly unknown to his plays. With this probable development corresponds the tradition not only of Aristotle but also of Arion's achievement, for Suidas calls him "inventor of the tragic turn".2 and it is no great effort of imagination to assume

Lykourgos, Il. vi, 132 seqq.

¹ This is seen in the *Bakchai*, with its triumph of Dionysos and the agony of Pentheus. The two sides are adumbrated in the tale of

² τραγικοῦ τρόπου εύρετής; cf. Mahaffy, Greek Classical Literature, I, i, 221, 222. The question of the tragic character of tragedy is explained by Dieterich, op. cit. pp. 163-96, as due to the fact that in addition to the Dionysiac side of tragedy there was the element of threnoi as seen at the Anthesteria, a public mourning for the dead; the masked dancers are the spirits of the dead. Dionysos is surrounded by the souls of the dead; in spring the earth becomes fruitful anew and the souls of the forefathers arise; Dionysos, the god of the fruitfulness, of the new life, is god of the dead; the phallic demons of fruitfulness and the soul demons are one, a view which Murray accepts as well as Ridgeway's theory. This theory is, indeed, really more probable than Ridgeway's but is not so simple, and it is fair to add that Dieterich (pp. 181-6) adds as a probable influence the dromena at Eleusis, the tale of Persephone and Demeter. But he definitely refuses to admit that there was any trace of the death of a god, whether in goat or bull form (p. 175); the epiphania of Dionysos shows him entering the city on his ship (borne in a car), for he has come from afar to bring new life. But this theory has the great disadvantage of ignoring the peculiar tradition of the god, seen clearly in the Bakchai and in the prevalence of Pentheus as a title of

that it is to him that we owe the commencement of the differentiation of the Attic drama as tragic, as it would seem to have been in the hands of Thespis, who wrote, inter alia, a drama with the significant title of Pentheus. But much may be due in tragic emphasis, as Dieterich argued, to the influence of Eleusis on Aischylos, much also to the genius of Aischylos.

On its merits, therefore, and apart from the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya, Aristotle's account of tragedy seems to demand full adherence. The evidence of that text adds to the theoretical probability of the Aristotelian version the unexpected parallel of an actual stage in development, which is not directly recorded in Greek literature. The only way to minimize the value of the evidence is to declare that the Mahābhāṣya, which dates probably about 145 B.C.,² perhaps later, is recording a state of affairs introduced from Greece, and it is as well to point out how many improbabilities are involved in such an assumption. The text recognizes the expression of a dramatic theme, the death of Kaṃsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, by two parties of "actors", who do not use action proper, i.e. who are in

drama, and it ignores also the overwhelming evidence adduced by Frazer for the killing of the spirit of vegetation and the assumption by the spirit of vegetation of animal shapes. Nor is its view of the dancers on the whole supported by adequate evidence; it remains a hypothesis, and not a very attractive one.

¹ Cf. Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, pp. 58 seq. The attribution of dramas to Thespis is uncertain because of the tradition that Herakleides Pontikos wrote tragedies and ascribed them to him. Ridgeway thinks that he divorced the chorus and dithyramb tragedy from connexion with a single tomb and carted it round (cf. Horace, A.P. 275, 276) to fairs and markets as a pastime. But this is pure guesswork, and if A.P. l.c. does represent facts Thespis seems not to have attained the creation of tragedy proper, as the reference is rather to comedy (cf. Christ, Gesch. der Griech. Lit. p. 175). Dieterich, op. cit. p. 174, makes the attractive suggestion that the plaustra of Horace is an allusion to the currus navalis of the epiphania of the god. More probably Thespis' merit lay in a development of dialogue between his chorus and single actor, in accordance with Aristotle's statement that he invented πρόλογόν τε και βήσυν to add to the simple songs of the chorus; above, p. 420, n. 3.

² Weber, Ind. Stud. xiii, 309-19; Keith, Aitareya Aranyaka, p. 23.

effect performing a dithyramb; it recognizes also the full action, and it knows of actors who also sing; and on the other hand we have no reliable evidence of any performance of Greek plays,2 or still less of dithyrambs, in India. It is most clearly the case that in certain departments Greek influence is known in India, but it is equally certain that where it did exist it has left very conspicuous traces. while such traces cannot be found at all in the Indian Nor is there wanting abundant evidence for possibilities of drama in India. The ritual was full of dramatic elements,3 and the Mahāvrata rite preserves to us the traces of a ritual similar to the slaying of Kamsa. A Śūdra and an Ārya contend for a white round skin,4 symbol of the sun, and the Sudra is defeated, though in the mild ritual of the Brahmanas the Sūdra is not apparently slain. But there is one salient distinction between Indian and Greek drama which adds to the improbability of the derivation of the former from the The Indian drama must end happily, just as Krsna kills Kamsa, the red the black, rather than the black the red, as in our source of the Greek drama, the death of Xanthos at the hands of Melanthos and Dionysos Melanaigis, and it is quite probable that the different stress upon the tragic and happy sides depends on a difference in the festival from which the dramas were in the main derived, in the Attic case a winter festival, in the Indian a spring festival giving the tone.

¹ It does not definitely appear whether the śaubhikas actually acted and spoke their parts, but the Mahābhāṣya knows of naṭas, "actors," who speak and sing (naṭasya śrnoti, naṭasya śrosyāmaḥ, i, 4. 29; agāsīn naṭaḥ, ii, 4. 77), and it is difficult to suppose that the combination of action and speech was not in use.

² Cf. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, pp. 347 seqq., 414 seqq.; my note, JRAS. 1909, p. 208.

³ e.g. the vast ritual of the horse sacrifice with its great animation, the Rājasūya, the Vājapeya, and others.

⁴ Kāthaka Samhitā, xxxiv, 5; Pañcavimšā Brāhmana, v, 5, 14 seqq. (in the comm. on 14 read parimandale švete); Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, xxi, 19, 9-12; Keith, Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, p. 78.

It is, of course, true that there remain many lacunæ in the derivation of Greek drama, and Dr. Farnell readily admits their existence. It is not clear exactly how tragedy became attached to the Greater Dionysia nor why it became so strangely developed at Athens. But arguments against the theory based on these lacunæ such as are urged by Professor Ridgeway are clearly beside the mark; for his own theory makes no attempt whatever to fill the lacuna between "tragic choruses" in honour of the dead and real drama.2 It is no part of Dr. Farnell's theory that it was a particular cult of Dionysos as Melanaigis that led to tragedy, and so it is useless to argue³ that tragedy should have been connected with the Apatouria and have been developed early; all that is claimed is that tragedy is a development, specifically Attic in character, of a mystic ritual connected with Dionysos, as a vegetation spirit in goat shape. development requires the essential change of a dramatic ritual into a ritual drama, and the literary dithyramb appears to have formed the connecting link, being as it seems the reducing to literary form and order of a part only—the song4—of theritual. This gradually was extended

¹ Cults of the Greek States, v, 237.

² Epigenes of Sikyon is invoked as a producer of tragedy which did not deal with Dionysos and as developing the tragic choruses (Ridgeway, pp. 58, 67, 68). But we know all but absolutely nothing about him, and what we do know (Zenob. v, 4; Suidas, s.v. οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόννοον) is based on the assumption that tragedy in his day dealt with Dionysos and not with the deaths of heroes. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful if he did more than write dithyrambs; so Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, pp. 22, 25; Mahaffy, Greek Classical Literature, I, i, 223. The point which Ridgeway ignores is that the dithyramb had already been extended to other topics before tragedy first arose, and therefore had no need to stick to Dionysiac topics. His account of the orthodox origin of drama (p. 2) is really quite unfair. It is easy to overthrow an imaginary opponent.

³ Ridgeway, pp. 75-7.

⁴ The exact points in the development must be uncertain; Haigh, op. cit. pp. 19-21, takes the view that Arion introduced conversations between the chorus and the leader (cf. Pollux, iv, 123), but that depends on pressing the word λέγοντας in Suidas, s.v. Arion, and this development

to take in much more and to result in the drama proper, which is a conscious representation and no longer a presentation, such as is the miscalled "drama" of the Veddahs of Ceylon.

It is true, however that there must be reckoned with in Attic tragedy another element which is probably of less importance in Sanskrit drama. Aristotle is very unjustly accused by Professor Ridgeway¹ of being confused in his account of the origin of tragedy because he ascribes it in one place to those who began the dithyramb,2 and in another³ lays stress on the connexion of the epic with the drama. But the genesis of drama lay in the action of those who began or composed the dithyramb, for it was their action which started the spoken part which differentiates drama from other forms of literature; tragedy is neither dithyramb nor epic, and its special character is doubtless greatly due to the grafting upon it of the heroic life of the epic. Aischylos 4 recognized his deep debt to the "banquets of Homer", and the decisive change of character which leaves Dionysos but one of the subjects of tragedy appears to have been due to the epic; nor is this wonderful when it is remembered how emphatic

seems rather, as held by Aristotle, to be due to Thespis. According, however, to Rabe, Rhein. Mus. lxiii, 150, a fragment mentions Solon in his elegies as ascribing to Arion some connexion with tragedy (τη̂s δὲ τραγωδίας πρώτον δράμα . . . εἰσήγαγεν). But this need not mean more than that he was τραγικοῦ τρόπου εύρετής, as Suidas tells us. Comedy proper in Greece has a different origin in ritual cathartic cursing; see Farnell, v, 211, 212. For such ribaldry we have a curious parallel in the Vedic alσχρολογία in the horse sacrifice (Taittirīya Samhitā, vii, 4, 19; Kāthaka Samhitā, Aśvamedha, iv, 8; Maitrāyanī Samhitā, iii, 12, 20; Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xxiii, 18-32) and the exchange of abuse by a Brahmacārin and a hetaira at the Mahāvrata (Keith, Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, p. 79). Traces of this form of ritual may be seen in the farces of the later Sanskrit stage. Dieterich, op. cit. p. 167, thinks that satyric drama and comedy have one origin, but this seems only true if the ritual of the worship of Dionysos is regarded as a whole; the different sides of that worship produce different literary forms.

¹ The Origin of Tragedy, pp. 7, 57. ² c. 4. ³ Ibid.

⁴ τεμάχη τῶν 'Ομήρου δείπνων, Athen. 347 E.

was the value placed on the epic by Athens and how marked the placed assigned to it according to the tradition by Peisistratos.¹ Athens was precisely the place where we would expect to find, as we do find, the drama under the controlling power of the epic. It is, then, no wonder that Greek drama deals far from exclusively with the Dionysiac cycle from which it drew its origin. The gulf between ritual and drama is very wide.²

¹ It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the legend about Peisistratos yields little or no support to the theory of the debt of the present form of the Homeric poems to his action (see Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 281-8, and cf. Murray, pp. 212 seqq.). But there is the evidence of Isokrates (*Paneg.* p. 74) and Lykourgos (adr. Leokr. 102) for the

attention paid at Athens to the epic.

² Some minor points may be added in this note. (1) The contrast drawn between the Attic Xanthos of Boiotia and the dark-haired aboriginal Neleid Melanthos is only justifiable by the theory held by Professor Ridgeway that the aborigines of Greece were the dark-haired Mediterranean race akin to the Lycians, that they spoke Greek, and that the Achaians and other invaders were Celtic. But there is much more probability that there is a further stage, namely, before the latest invaders the Dorians (who were, no doubt, closely connected in race with the earlier Greek invaders, and like them, being Arvans, allied to the Celto-Teutonic races, though Ridgeway believes that the Dorians were dark Thracians or Illyrians, matriarchal in character), earlier Greek invaders, the Ionians, and other tribes who brought the Greek tongue and imposed it on the more primitive race, in which case the Neleid cannot be assumed to have been black-haired. It seems that the earlier civilization is that of the Mediterranean race; the reading of the Cretan discoveries will decide if they spoke Greek or not. Cf. Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece; Who were the Dorians? Burrows, Discoveries in Crete, pp. 146-62, 163 seqq., 196 seqq., 202 seqq.; Hall, Oldest Civilisation of Greece, pp. 94 seqq.; Journ. Hell. Stud. xxv, 324; Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic 2, pp. 61 seqq. It is asserted by Ridgeway (p. 120) that Orestes and his sister recognized each other by their blond hair, being Achaians from the north (so Tucker, Chaphori, pp. lx seqq.); Achaians are not Dorians in the tradition, but are opposed to the Dorians, so that we seem reduced to realize even on his own theory that there were different waves of people from the north, and the theory of a gradual penetration of Greece by Aryan peoples bringing the Greek tongue appears most probable; cf. Hall, Annals of British School at Athens, xi, 222.

(2) This consideration applies with great force to Professor Ridgeway's ingenious attempt to prove that in the Supplices and the Eumenides Aischylos as a reformer is defending the recognition of the binding character of the marriage tie, the change from exogamy to endogamy,

and the abolition of the matriarchy, coupled with the supremacy of the religion of Zeus and Apollo, introduced mainly through the influence of Homer. As proof of the early prevalence of matriarchy in Athens he cites the case of the Lycians (Herod. i, 173), who were, he says, allied with the Greeks in blood, a statement which he does not attempt to prove, and which is true only if we take the oldest strata of population, who were, in the ordinary acceptation of Greeks as those speaking an Arvan tongue, pre-Greek, for Lycian is generally held not to be an Indo-European speech (Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Gesch. der Griech. Sprache. DD. 289 segg.). The Spaniards of Cantabria (Strabo, p. 137, 30) were apparently in like case to the Lycians, and there is some, though not decisive, evidence of matriarchy among parts of the Mediterranean race, though Murray, op. cit. pp. 67, n. 1, 98, with wonted lightheartedness. accepts it sans phrase, and Myres, Anthropology and the Classics, pp. 153 segg., seems to accept it. Then he adds that in Athens in Isaios' time endogamy was usual, as shown by the rule that an "heiress" was expected to marry the next-of-kin, and indeed was no more than a burden on the estate $(\partial \pi i \kappa \lambda \eta \rho o s)$ —the term "heiress" is misleading in this regard. But endogamy had once been the rule under matriarchy, and a survival is seen in the rule that half-brothers and half-sisters by the same father could marry, not, however, those by the same mother. This is, however, clearly no argument at all: Attic law (like Egyptian law) to preserve the estate developed the system of allowing an intermarriage, though it never allowed (as did Egyptian law) full brother and sister to marry. It therefore allowed those with one father to marry, but not those with one mother, natural relationship prevailing over the dictates of property. But that exogamy ever was the rule in Athens is not even hinted at in any authority. In the Supplices the maidens who flee from marriage with a cousin are evidently hard for the king to understand, for he argues with them in the best Attic style, and enuntiates a principle of private international law of great interest. "If the sons of Aigyptos," he says, "have power over thee by the law of the city, claiming it on the base of kinship, who would care to oppose them? Therefore must thou defend thyself according to the laws of thy house, on the ground that they have no power over thee," a clear assertion that domicile is the rule regarding personal relations. When it is remembered that the king compares them to Egyptians, Libyans, or Amazons, it can hardly be denied that Aischylos is not discussing a question of burning moment at Athens. Still less does the Eumenides avail. The guilt of slaying a mother is a grave one, and the prosecution makes a strong case in favour of the close connexion of son and mother, but the triumph of the opposite view is complete and doubtless in harmony with Athenian feeling, which sympathized, despite its love to succour the oppressed, with the splendid falsehood of Hypermnestra. Nothing can be made of the argument used in the Eumenides, 201 seqq., that a woman is not kindred to her husband, for the Attic law even in the fourth century recognized that a woman by marriage did not cease to be of her father's family; the father could, if he liked, divorce her from her husband, and on her husband's death she could return to her father's family

if she wished (see Gardner-Jevons, Greek Antiquities, pp. 553 seqq.). The laws of Gortyn also recognize fully the male predominance, despite their proximity to Lycia, and their innovations in favour of the female are no doubt rightly attributed by Jevons to advanced ideas, not to survivals of matriarchy. Aischylos was a reformer, no doubt, but his reforms lay not in these matters, but in his spiritual conception of God, and it is curious that Professor Ridgeway should still cling (p. 204) to the improbable theory of his defence of the Areopagos (cf. Haigh, op. cit. pp. 56, 57, with Jevons, Greek Literature, p. 196; the defence of the Argive alliance in Eumenides, 721 seqq., is not really consistent with a defence of the Areopagos, which clearly must have preferred the Spartan alliance).

(3) The view that the Bacchants were merely Thracian maidens is no doubt correct, but it is difficult to say if the same explanation (pp. 11, 12) applies to the Satyrs, Sileni, Hermenoi, Sauadai, and Deuadai, and like companies, who were, it seems, all real Thracian aboriginal tribes, addicted to tattooing and lax morality; von Schroeder (Mysterium und Minus, pp. 476 seqq.) argues that the spirits of the dead and the mimetic dances in imitation of them, with their power of evoking reproduction, lie at the bottom of these legends, but it is certainly probable that the explanation of these curious figures of myth is simply the dances for vegetative magic, in which the worshippers assumed the semblance of the god, the vegetative spirit in some animal form. This lies at the bottom of the modern Thracian rites, and the legend of satyrs and their variants could easily be derived thence. This view saves us from the necessity of seeing in the satyrs any distinct tribes of aborigines;

any performers of the rites could give rise to the myth.

(4) The prominence of the worship of the dead, their tombs, ghosts, the kommoi and threnoi found in Aischylos, and also to some degree in Sophokles and Euripides, cannot be used (pp. 131, 162) to prove the origin of drama. Drama as in Aischvlos is really in kind different from the primitive material from which it emerged, and it deals with the great questions of the day and the religious feelings of the time, in which the care of the dead undoubtedly played a great part, as it did in Vedic India and in Persia. Nor must Aischvlos' connexion with Eleuses and the probable influence of the mysteries be ignored; cf. Arist. Ran. 886 seq.: Δήμητερ ή θρέψασα την έμην φρένα, είναι με τῶν σῶν άξιον μυστηρίων. In this regard Professor Ridgeway seems to lay too much stress on the aboriginal character of reverence of the dead, and on the fact that burning was the only Homeric custom, as showing that the Homeric conception was totally opposed to reverence of the dead. Homer is dealing with the exceptional circumstances of foreign wars (cf. Dörpfeld, Mélanges Nicole, pp. 95 seqq.), and the care for the dead is in his poems extremely well marked, e.g. as regards Patroklos; he may even represent a stratum of thought rather than a complete racial change; cf. Lang, Homer and his Age, pp. 101 seqq.; The World of Homer, pp. 105-12.

(5) The acceptance by Professor Ridgeway (p. 164) of the legend that Themistokles sacrificed before Salamis three Persian captives to Dionysos

Professor Oldenberg has been so good as to send me a copy of an article in which he has, with his usual ability and learning, defended his conception of the Vedic

Omestes seems unfair to that great man, even if we accept the version of Plutarch in *Them.* 13, that he did so of necessity at the demand of those around him on the bidding of the seer Euphrantides. But it rests only on the evidence of Phanias of Lesbos, writing two hundred years later, it is not noticed in Herodotos, and it can safely be put down as a lie (cf. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 34, and see Grote's criticism, *History*, iv, 227, n.). It is, however, true that here and there human sacrifices long survived in Greece (cf. Farnell, v, 303, and see Murray, pp. 326-31), though again it is doubtful if in Pausanias' time human sacrifice was made on the Lycæan mount in Arcadia. Pausanias (viii, 38, 7) hints at it, but this may be merely a case where he quotes his authority without vouching for his own time.

(6) Professor Ridgeway takes great pains to show that the Dorians were not the originators of tragedy, and declares (p. 2) that "it has been universally assumed that the Dorians were the inventors of tragedy". But I cannot find any evidence of such assumption; see e.g. Haigh, op. cit. p. 25, and Jevons, op. cit. p. 190, who see matters in a truer perspective.

(7) The view that the Anthesteria was properly and solely a great festival of the dead, put forward by Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 34 seqq., and accepted by Professor Ridgeway (p. 50), is relied upon to prove the evidence of pre-Dionysia choruses in honour of the dead;

it is sufficiently refuted by Farnell, v, 219 seqq.

(8) It is difficult to follow Professor Ridgeway's elaborate investigation of the meaning of thymele (pp. 39-48) and his conclusion that as there were two altars there were two cults. The θυμέλη, as he himself admits. is the place of the offering of burnt-sacrifice to the god, round which the chorus naturally danced; that a chorus could dance round a tomb is perfectly true, but a tomb is not called and could not be called θυμέλη, for the dead receive no burnt-offerings (cf. his own clever rendering (p. 137) of εμπύρους τ'ορθοστάτας in Eur. Hel. 574), and the theory that an altar replaced a tomb is gratuitous. There was also on the stage as a rule (Pollux, iv, 123; Aisch. Ag. 1080) a βωμός of Apollo Aguieus, but it is a mere conjecture that this was really an old gravestone, and the author's argument rests on the supposed substitution of a θυμέλη for a tomb. On the other hand, he seems right in correcting Haigh's view (Attic Theatre2, pp. 106, 107) that the table which may have stood beside the θυμέλη was used by the leader of the chorus as a place to stand upon and converse with the chorus. That is called exects in Pollux, iv. 123, and was presumably an ordinary table, and the notice in Et. Magn. s.v. θυμέλη is apparently confused; it does not yield the sense desired by Haigh in θυμέλη = table on which the choir leader stood, nor is Ridgeway's version satisfactory.

¹ Gött. Nach. 1911, pp. 441-68.

Akhyāna, as a narration in prose in which at the points of heightened interest verses, whether narrative or dialogue, are found. On this defence I desire to offer the following observations, premising that the question at issue is the early existence of such a form of literature and its legitimate application to the interpretation of Vedic hymns, these being the theories which to me seem improbable, and that in the absence of any direct tradition in the Vedic literature of such a form it is incumbent on its supporters to prove their case, not merely to show that it is possible. My position is that such proof has not yet been adduced.

1. It is admitted and emphasized in my paper 1 that there exists an Indian type of literature of quite reasonably early date-but not early Vedic-which gives us verses embedded in prose. But this literature is distinguished from the Akhyana type postulated by Professor Oldenberg by the fact that the verses are citations,2 excerpts from the floating mass of traditional gnomic literature or other source. Professor Oldenberg³ now suggests that this is a subform of the Akhyana, a development of the older type of Akhyana. For this view he neither adduces any ground, nor can I conceive of any. The form of literature is a simple one, and in India a common one. I find no ground for denying its independent origin. Take Professor Oldenberg's own examples of this form: in Maitrāyaņī Samhitā, iv, 8. 1,5 in a narrative the Brahmin answers the question of his Brahminhood by the verse-

kim brāhmaņasya pitaram kim u prehasi mātaram śrutam ced asmin vedyam sa pitā sa pitāmahah.

¹ JRAS. 1911, pp. 979-95.

² Neither Hertel, VOJ. xxiv, 122 seqq., nor I have maintained that none of the citations are composed by the author of the prose. The earlier style, in my view, is where they are not so composed (op. cit. p. 986, n. 1).

³ Op. cit. p. 451. ⁴ Op. cit. p. 464.

⁵ Kāthaka Samhitā, xxx, 1; Kapisthala, xlvi, 4.

Surely it is not open to doubt that this is merely a quotation, probably of a popular Brahminical verse; how can it help the Akhyana theory? The next case is the Satapatha Brāhmana, xi, 5, 5, where in the middle of prose are verses in which the gods speak to Prajapati, he to the gods, and the Danavas (according to Professor Oldenberg, but not to Professor Eggeling 1) also speak. But the verses are given precisely in xi, 5. 5. 12 as a quotation and are obviously a quotation, and so prove nothing; similar quotations are not rare, e.g. Aitareya Āranyaka, ii, 3. 8,2 and this form of literature is surely a natural one. So in the Chandogya Upanisad, v, 11, Aśvapati Kaikeya quotes a verse on the virtue of his kingdom (na me steno janapade na kadaryo na madyapaḥ, nānāhitāgnir nāvidvān na svairī svairiņī kutah), which is not merely gnomic but also, as the form and the word svairī show, late. In the Katha Upanisad, as Professor Oldenberg urges, I see a closer approach to the Akhyana type he postulates, and he claims this as a support for his theory, as the Upanisad is clearly a pre-Buddhist text. But I regret that to this claim I cannot agree. I pointed out that the older Vedic version of the legend in the Taittirīya Brāhmana, iii, 11. 8, is in prose, not verse; that version is pre-Buddhistic,3 but I cannot say if the verse version is, and in any case it is no proof for early Vedic literature. But what is more serious, the verse form with mingled prose cannot be reasonably claimed as primitive. What are the facts? The Upanisads show either (a) prose with occasional quoted verses, like the verses in the Brhadāranyaka, the Chāndogya, and the Aitareya or Kauşitaki; (b) mixed prose and verse, the verses now forming with the prose

¹ SBE. xliv, 95. I am not sure if Eggeling is not right, but the point is indifferent to the inquiry.

² See my note ad loc.

³ The parallel with the Māra legend is proof of that (cf. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 225). But the Upanisad is not the legend.

an integral whole, e.g. in some slight measure the Katha and a better example the Kena; and (c) pure verse, as the Iśā, Śvetāśvatara, Mundaka, and often in the later Upanisads. Can anyone doubt that the second form is a natural development of the first? The use of quoted verses leads to turning part of the narrative into verse, and a new literary form emerges, not a revival or remnant of an old Akhyana form. Later a whole Upanisad, originally in prose form, may have been transmuted into verse, or an original Upanisad composed in verse. In this case Professor Oldenberg's theory is not only unnecessary but it is most improbable. If the early Upanisads had taken the Akhyana form something might have been said for his view: unhappily the older 1 Upanisads, like the Brhadāranyaka, the Chāndogya, the Aitareya, even the Kauṣītaki, show only quoted verses, and worst of all the Taittirīya Brāhmana, as has been seen, gives the older prose version. There remains, then, only the Chandogya Upanisad, iv, 3, which is probably a case of quoted verses being worked into a narrative, for the verses are mystic and no doubt traditional.

2. Nor are we carried further by the case of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tale of Śunaḥśepa. I may remark that the part of the Brāhmaṇa which contains the legend is beyond all doubt late,² and the mention of the names Kali, Dvāpara, etc., whatever their signification,³ is late, so that even if this were an Ākhyāna the evidence would be of little value for early Vedic literature. But, unhappily, the whole of the first verse passage (vii, 13) seems to be culled from gnomic sources; at any rate, to deny that it may

³ See Vedic Index, ii, 193.

¹ Professor Oldenberg would no doubt admit the priority of these Upanisads to the *Katha*. The evidence for it is given by Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp. 22 seqq.; cf. Keith, *Aitareya Āranyaka*, pp. 41 seqq.

² See e.g. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 205; Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I, xxx; Keith, Aitareya Āranyaka, pp. 30-3.

be so culled is logically impossible, and any other theory must prove itself, not claim to be self-evident. And the Ākhyāna theory has this unfortunate difficulty, which Professor Oldenberg with his usual candour admits, but which he does not successfully explain away. The prose tells us of Parvata and Nārada dwelling with the king, and of the latter questioning Narada and of his reply, but the verses attributed to Nārada contain (v, 7) the plural brahmāno. Why should this be if this is a true Akhyāna? There is no satisfactory answer forthcoming; Nārada should address the king, not non-existent Brahmins. But if it is a quoted verse the plural is at once explained. No doubt if the Akhyana form were an established fact this detail might be neglected, but the theory of the form is so largely built on the Sunahsepa legend that the detail becomes of vital importance. Nor can I see any real reason to doubt that the tale of Hariscandra and Rohita is based on the verses containing the name Rohita, taken from a gnomic poem. Professor Oldenberg deprecates such distrust of the narrative, but I think he can hardly criticize me after his lighthearted dismissal of the brahmāņo of vii, 13. 7. It must be remembered that I am not postulating anything unknown. The Brhaddevatā is a standing monument of the bogus Itihāsa traditions which surround the Rgveda; the Rgvidhāna is another; and Professor Oldenberg himself 1 admits that they are bogus. Why may I not see in the Aitareya a similar legend? Be it remembered that the Aitareya in this part is no very early text; on the contrary, it is decidedly late. Take, again, the last element of the verse, the dialogue of Ājīgarta, Sunahsepa, Visvāmitra, and his sons in vii, 17 and 18. This is in itself a whole, and it is most essential to note that it is not an Akhyāna form. From the beginning (vii, 17. 3) to the end (vii, 18. 9) the narrative is

¹ See e.g. ZDMG. xxxvii, 79. Contrast Sieg, Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda, p. 46.

continuous in verse with connexions giving the speaker's name, save in the case of vii, 18. 1–3, where a note is inserted about the sons of Viśvāmitra, the point of which is to connect genealogically the Pulindas, Śabaras, Andhras, Puṇḍras, and Mūtibas with Viśvāmitra. Surely nothing but devotion to a preconceived theory can prevent it being realized that a genuine epos has been interpolated and commented upon. We have, in fact, another example of what is seen in perfection in the tale of Purūravas and Urvaśī as it is told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. And in this connexion perhaps it is not without significance that Professor Oldenberg says nothing in defence of the Ākhyāna theory of that tale.

3. Professor Oldenberg is not satisfied with my failure to explain my view of the Suparnādhyāya. But surely my position is simple. Professor Oldenberg calls it an Ākhyāna; Dr. Hertel is certain that it is a drama; I can see that part of it is epic, and that too plain epic, needing no Ākhyāna theory; the rest may be epic dialogue, or it may not. As I am unable myself to make any satisfactory version of the whole, and as two distinguished scholars, after elaborate studies, arrive at very different results, I conclude that the key to the solution is not yet found and probably never will be. The text is admittedly not very early, and is wretchedly preserved, and I submit confidently that to base any argument whatever upon it is to violate every principle of sound reasoning.

4. Professor Oldenberg ³ still believes that the *Rgveda* contains Ākhyāna hymns. But why was the prose omitted? Professor Oldenberg can suggest nothing better than that the verses were in some way more important, and he instances the fact that to each there was a response in the *Aitareya* [‡] ritual, of *om* after a Rc, *tathā* after a Gāthā, and he adds that it would have been inconsistent

¹ Gött. Nach. 1911, p. 461.

³ Op. cit. pp. 466-8.

² VOJ. xxiii, 273 seqq.

⁴ vii, 18. 12, 13.

to include the prose in the Raveda and would have added to its length. Now, if we were certain that the verses had been accompanied by prose, this sort of explanation might have been-reluctantly-accepted faute de mieux; when it is offered to support a theory of the nonpreservation of an original prose it becomes incredible, if we remember the steady persistence with which the prose text of the Brāhmanas has come down to us.

5. These considerations seem to me to decide the fate of the Akhyana theory for the early Vedic literature. It is not proved by a single text, it is unknown to tradition, and every argument adduced for it is open to grave objection. And that is all I set out in my article to prove. But I will notice the Pali evidence again adduced by Professor Oldenberg, as it still seems to me that no cogent proof has been adduced to show that any Jataka is really a primitive Akhyana with a modern prose replacing the old prose. I must premise that the date of the Jatakas is too late to be cogent for an early Vedic period, like that of the Mantras of the Rgveda; that seems to me obvious, and until it is denied on explicit grounds I cannot see any reason to abandon the obvious. Take now the example of prose and poetry adduced by Professor Oldenberg from the Mahāvagga. What is its literary parallel, perhaps model? Surely the form seen in the Katha Upanisad as compared with the Taittirīya Brāhmana and more clearly in the Kena Upanisad, the mixture of verse and prose which arises from a versifying of prose, probably motived by the occasional citation of verses among prose. Similarly, we may have cases of this in the Jataka, and also actual cases of the same style as is seen in the Tantrākhyāyikā, and if there are cases, as Franke² believes, where prose and verse are contemporaneous, such cases are instances analogous to Kathāsamgrahaślokas, where, as Hertel recognizes, the

¹ Gött. Nach. 1911, pp. 457, 458. ² ZDMG. Ixiii, 13.

verses are supplied by the author of the prose himself, whether as new composition or as recasting of old material; it must never be forgotten that Niti material in India seems to have been inconceivably plentiful. Professor Oldenberg has forgotten this when he is surprised 1 at my using Franke's view to illustrate my thesis.2 A Niti writer was not bound to invent nil; his use of verses of his own composition as quotations is surely perfectly simple (and a modern example is that of Dya Dviveda, author of the Nītimanjarī, who invents and explains his own Niti rules 3), though very often he could draw on the existing store. Whether in the particular case in question Franke is right in seeing contemporaneity is disputed by Professor Oldenberg, but not completely convincingly. Then in other cases we are admittedly, as Professor Oldenberg says,4 in possession of Jātakas, the verses of which are in themselves a complete whole, e.g. the Saddantajātaka, and Professor Lüders 5 actually accuses a whole Jātaka (No. 15) of birth from a misreading in a Gatha. Moreover, admittedly there were early accounts of the Buddha's life in verse proper.6 In the face of these facts what weight can be placed on the assertion that the Jatakas as they stand are really, as far as the verses are concerned, faithful replicas of old Jātakas, the prose of which has been lost? Many of the Jātakas are no more, I feel certain, than Pāli parallels of the Tantrākhyāyikā, and the verses may beand indeed often are-divorced entirely from their original sense and connexion. It is no argument against this view that in the earlier Pali texts verses are found with old prose,

¹ Gött. Nach. 1911, p. 452, n. 4.

² But I did not so use it; see op. cit. p. 986, n. 1. I only used it to show that the relation of prose and verse was not, according to a recent and careful student of the texts, as Professor Oldenberg thinks, always one of priority.

³ See Keith, JRAS. 1900, pp. 127-31; Sieg, op. cit. pp. 37 seqq.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 444, n. 3, 450, n. 1.

⁵ Gött. Nach. 1897, p. 128, n. 1. Oldenberg here abandons him, p. 449, n. 3.

⁶ Op. cit. p. 456.

for the Tantrākhyāyikā style is certainly an old one, and may easily appear in the Pāli canon—itself, be it remembered, of no very ancient date. Of course, if it be contended that the Ākhyāna style is really the Ākhyāyikā—and Professor Oldenberg seems to be tending towards this view—cadit quæstio, but also cadit the attempt of Professor Oldenberg to find explanations of Rgvedic hymns, for he does not in practice apply the Ākhyāyikā theory at all to them. The Jātakas, in fact, will not give any secure foundation for an Ākhyāna theory,¹ and they are not needed if it is merely a question of the existence of an Ākhyāyikā style.

To sum up and to avoid vagueness, I should say that it seems to me that in the Vedic literature certainly, and in the Pali literature very probably, there is no real case of the alleged Akhyana: there do occur two forms which are essentially different from it and which lend no support to the theory of its existence. These are (1) the Nīti style, prose with quoted verses, a style which endures throughout Sanskrit literature; (2) a rarer form, of prose narrative mixed with verses: this is seen in cases like the Kena Upanisad, and faintly in the Katha, and it is not rare in the Buddhist canon. It seems clearly not to be primitive, but to be derived from an older style preserved to us in the earlier Upanisads, where the verses are sporadic, and are probably older than the prose in which they are quoted and applied. The transition from prose to verse is not at all unnatural: we know that the earlier Upanisads are prose with occasional verses, that the later are pure verse (prose reviving in a still later stage, as in the Praśna Upanisad), and we see the rise of verse in such cases as Brhadāranyaka Upanisad, iv, 4.8-21, and

¹ The argument at p. 453 I do not follow. The Jātaka collection treats, of course, the verses as the really important part, because in that collection they are so, the prose being clearly subsidiary. But that tells nothing of their original condition.

Kena Upanisad, 1-13: we are therefore feigning no idle hypothesis. Now in all these cases, the prose has not disappeared: it is there, and its presence warns us that the theory that it has been lost in the case of the Akhyana is a theory for which no parallel has been adduced, and for which I venture to think no parallel can be adduced. Of course, if the theory really were useful in explaining Vedic hymns, I might be tempted to believe the impossible, but my great complaint against it and the origin of my disbelief in it is that it has so far led to nothing, in my opinion, save confusion and absurdity. We can all invent Ākhyānas, as the different theories of Mudgala show, but no one will accept another's version, nor, indeed, can I see why he should. A theory which is unsound in its basis and unsatisfactory in its results seems to me devoid of plausibility.

Imay conclude with a mild protest against the attribution to me of the view that the earliest form of the Yajurveda texts was Mantras inseparably connected with a prose explaining them and the ritual. I can see nothing whatever to justify the theory that I held so foolish an opinion: the Mantras clearly were collected before the Brāhmaṇas were composed. All I have stated—and Professor Oldenberg will certainly not dispute it—is that there existed at one period a text of the Yajurveda in which prose and Mantras were united, and which is adumbrated for us by the texts of the Taittirīya, Kāṭhaka, Kapiṣṭhala, and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās. Nothing else will account for the often verbal similarities of the prose of those texts.

¹ Gött. Nach. 1911, p. 466, n. 1.

² Op. cit. p. 488. I point out the distinction between the prose of the assumed Äkhyāna and the much less closely connected prose of the Samhitās, a fact which might have prevented the accusation. But I know how easy it is to misunderstand, and I cannot hope to have avoided the same fault with regard to others; see e.g. the complaint of Speyer in ZDMG. lxiv, 319, 320, though I still think he does regard the phenomenon discussed by me in ZDMG. lxiii, 346, in a somewhat different light than I do.

XVI

THE CHINESE BRONZE KNOWN AS THE "BUSHELL BOWL" AND ITS INSCRIPTION

By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

IN a recent paper in this Journal on "Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty in the light of Recent Discoveries", I expressed the hope that I should be able shortly to publish in the Journal a list of the characters contained in the Chinese inscription of the Bushell Bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with their Lesser Seal equivalents, and some additional forms besides.

This undertaking is carried out in the present paper, the scope of which, however, is rather wider than I then The article now includes a revised modern text of the inscription, a fresh translation into English. and a new photograph of the actual inscription taken by the authorities of the Museum, which for the first time shows every single character in complete detail, a very different presentment from those previously obtained. To reach this result has been a laborious task, and would have been impossible but for the ungrudging and continuous assistance given to me by the Museum authorities in a measure beyond what I could fairly have asked of them. I hope, however, that the now final restoration of the long text may contribute, among other things, to settle the controversy relating to the impugned genuineness of the bowl itself, and of the historical document, as I believe it to be, borne upon its inner surface.

The new translation is based upon Professor Parker's, as his was on the original rendering of the late Dr. Bushell, given in his *Chinese Art*, vol. i, pp. 85-6. I meant at first only to make such emendations as the decipherment

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of various hitherto illegible characters would render necessary. But it is a common experience that when once you meddle with another man's translation you are insensibly led on to an amount of change greater than either you at first desire or he probably deserves. So it has been with the present document. But the question of translation has been of quite secondary interest from the point of view from which this article has been composed. My object has been to present the original inscription integrally, in the first place, such as it was left on the metal of the bowl by the hand of the engraver; and, secondly, to construct, for purposes of study and reference, a comparative list of the component characters, separately and severally, with the corresponding forms of the Lesser Seal character, and certain other forms given by the Shuo Wên Dictionary, as well as a number of variants occurring on the inscribed bones of the Honan find.

In the paper published in the October number of the Journal, no reference was made to the question of the genuineness of the Bushell Bowl and of its lengthy inscription. Both, however, have been challenged by high authorities, and it would be idle to ignore the fact, nor is there in my opinion any reason to do so. For my part, after prolonged work upon the bowl and its legend, I remain on the side of the angels, and their representative -ad hoc-upon earth, Professor Parker, and opposed to the hosts of the iconoclasts led by the great names of Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière, and, in England, of Professor Giles. The decision of the issue is of more than academic and scientific interest, as the following facts serve to show. There exists a celebrated bronze antique known to Chinese connoisseurs and others as the 毛 公 鼎, Mao Kung Ting, or Cauldron of Duke Mao. This was formerly in the possession of a wealthy family of Shantung Province named Ch'ên, 陳, from whom it was

purchased less than two years ago by the late regretted ex-Viceroy Tuan Fang, for the sum of ten thousand taels, say £1,500. But this figure was a reduced one in consideration of the distinction and particular attainments of the buyer. Fifteen thousand taels had previously been offered and refused for the same specimen. We can, then, to some extent judge at what price the Bushell Bowl would now change hands among Chinese collectors, if it is a genuine antique inscribed with a genuine legend. And now to come to grips with that very question. In his Adversaria Sinica, No. 9, 1911, Professor Giles, at the end of an article on "Chinese Bronzes", has conveniently summarized the grounds of the unfaith that is in him, and I cannot do better than quote the whole passage, which is as follows:—

"With regard to the 'bowl' at the Museum, I gather from my own inspection of it, from a passing acquaintance with other bronzes, and from a careful perusal of the passages translated above,

- "(1) that the bowl itself is of doubtful antiquity;
- "(2) that the inscription was not cast with the bowl, as would have been the case with a genuine antique of the seventh century B.C., but was incised later;
- "(3) that the inscription when cut was covered at once with a varnish-enamel to conceal the fact mentioned in (2);
- "(4) that the bowl and its inscription have never been noticed by Chinese archæologists, because it was known to be a fake, for which reason, too, it was readily allowed to slip, for a consideration, from the collection of the Imperial Prince who owned it;
- "(5) that the argument against such a lengthy inscription is fully borne out by a comparison which I have made with scores of inscriptions on ancient bronzes; and finally
- "(6) that MM. Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière may be said to have gained the day."

TEXT OF THE BUSHELL BOWL INSCRIPTION

484 461 438 415 392 369 346 323 300 277 530 507 斯 對 成 申 乃 談- 辟 啟 非 于 晉 陈 1 九 親 2 讕 74 揚 命 篡 耽二 王 晉 世, 侯 萬 歸 克 天 越 服 乃 覵 E 疆 弗 3 T 子 舊 於 酉 配 在 Ż 吾 則 展 年 自 4 命二 子= 元 干 之 羣 于 牧 颹 亦 5 平 僕 先 休 辟 汝 乃 守 非 惟 6 孫二 戎 正 Ξ 獻 文 命 先 以 余 永 成 敢 爲 乃 7 實 成 人 E 外 人 爲 文 8 御 有 -+ 用 75 E 不 叔 人 虎 9 王 于 廷 不 公 亦 叔 纹 賁 10 竉 唐 率 伯 替 不 實 Ξ 11 命 叔 有 父 惟 惟 永 憂 惠 勞 終 12 晉 文 汝 余 征 命 王 貪 于 百 13 侯 侯 晉 往 惟 外 温 余 E منسو 于 14 再 誠 侯 哉 人 伐 於 禍 用 原 ___ 15 再 吾 有 惟 臄 克 堇 拜 H 人 亂 16 稽 丙 拜 命 顯 討 頼 叔 惟 鷹 樊 17 首 申 稽 不 罰 惟 以 父 戎 吾 陘 18 首 敢 告 重 晉 篤 寧 余 竉 無 臺 19 對 功 惟 侯 惟 譯 余 懋 厭 命 六 20 于 _ 揚 惟 再 來 惟 乃 東頁 有 邑 21 祖 月 王 汝 拜 汝 惟 丕 世二光 之 22 休 告 甲 念 稽 用 嘉 生 顯 于 田 23 午 命 烈 弗 首 吾 用 功 心 羣 式 529 506 483 460 437 414 391 368 345 538 322 299 TRANSCRIBED IN MODERN CHARACTERS

254 231 208 185 162 139 116 93 70 47 24 1 存 公 共 民 上 後 不 有 74 叔 朝 惟 1 克 歷 竄 書 下 嗣 顯 读 父 光 Ŧ Ŧ 2 動 紹 涯 逐 四 天 不 濔 顯 林 3 明 -凉 73 懼 吾 廷 不 功 內 哉 干 堂 月 4 轅 家 先 郊 不 鱼 奕-外 普 西 遂 辛 $\tilde{\mathbf{o}}$ 文 文 摩 邑 度 紬 **俞**= -享 誕 在 西 6 牡 人 于 王 遠 若 登 德 卑 吾 晉 晉 7 淵 2 E 非 人 鵠 于 則 于 先 侯 侯 8 宅 德 成 於 乃 之 盟 亦 中 Ŧ 于 告 9 弗 刻 吾 []虚 攜 弗 府 有 夏 有 平 周 10 膂 捏 王 在 戎 指 詔 若 鬱 若 廟 11 戎 彤 吾 室 뱝 75 若 于 先 于 文 Ŧ 12 旣 弓 于 亦 厲 繅 大 宗 文 要 武 庸 覿 13 艱 玆 未 官 興 之 I A 荒 成 于 山 14 弓 吾 有 图到 患 弗 允 鴻 惟 康 九 王- 15 非 亦 寍 越 搆 繹 有 敷 德 純- 服 Ξ 16 伐 본 則 于 吾 當 舉 乃 2 業。之 喾 17 弗 不 亦 平 恋 有 于 心 刑 命二于 본 18 授 惟 有 桓 親 爽 遠 左 是 不 晉 北 19 若 介 庸 岩 播 德 世 右 震 惟 侯 20 于 玉 Z 乃 涉 越 弗 北 吾 是 德 E 21 國 蒼 图 祖 洪 協 吾 在 王 栗 2 若 22 于 符 識 文 Ш 人 于 吾 家 靡 勤 崇 23 E 253 207 184 161 138 115 23092 69 46 23

These six heads resolve themselves into two groups. Nos. (1) and (6) are expressions of opinion, while the remainder are statements of argument. Any considered judgments of Professor Giles deserve the respect which they are sure to receive, and having said so much, though unable to concur in his view, I pass to the specific arguments of Nos. (2), (3), (4), and (5).

First, with regard to the argument from the fact that the inscription was not cast with the bowl, but incised later. This point certainly has weight, for undoubtedly most of the inscriptions on ancient bronzes were previously written on the moulds in which the vessels were to be cast, and in the example under review this certainly is not the case. But the practice of casting an inscription was not invariable, as I shall show, and I venture to maintain that this bowl formed one of the exceptions. I would go further, and express my strong suspicion that one of the clauses near the end of the legend is in terms which may reasonably be read as an implicit statement to that effect. First let us hear Yuan Yuan, the antiquary and scholarly author of the Chi Ku Chai Chung Ting K'uan Chih, on the general question.

In chian 3 of the above work, Yuan, in his note on a bell in his own collection, described as the 周 公 望 鐘 Chou Kung Wang Bell, has the following passage: 案 考 工 記 鄭 注 云 銘 刻 之 也 賈 疏 云 刻 之 者 正 謂 在 模 上 刻 之 非 謂 在 器 乃 刻 然 考 古 器 銘 鑄 款 固多 鑿 款 亦 間 有之 此 鐘 篆 文 是 鑄 成 後 刻 也 "Chêng [K'ang-ch'êng] in his commentary on the K'ao Kung Chi [section of the Chou Li], says: 'the inscription was engraved,' and Chia [Kung-yen] annotates: 'The term 刻, k'é, rightly refers to engraving on the mould, and not to engraving on the vessel itself.'" "But" [adds Yuan Yuan] "an examination of the inscriptions on old bronzes shows that while the majority are unquestionably cast, yet incised inscriptions also occur here and there.

The characters on this bell were thus engraved after the casting was completed." Thus Yuan Yuan on the general rule and exceptional instances. Chance enables me to quote another specific example, taken from the Table of Contents forming chùan 1 of Wu Shih-fên's Chùn Ku Lu. Here, on the last page of the volume, he adds to the entry of a bronze in his own collection the words 器 鏡 文 蓋 鑿 文, "Characters on the vessel cast, on the cover incised."

An incised inscription, then, was not a thing unknown to the metal-founders of ancient China, and cannot serve to prove the fabrication of a bronze that displays it.

Before leaving this part of the subject, I would draw attention to the sentence in the inscription before us already alluded to as having an important bearing on this issue. It is unfortunate that the fourth character in the passage, though now perfectly legible, has so far defied all attempts to fit it convincingly with a modern form, and this to some extent renders uncertain the sense of the immediately preceding word, T., yüan. But this uncertainty does not affect my argument, which is based on the last part of the sentence. The latter runs thus: "On the Ting Yu day a plain bowl having been completed was proffered to the King for the favour of his commands." The italicized words represent the unknown character and the syllable yuan, "original," next above it, and their translation is therefore conjectural, though the following character, ch'eng, "completed," and the ensuing words, leave but little room for material error. What, then, is the meaning of this passage? And what, especially, are we to understand by the "command", or ming, which was expected, and, as the next sentence of the text shows, received and ceremoniously acknowledged by the Marquis of Tsin? It could not have been a new order to attack the Tartars, for it is expressly stated that the King's trusted kinsman had just returned from a successful mission of that kind. Moreover, it was some "command" as to which the formal proffering of some object just completed was appropriate. I can see but one satisfactory explanation, but it is a solution that explains much. The object that was completed and proffered must have been this bowl. The "command" asked for was, I do not doubt, an authorized text given out by the King to be recorded on the proffered bronze in perpetual honour of the Marquis of Tsin. And if so, the text must necessarily have been incised, for the bowl had been cast already without inscription.

This leads naturally to the next charge against the honour of our antique, that the inscription when cut was covered at once with a varnish enamel to conceal the fact that it was incised. I admit the fact, but I dispute the inference. Whether the coat of lacquer was added "at once", which we do not know, or at some time later, it may well have been to preserve the characters from oxidation and decay. In the event, it has been singularly effective for this purpose.

We come now to the argument from the silence of Chinese archæologists, the one pressed most by the French authorities. On consideration of the later history of the bowl, this does not appear very strong. So long as the bronze remained in the Imperial Palaces it would not be accessible to a Chinese subject for study or description, nor, probably, would it be easy of access when in the cabinet of the Princes of I. But it may be urged that the Emperor Ch'ien Lung ordered the publication of the Palace treasures of this class, and that our bowl finds no place in the Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien, which illustrates and describes them. This is true, but it is material to remember that the supplement to the above splendid work, as well as the similar catalogue entitled the Ning Shou Ku Chien, are neither of them as yet procurable by Western students, so that we cannot

say whether this bronze is, or is not, after all illustrated in one or other of them.

Lastly, Professor Giles makes the length of the inscription a ground for scepticism. The legend is, it is true, the longest known on a bronze vessel, consisting as it does of 538 characters, exclusive of marks of reduplication. But there are several other inscriptions which exceed 300 characters, the celebrated Mao Kung Ting, 毛 及 鼎, for example, with 497; the Wu Ting, with 403; the Yü Ting, with 390; and the San Shih P'an, once at Yang chou on the Yangtze, now in the Palace collections, with 357. This charge against the incriminated vessel, in view of the other instances just quoted, seems accordingly somewhat slight to support a conviction for forgery.

The foregoing comprises what I have to put forward for the defence. It is deeply to be regretted that the latter should not have fallen to the far more competent hands of Dr. Bushell to conduct during his own lifetime.

Below will be found what I regard as the most valuable, as it has certainly been the most laborious, part of my task. It is a comparative Table in parallel columns showing the individual characters of the bowl, with the corresponding forms of the Lesser Seal, taken from the Shuo Wên, together with the modern shape and sound, and certain additional "Ancient" and alleged Greater Seal forms, also extracted from the Shuo Wên. Finally, I have added, when available, the corresponding variants found on the recently discovered bone fragments from Honan.

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTION ON THE BUSHELL BOWL

It was in the King's first month, on the hsin yu day, that the Marquis of Tsin, having reported the subjugation of the Tartars, had audience of the King. The King thrice acknowledged the service—on the frontier,

at his capital, and before the ancestry. He granted an audience in the Sacred Hall, and then gave the Marquis of Tsin a banquet in the Chou dynastic temple. The King rewarded the Marquis of Tsin for his services with a commission of authority over the Nine Tenures, and thus spoke the King:—

"Uncle, bravo! In past times amongst the kings before me were such men as Wên, Wu, Ch'êng, and K'ang. Steadfastly and watchfully they never failed in devotion to goodness; their glory reached to the Far West; and so it came about that alike in midland Hsia, and on the marches and frontiers, the punishments under the rule of devotion to goodness were held in awe and in respect, so that, whether afar or near, at home or abroad, there was perfect goodness. Again, there was among your accomplished ancestors one who put forth great efforts in aid of our Royal House. His immense distinction, his immense services, were freely and fully recorded in the State archives, and were publicly proclaimed to the Chiefs of Clans, and verily their praises will endure to distant generations.

"But under the succeeding kings of our line, Heaven did not grant unmixed success,—as when the archer aims not at the bull's-eye, or the spinner leaves the cocoons unwound. In truth there was a lack of goodness, discord with Heaven above and their subjects below; the Four Courts not under control. Then those at a distance fell away, and the Tartars rose upon a great scale; bred troubles and dissensions among our dear kinsmen; drove our people from their homes; and chased them into our suburbs and cities."

The King said—

"Alas! From the times of Li, Hstian, and Yu, down to those of Ping and Huan, they were as one fording some broad flood without banks, who fears to go forward lest

he fall into deep places.1 Our Royal House had no repose until once more there arose a man like your grandfather, the Duke Wên, who was able to carry on the achievements of your accomplished ancestor, and to shield us in our distresses. We, again, never failed to requite those devoted services, by inscribing them in the record of deeds of merit; by the cool chariot-pole and dappled stallions, never presented except for goodness; by the red bow and the black bow, never given except for warlike exploits; by the jade sceptre and the azure token, never displayed except to kinsmen; by thirty chamberlains and three hundred body-guards; and by the lands of the six cities of Wên, Yuan, Kin, Fan, Hsing, and Man. Thus the territories of Tsin were extended, and thus also the Duke Wên was liberally rewarded with alien lands, so that he was able to support our gracious charge, and to enjoy renown among the ruling princes."

The King said—

"Alas! It is not that I, the One Man, have no conscience, and take pleasure in dire disorder. It is the Tartars, who are never satisfied in their encroachments, whose desires grow from generation to generation, who fix furtive and greedy eyes upon our guard-stations, and have caused anxieties for you, my Uncle."

The King said—

"Ah! Uncle, I value your great and glorious services. Carry on, then, as you have done before, and your ancestors before you, the endless charge, unbroken. I, the One Man, trust on you for comfort, and I applaud you. I therefore extend the commission of authority over the Nine Tenures, and appoint you Protector at the alien Courts, with power to quell, to attack, to punish, to reward, to encourage, and to appoint. When this

¹ This rendering of the sentence has been adopted from Professor Giles in his *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 9, 1911, p. 289, with slight modification.

commission has been completed and communicated to the ruling princes, should any dare not to act accordingly, then I, the One Man, will inflict signal punishment."

The Marquis of Tsin touched the ground twice with his forehead in acknowledgment and praise of the Son of Heaven's gracious commands.

The King said-

"Uncle, go you hence! My commands I need not repeat in detail, but see that you bear them in mind without fail. So will you be the peer of your accomplished ancestor, and so will the end be peace."

The Marquis of Tsin then touched the ground twice with his forehead.

It was in the second month, on the kia wu day, when the Marquis of Tsin returned from his subjugation of the Tartars, and reported the fulfilment of his task to Tang Shu and Wên Hou. On the next day but one, being ping shên, he announced his success to his grandfather's spirit, and his glories to his father's spirit. On the ting yu day, a plain bowl being completed, was presented to the King for the favour of his commands. The Marquis of Tsin touched the ground twice with his forehead and ventured to acknowledge and praise the King's gracious command.

Let, then, the sons and grandsons to untold generations perpetually treasure this bowl.

NOTES ON THE COMPARATIVE LIST OF CHARACTERS

In these notes the numbers refer to the characters of the list, not to the position in the actual inscription. For the sake of brevity B means any given character in the form found on the Bushell Bowl, and L.S. the corresponding form of the Lesser Seal. S.W. = Shuo Wên.

- 8. The L.S. differs from B and the other forms by the addition at the top.
 - 10. Note that the modern character follows B and not the L.S.

- 11 and 14. The same remark applies in both cases.
- 16. B differs essentially from the L.S., but agrees with the Shuo Wên's ku wên form.
- 17. The character here given in the L.S. column is called by the S.W. an "occasional form", its normal scription being equivalent to a modern 垠. B and the occasional form are virtually the same.
- 21. B and the S.W. ku wên agree, while the L.S. is rather unexpectedly confirmed by the Bone forms.
- 24. This character is one of the Shuo Wên's radicals. The author, following his practice when the group of characters to be ranged under a radical, "follow," i.e. are composed with, a shape other than that of the L.S. scription, gives the first place to that form of the radical actually occurring in the members of the group, whether it be a ku wên or a chou wên version. He then adds explicitly the chuan wên or Lesser Seal form, which in ordinary circumstances would have had the place of honour.

It may be observed that B may not here differ so widely from the L.S. as it appears to at first sight.

- 27. B and the L.S. differ fundamentally, but the former is substantially the same as the Stone Drums variant.
 - 28. B and the Stone Drums form concur against the L.S.
- 30. B differs from the L.S., but agrees with the S.W. ku wên form.
 - 33. Same remark applies as on Nos. 27 and 28.
- 35. B differs materially from the L.S. and closely resembles the Bone variants.
- 38. The Bone examples would be represented in modern guise by an average $\pm \xi$.
- 40. B and the L.S. are different contractions of the fuller forms found on the Bones.
- 41. The modern, the L.S., and the Bone variants make up a group which differs from the identical group of B and the Stone Drums forms.
- 43. Here B, the L.S., and the Bone examples coincide, but it should be added that 又 yu, right hand, which on the Stone Drums is found for 有 yu, to have, is also often so used on the Bones.

- 45. Notice that the contracted modern form is justified neither by B nor the L.S., and that the latter is closely supported by the Bone version.
- 47. B, while differing from the L.S., is exactly the counterpart of the Bone example.
- 51. The characters π pu, not, and $\underline{\Lambda}$ p'ei, immense (once homophones), are not distinguished on the Bowl, but have become differentiated in the L.S.
- 52. B and the L.S. differ in construction very little, in fact only by a horizontal stroke. The Bone forms support B.
- 53. B here answers in construction to the modern **k** in, but not in meaning, where the equivalent is as shown in the list.
- 54. B, the L.S., and the Bone forms differ but little, and the first and third not at all.
- 57. B and the Bone forms unite against the L.S. with its additional upper element.
- 58. Here B and the Shuo Wên's chou wên form agree in lacking the radical yen, words, of the L.S.
- 60. Notice that both B and the modern forms have counterparts on the Bones, which also partially confirm both the L.S. and chou wên variants.
- 61. B, though essentially similar to the L.S., is fuller by giving the man of Hsia two feet instead of one.
- 66. B is much nearer to the Stone Drums version than to the L.S.
- 68. The more ordinary meaning of li is a chestnut-tree, and B and the Stone Drums forms unite in having three chestnuts on the tree against one in the L.S.
- 74. B here confirms not the L.S. but the Shuo Wên's chow wên form.
- 77. Note in B the presence of ∇yu , right hand, ignored in the L.S. and modern versions.
- 84. The lower part of B is ambiguous, but appears to differ much from that of the L.S.
- 87. Note that the Bone forms here support the L.S. rather than B.
- 90. There is a slight but important difference between B and the L.S.
 - 96. The two versions vary largely.

- 101. It is curious that the Bowl form, which differs considerably as to the right half of the character from the L.S., is not found again before the Han Dynasty seals.
- 104. Note the total unlikeness in construction of the two forms, which are of what I have elsewhere called separate "types".
- 105. The variant alleged in the Shuo Wên to be the chuan, or Seal character, is held by Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition to be a later interpolation. His reason seems to me good, and I have therefore not entered it in the list.
- 106. As in the case of No. 24, and for the same reasons, the L.S. form is not the *Shuo Wėn's* first or principal character. B and the real L.S. variant have, it will be seen, a strong general similarity. It should be noticed also that some of the Bone examples confirm the S.W.'s ku wén form \Box , which Tuan Yü-ts'ai has treated very cavalierly.
 - 107. Mutatis mutandis the foregoing applies to this also.
- 108. B here agrees not with the L.S. but with the S.W.'s ku wên form, while the Bones confirm only the chou wên variant.
 - 109. The two forms differ widely.
- 113. The upper or phonetic parts differ significantly, B being nearer to the original pictogram—two cowries strung together vertically.
- 124. Here also the form in the L.S. column (which again agrees closely with B) is expressly stated by the Shuo Wên to be the Seal character, but is not its first and principal form (which I add in the fourth column). Compare notes on 24 and 106.
- 127. Notice the construction of B, which might have been expected to contain, but does not, the spiral seen in 129.
- 130. The cutting of B is not perfectly carried out. In this instance once more the S.W.'s Seal form is not its principal entry. The Stone Drums version here does not coincide with B, but approximates to the Bone variants.
- 133. There is no L.S. form composed with shui, water, at the side.
- 134. B here corresponds not with the L.S. but with the S.W.'s ku wên form.

- 136. B, while identical with the Stone Drums form, differs slightly from the L.S.
- 143. B and the L.S. appear discrepant. The former is much nearer two variants given by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu, vol. ii, p. 40.
- 147. B differs considerably both from the L.S. and the S.W.'s ku wên form, but shares something with each.
- 149. I am not altogether happy about the identity of this character, the lower part of the left side being a mere contraction. But it is probably as I give it, rather than it tsai.
- 150. As sometimes elsewhere, B corresponds much more closely with the modern than with the L.S. form.
- 159. There is here a total difference of type between B and the L.S. The former is represented by the modern form in the first column, except that the upper part of the right side is absent in the bronze version.
- 166. B corresponds more with the modern form than with the more elaborate L.S.
 - 169. Both B and the L.S. are represented on the Bones.
- 174. B and the L.S. correspond. A different type has been adopted for the modern character.
- 176. B has hsin, heart, at the bottom instead of p'an, reversed hands, of the L.S.
- 177. B has the radical *i*, *city*, at the right side, the L.S. has fou, mound, at the left. But the two are often interchanged.
- 179. Note the difference between B and the L.S., and the confirmation of the former by the Bone variants.
- 182. Here, as often, the radical pu, to strike, replaces ko, halberd, in the construction.
 - 185. The modern form follows B and not the L.S.
- 187. B omits the element k'ou, mouth, from the upper part of the character.
- 192. The two forms differ mainly in the reversing of their constituent halves.
- 196. It is interesting to see that B confirms that one of the modern scriptions in column 1 which Kanghsi condemns as "vulgar".
 - 204. B lacks the lowest element of the L.S.
 - 206. B shows that the upper part of this character was the

2.80

left half of 觀 kuan, to regard, and not as written in the L.S. and since.

- 207. B agrees fairly with the second "occasional form" of the Shuo Wên.
- 210. B differs in arrangement from the L.S., and its variation is supported by the Bone forms.
 - 211. B here is virtually the same as the S.W.'s chou wên form.
- 215. Note that B has t'u, earth, at bottom, absent in the L.S. Strictly speaking, the latter form of the character ought to be, but is not, composed of chu, bamboo, and the L.S. form of hsiang, to sacrifice, shown under No. 24, column 3, as explained in the note on that entry.
- 216. B is somewhat nearer the Bone form than to either the L.S. or Stone Drums variant.
 - 217. B again is nearer to the Bone forms than to the L.S.
- 220. B here once more affords an example of the modern form of a character not being derived from the L.S. B closely resembles the variant cited in the S.W. from the works of the poet Yang Hsiung. But the latter misunderstood the construction of the character, which he supposed was made up of two hands and hsia, below, whereas it consists really of hand together with a phonetic element pai, representing a plant in linear shape. Notice that both in Yang Hsiung's variant and in the modern character, this plant element occupies the right side of the compound, while in B it is on the left.
- 221. B differs from the L.S. both by the reversed position of the two halves, and by having the (so-called) radical 頁 hsieh, in place of shou, head.
- 223. B has jên, man, at the right, not ts'un, inch, as in the L.S. and modern forms.
- 224. B has the right-hand element in 執 chih, to grasp, in place of shou, hand, of the L.S.
- 227. The construction of B should be noticed. It contains $\not\vdash$ hsien, to precede, over $\not\vdash$ t'u, earth, and the L.S. and modern forms are corruptions of this combination.
- 228. Complicated forms similar to the second of the Bone variants are found on bronzes also.
- 231. The right side of the L.S. and modern character is 己 ki, self, but in B it is a form of 人 jên, man. Very

interesting points arise in connexion with this, but they cannot be indicated here.

232. B here stands midway between the L.S. and the Shuo Win's ku wen form.

234. B is a remarkable and very rare variant. Only one other example, to my knowledge, exists. It is cited by the 六書通, Liu Shu T'ung, from a bronze there styled the Goblet of Fu Kia, 文甲 當.

236. Note the difference between the two forms and the construction of B, the left half of which is really i, a character not found except in composition, e.g. in \mathfrak{B} yin, the later style of the Shang dynasty. The older versions of i show it as the reversed form of \mathfrak{F} $sh\acute{e}n$, body. In view of this and of the fact that it cannot have a phonetic value in kuei, to return, we may perhaps assume that i once had some such sense as "turn round", "return". I may add that in certain compound characters on the Bones we find the form placed last in column 4, which closely resembles that of B.

237. The engraver has, presumably by oversight, omitted the two horizontal lines in B.

238. Note the wide difference between B and L.S.

241. The Stone Drums form stands midway between B and the L.S. The Bones support B.

243. A rare Bone variant supports B to some extent.

246.This is by far the most difficult character in the inscription, and has defied all efforts to fix its true identity, though every stroke in the copper is now perfectly clear. I will therefore state what can be said about it, and leave it for chance or future research to reveal its secret. Only one other instance of its occurrence is recorded. That, whether by coincidence or not, is on another Bowl, the well-known San Shih P'an, or San Family Bowl, already mentioned in this paper. On that antique it is the last character of the inscription, which unfortunately in that part is defective, and consequently very hard to understand. Yuan Yuan in his notes on the passage treats the character as an old scription of 屬 li, a tripod cauldron, and in this he is followed by Wu Shih-fên in his Chün Ku Lu. But such an equation does not satisfy the conditions, for neither the Bushell Bowl nor the San Shih P'an can properly be styled a li.

Wu Ta-ch'êng cites the same example among his unknown forms, and hazards no guess. Mr. Takeda, the Japanese author of the Ch'ao Yang Ko Tzǔ Kien, ch. xxvi, p. 5, and Mr. Chalfant in his Early Chinese Writing, p. 29, identify it as the old form of 農 nung, tillage, farmer, and indeed the Shuo Wên does show that the Lesser Seal shape of nung is extremely like our form. The difficulty is that such a word seems absolutely impossible in such a context as ours. On the other hand, the characters k'i, vessel, or 整 p'an, bowl, would suit very well, but not the slightest support can be found for such an identification from the recorded ancient shapes of either of those characters.

- 246. Note the difference between B and the L.S.
- 247. B and the L.S. differ in construction, the former having 西 hsi, west, and the latter, 其 k'i, that, at the left side.

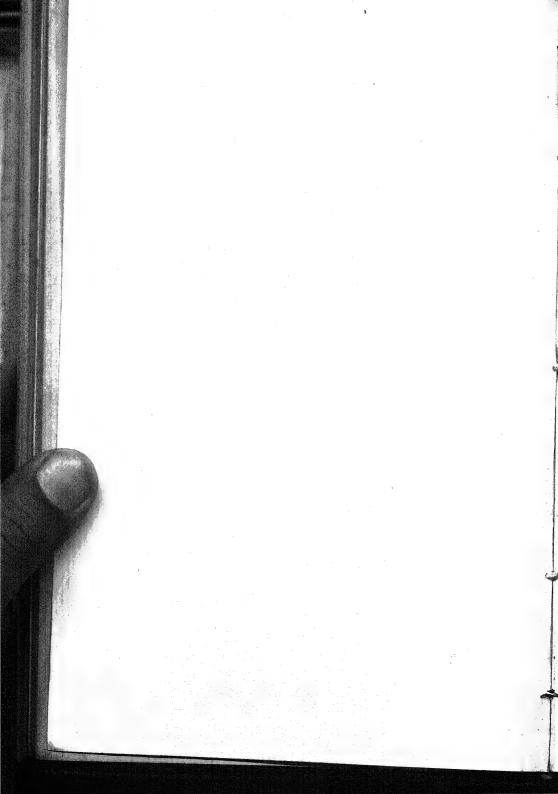


Comparative List of Characters on the Bushell Bowl.

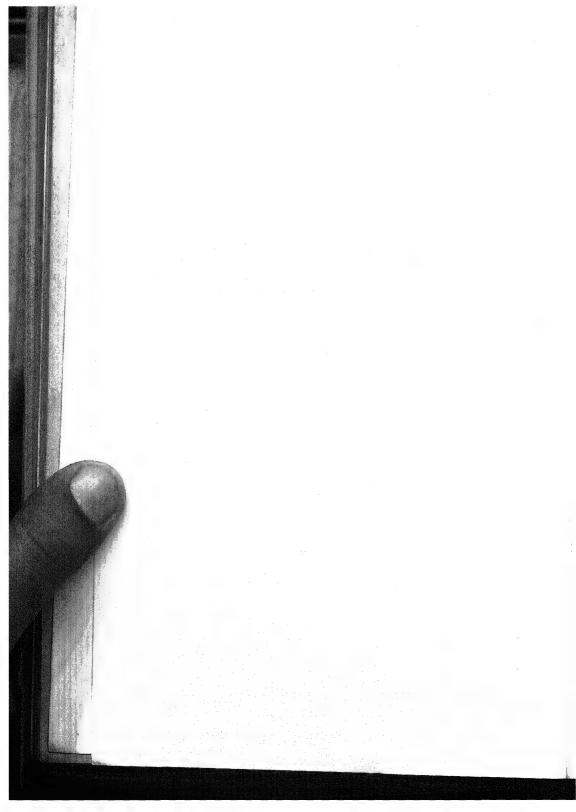
Abbreviations. B.B.-Bushell Bowl. L.S.-Lesser Seal. S.D.-Stone Drums.

C.-Chou wên, and K.-Ku wên, forms, from the Shuo Wên. H.-Honan Bones.

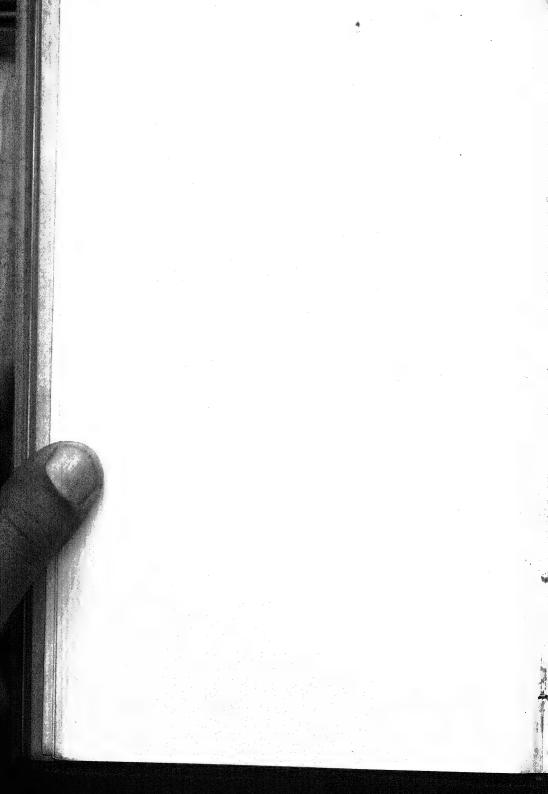
B. B. L. S. Other forms Modern B.B. L. S. Other forms H MO 1. 惟 20. 覲 王片 21. 明 ming H V 堂 t'ang 0 西山 25. 周 chon 盘 26. 廟 合 供以 原出 ¥ 出 9. 告 Kao 出来 중 10. 平 ping 11. 戎 村 30.服 jung S. D. 匑 88 ঞ্জী 14. 于 34日 queh 35. 未又 17.坝 18. 國



Modern B. B. S. S. Other forms B. B. L. S. Other from Modern 39. 昔 **管**十 (a) + M 55、 西 hui 8 40. 在 4. 吾 3. 4. 学员领额等 銐 58. 彭延 多个 化百十 S. D. 舒 AD H P 59. 60. 61. 62. 医尼亚 *** 2008 C -- CT D~~ 42、先 haien *** 各个好好篇 光局个老林**蘇 中國點點 43 有 大が極い着る 台、要 yao buang ESS! 65 66 67 68 69 70. 71 72 73 74 期間是此震心栗に靡に遠い邇山内心外別は 形是震 抑是電 姓業图 8\$ 48、純 shun 인원이 企 s. a. 49. 業 槑 学 S. D **B*** るなべ 學 樂 蒙 50. 图 wang 光光 不德蕾巡诊 不德勢 51. 不 海螅 造成 錢貓內 額少少 富兴北部 極炎 **⊗** 56 顯 krien **RE** 影 以



B.B. L.S. Other forms. Modern B.B. L.S. Olther forms 灾 世 世 18 95.後 後 \$I 96.嗣 層 ダナトの様 権シャア 秂 98. 鶴 弗 4 ₩ 80. 左 # # 81. 友 100. FE chih 怒 潮 图 82. 家 Kia 101. 繅 웵 ¥ 83. Its Kung 繆 震 爾阿 圍 THE STATE AS(I) 155 發 党 營 今天子の谷度雑 上×丁×卯× 三0 hsieh 爽生 105. 爽 鼎 Muang 106. L 陷 88. 府 图 丁 の 心 受 巻 fue \$2 级 108. 四处建立底北播江 I 王を愛 允



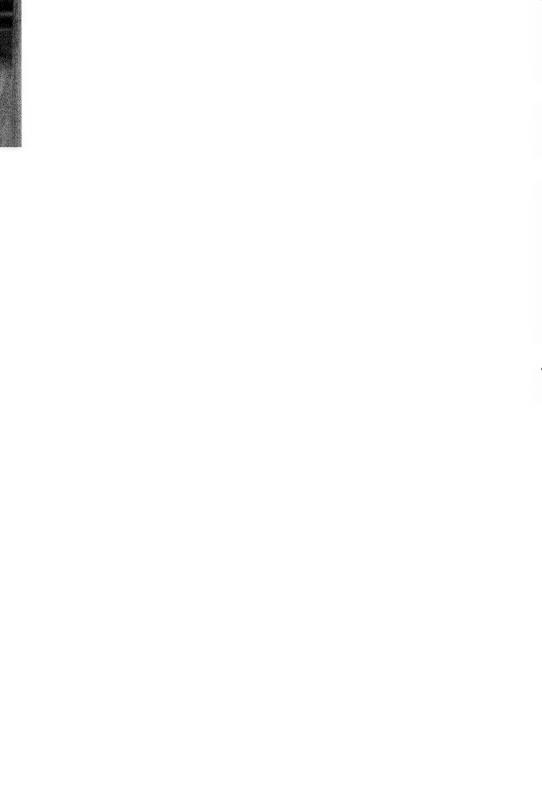
Modern B.B. L.S. Other forms Modern B.B. L.S. Other forms. ではアイ 112、與 haing 129. 桓 huan 極 K@ **G** EEE · %# 130. ¾ 構 114. 搆 Kow not in Shuo Wên 菜 131. 洪 hung 懿 强 115. 莹 155 *}}}* 132./11 chuaw ¥8 親 116. 親ない 厓 鄦 193.涯 形 人 人 yai 替 紫 117. 播 **B** 劚 134.懼 10 쌼 챊 118. 越 yueh 餯 135.壓 chui 隊 R 图 茶 119. R 氚 常(學。 136. 淵 · Par quan 關 7 120. 電 Www. 121. 逐 13. 138. 139 140. 第13日 南 田序 必然 然名《特察》: 多米多 Ø PH PH 122.交形 比ao #图 らる。 ΠA 加 141.祖 teu ? Also S.S. 상 10^H 상 14.公 Kung 多多家 Ż 143、克 化。 83 \$ A \$ 7 144. A召 Shan 18/81 炎〉 818 128 国制 145.列 常



Modern B. B. L. S. Other forms L. S. Other forms. Modern B.B. **9**5 14. 蒼 to'ang * 營 **9**\$ 髮 鸰 囏 変数と 角 165. 谷 fu 147. 期 Kien 展 感被害者原 西站書崇為 쮼 148 西州 166. 展 chan 张豆、 騰 後正→ 169 僕 Nu 168 正 chêng 正十旁費百 (Lay 4 十一一一一 鬡 藜 失資的經續華難段 153.轅 yuan 牡 牡 뷖 非 育日下鱧皮 常来 黎 5.0 ま_で 電 如果 原 世 予解校 34 村井 颗 缃 鬱 器 TP. 771 1 亦 162. 17 Kien 王 180, Elien 王 163, 玉



Modern B.B. L.S. Other forms Modern B. B. L. S. Other forms 181 It shih 去 江 198 睽 郯 贵 97 感 尉 居女化し 182 199. 耳冘 183 殭 Liang 199 漫 200 間見 Kun 中 用 184.用 出土 田田田田 20 牧 松門愛母愛鹭時初內 铧 yung nu 202 中 (RAD) 185. 唐 ying 順 图 Shore 黎 1 際層效量發出路 203 A wer 186 寵 chung 奉野 夏如复 187. 羣 ch'in 黎中路 高學会 器學 188 居幸 terian 200 在 kin 宋惠倉 要。 20). 替此 料見が 208. 永 yung \$G 192. 示咼 209 汝 huo (A) Ju 193 亂 意い日 盖 210. 嘉 kia E 3 194.無 類 211 中心伯伦 B 195. 厭 帮 yen 213. TE chêng ŰĘ. 帮 197. 生 shêng 主 坐 <u>동</u>옷 里 214 計 t' ao 围



Modern B. B. S. S. Other forms Modern B. B. S. S. Other forms. 曾 8 232 終。 chung . 243 三 二 234 甲 Y P 216. 來 Lai 27. 李 傘 傘 284 甲 Kia 235 午· ww 學 236. 歸 kuei 绿鼠 220.手丰 237. 自 tyř O O (A) 221. 稽 238 獻 THE SERVICE SERVICES 222. 首 239. 唐 荷 善 t'ang 0 0 240 El OK (OH) yang 226 子 tsǔ 不承 226 1th 林 243. T \uparrow ting 堂 往 227. 往 3 244. 元 246. 征 Υü 130. 3 E 247. 斯 248 萬 多家家

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE KATAPAYADI NOTATION OF THE SECOND ARYA-SIDDHANTA

In my note on the Kaṭapayādi system of expressing numbers, given in this Journal, 1911. 788 ff., I said incidentally, on the authority of statements made by two or three writers which, I now find, are not sufficiently explicit, that this system is used in the astronomical work which is known as the Second Ārya-Siddhānta. I have recently obtained a copy of this work as edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakara Dvivedi. I find that the work certainly does use a Kaṭapayādi notation. But its system differs markedly from that one, described by me, which is taught by the Paribhāshā verse Na-ñāv=achaś-cha, etc., and is illustrated by the examples given by me. Also, the work does not confine itself to the Kaṭapayādi notation: see, for instance, p. 172 ff., verses 92-7, where it uses the system of numerical words.

The Kaṭapayādi system used in the Second Ārya-Siddhānta, is defined in chapter 1, verse 2, as follows:—

Rūpāt=kaṭapaya-pūrvā varṇā varṇa-kramād=bhavanty=aṅkāḥ l ñnau śūnyaṁ pratham-ārthē ā chhēdē ai tṛitīy-ārthē ll

This tells us that the rows of letters k to \tilde{n} , t to n, p to m, and y to h or l, are numbers; each row running from $r\tilde{u}pa$, 'an exemplar or single specimen', which means 'one': also, that \tilde{n} and n are ciphers. To this extent, this system is identical with the one already

¹ Under the title "Mahā-Siddhānta, a Treatise on Astronomy by Aryabhata"; Benares, 1910.

described by me: see the table on p. 791. In other respects this work presents a different system, which, so far as I know, has not yet been found used anywhere else.

The first important difference between the two systems is as follows. The system as taught by the verse $Na-\tilde{n}\bar{a}v$, etc., is subject to the rule Ankānām vāmatō gatih, which means that the numbers must be stated with the lowest figure, the unit, first, on the left, but are to be applied in the opposite direction, with the unit on the right: for instance, in a case quoted by me on p. 790 we have $d\bar{e}(8)$ -ha(8)- $vy\bar{a}(1)$ -pya(1), which means 1188. But the rule Ankānām, etc., does not apply to the system as taught by the verse $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}t$, etc. In accordance with the usual custom of the southern languages, Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese, and, I presume, Malayalam and Tulu, the numbers are stated with the highest figure first, and are to be applied in that same direction. Thus, to take a simple instance of a small number, in chapter 1, verse 10, the revolutions of the apogee of the sun in the Kalpa are given by $ghu(4)-ta(6)-p\bar{a}(1)h$: in the system previously described, this would mean 164: in the present system it means, just as it is stated, 461.

Another important difference is this. In the system taught by the verse $Na-\bar{n}\bar{a}v$, etc., in conjunct consonants only the last member of the combination has value: for instance, in the expression $d\bar{e}ha-vy\bar{a}pya$ quoted just above, the v and p have no values. But in the system taught by the verse $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}t$, etc., every consonant has value: thus, in this system the same word would have to be taken as $d\bar{e}(8)-ha(8)-v(4)-y\bar{a}(1)-p(1)-ya(1)$, and would give, not 1188, but 884,111. Conjunct consonants are not found very freely in the Second Ārya-Siddhānta: but they do occur: in chapter 1, verse 6, we have $kn\bar{a}=10$; in verse 10, tsa=67; in verse 15, ska=71; in verse 16, kbha=14; and in verse 21, pra=12.

In the system taught by the verse $Na-\tilde{n}\bar{a}v$, etc., initial vowels are ciphers. The verse $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}t$, etc., says nothing about initial vowels: for the simple reason that they do not enter into its system at all. In both systems, other vowels have no significance; only the consonants give numbers: thus, ka, $k\bar{a}$, ki, $k\bar{\imath}$, etc., to kau, all mean 1; kha, $kh\bar{a}$, khi, $kh\bar{\imath}$, etc., to khau, all mean 2.

The last part of the verse $R\bar{u}p\bar{a}t$, etc., tells us that, in the separation of the words giving numbers, the nominative plural masculine is to be treated as ending in \bar{a} , and the instrumental as ending in ai; so as to avoid a possibly resulting \dot{s} , sh, s, or r.¹ This may be illustrated by the instance given by the editor in his comments on the verse: we can denote 123 by $kakhag\bar{a}h$, and 660 by $tatan\bar{a}h$: but if we want to express "123 × 660", we must take $kakhag\bar{a}$ tatanai $gunit\bar{a}h$; because, if we take, grammatically, $kakhag\bar{a}s$ tatanair $gunit\bar{a}h$, this would give "1237 × 6602".²

In the Second Ārya-Siddhānta I do not find any tendency to use the Kaṭapayādi notation, as it was used elsewhere, in the shape of words having particular meanings; much less by devising sentences such as the Khagō=ntyān=Mēsham=āpa which I quoted on p. 789.

I mentioned (p. 789, note 2) that Bentley said that the

¹ Any use of the nomin. plural neuter and the instr. singular is of course barred; because the final ni and na would always give a not wanted cipher.

² The text has been edited for the most part on these lines. But it seems questionable whether the author wrote on them, and whether the manuscripts follow them. The word $chh\bar{e}d\bar{e}$ in the Paribhāshā verse seems to imply that the full grammatical forms were to be used, and that it was only in analysing the text that the finals in question were to be rejected. The editor has notified no fewer than ten errata in his treatment of the nominative in chapter 1, verses 7, 8, 10, 11, where he has given it as ending in $\bar{a}h$, and three errata in respect of his treatment of the instrumental in verses 24, 27, where he has given it as ending in aih: and this is suggestive that the manuscripts have the full grammatical forms, and the editor started by following the manuscripts, and then deviated from them in this detail.

Second Arya-Siddhanta is dated in its first chapter in the Kaliyuga year 4423 (expired), in A.D. 1322, but Sh. B. Dikshit said that its date is not given. I cannot find in the text before me any support for Bentley's statement, which would seem therefore, to have been based either on some interpolated verse, or on a misinterpretation of some numerical expression which I cannot identify. On the other hand, chapter 2 gives an abstract account of a second work, the Parāśara-Siddhānta: and here verse 2 says, by way of giving a venerable antiquity and authority to the two Siddhantas, that they were written: - Ishadvātē Kalau vugē; "when only a small part of the Kali age had elapsed." 1 There are no clear reasons for following Sh. B. Dikshit in placing the work quite so early as A.D. 950: but there certainly are grounds for believing that it was known to Bhāskarāchārya, who wrote in A.D. 1150.

J. F. FLEET.

THE YOJANA AND THE PARASANG

Since writing my note given at p. 229 ff. above, I have found that the subject of the $y\bar{o}jana$ has been treated in the Journal Asiatique, Sept.—Oct., 1911, p. 375 ff. M. J.-A. Decourdemanche, dealing with the long $y\bar{o}jana$ of 32,000 hasta or cubits, has presented there the conclusion that it was equal to two old Persian itinerary parasangs each of 7670.40 metres, and its value was 15,340.80 metres, = 9.532312 miles.²

It may well be the case that there were close relations between the ancient Hindū and Persian measures; and even though the subdivisions of the parasang do not answer to those of the yōjana, that the short yōjana

¹ In the other Katapayādi system the expression *īshad-yātē* would mean 6160: in this one it might perhaps be interpreted as meaning 6816: but we are still only in the year 5013.

² I use 39:37 inches as the sufficiently close value of the metre.

of 16,000 hasta was the Indian representative of the Persian parasang of 7670.40 metres, =4.76615606 miles.¹ But, accepting the valuations of the Persian measures and the probability of a common origin, we can only conclude that measures originally identical were not preserved unaltered in the two countries so as to remain exactly commensurate with each other. M. Decourdemanche's value of the long yōjana of 32,000 hasta is based on an assumption that the ancient Indian cubit was of the same length with the Babylonian mean cubit; namely, 0.4794 metre, = 18.873978 inches. But Āryabhata gave 4 hasta, = 96 angula, as the height of the Indian man; and Varāhamihira has supplemented his statement by telling us that that was the height of the normal or average man (see p. 232-3 above). The application of the value of the Babylonian mean cubit would give 6 ft. 3.495912 in., —practically 6 ft. 31 in., — as the accepted standard height of the normal Indian man. We cannot endorse such a result as this. For the Indian cubit we cannot admit anything in excess of 18 inches; from which we have 9.09 miles, to be treated practically as 9 miles, as the value of the long yōjana, and 4.54 miles, to be treated as 41 miles, as the value of the short $y\bar{o}jana$.

J. F. FLEET.

Some Hindu Values of the Dimensions of the Earth

The Hindū astronomers were accustomed to state either the diameter of the earth, or the circumference, or both: they had to lay down the diameter for calculating the shadow thrown by the earth in lunar eclipses; and the circumference for determining longitudes, as denoted by

¹ M. Decourdemanche has not mentioned either the short yōjana or the ancient original krōśa of 4000 hasta: he has the later double krōśa of 8000 hasta. He has called this parasang the "parasange d'étapes." He has also a "parasange (schæne)" of 6903·36 metres (nine-tenths of the other), = 4·28954045 miles.

distances or by differences of time. They expressed their values in yōjanas. And it may be noted that, as they did not know of the flattening of the earth towards the poles, but treated the globe as a perfect sphere, any particular value of the circumference, either stated or to be deduced from a given diameter, represented exactly the meridional as well as the equatorial girth, and also the girth round any other terrestrial great circle.

Āryabhaṭa (wrote in or soon after A.D. 499) gave the diameter as $1050~y\bar{o}jana.^1$ His details given in the same place show that he used the $y\bar{o}jana$ of 32,000~hasta or cubits, = 9 miles (see p. 236 f. above): and so his value for the diameter was 9450 miles. He had $\pi = \frac{62832}{20000} = 3.1416,^2$ which gives $3298.68~y\bar{o}jana$ as the circumference; for which he seems to have taken $3300~y\bar{o}janas$, = 29,700 miles, in round numbers: at any rate, this is the figure stated by his special exponent Lalla, who had the same diameter and the same value of $\pi.^3$

Brahmagupta (wrote A.D. 628) gave the circumference as 5000 $y\bar{o}jana$, = 45,000 miles.⁴ From this, with his value $\pi = \sqrt{10} = 3.1623$, we have as the diameter $1581_{\frac{4.037}{31623}}$ or say 1581 $y\bar{o}jana$, = 14,229 miles.

The Sūrya-Siddhānta, 1.59 (from about A.D. 1000), gives the diameter as 1600 $y\bar{o}jana$, = 14,400 miles: whence, with its π again = $\sqrt{10}$, we have as the circumference 5059.68 or say 5060 $y\bar{o}jana$, = 45,540 miles.

As regards the merits of these estimates, we need only note here that it seems customary now to quote 7926 or 7926 6 miles as the mean equatorial diameter; 5 and

Daśagītikasūtra, verse 5.

² Ganitapāda, verse 10.

 $^{^3}$ Sishyadhīvriddhida, p. 10, verse 56; for π see p. 28, verse 3.

 $^{^4}$ Brāhma-Siddhānta, p. 10, verse 36 ; for π see p. 198, verse 40.

⁵ The latest refinements seem to be those given by Young, from Clarke, in his General Astronomy (1904), p. 601:—

from these figures, with $\pi=3.14159$, we have 24,900 or 24,902 miles as the circumference, without fractions.

It might perhaps be thought that, by applying the $u\bar{o}iana$ of 16,000 $hasta = 4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, we could take the statements of Brahmagupta and the Sūrya-Siddhānta as successive improvements on that of Aryabhata, and so could understand them as giving respectively diameters of 7115 and 7200 miles; which would be, for those times, quite respectable approximations to the truth. But, even apart from the point that there is no evidence to show, and nothing to lead us to think, that the Hindus ever made any independent attempts to determine the dimensions, that possibility is excluded for the following reasons. The author of the Sūrya-Siddhānta belonged to the same school with Bhattotpala (wrote A.D. 966): and the latter has laid out the $y\bar{o}jana$ of 32,000 hasta = 9 miles. And Bhāskarāchārya (wrote A.D. 1150) was a follower of Brahmagupta: he has stated the diameter at 1581 yōjana, and the circumference, with a slight refinement of Brahmagupta's value, at 4967 yōjana: 2 and he, too, laid out the yōjana of 9 miles.3

So far, indeed, from there having been successive improvements, the reverse was the case; and the explanation seems to be as follows.

If the value of the Greek stadium is taken to be 606.75 feet, the $y\bar{o}jana$ of 9 miles works out to $78\frac{25.8}{80.9}$ stadia. If the stadium is taken according to the later valuation at 582.48 feet, the $y\bar{o}jana$ works out to $81\frac{4}{80.9}$ stadia. In either case, we can hardly doubt that the Hindū astronomers would take for convenience, according to their habit, 1 $y\bar{o}jana = 80$ stadia in round numbers: in fact, they would only be doing just what Megasthenes

¹ Commentary on the Brihat-Samhita, vol. 1, p. 48.

 $^{^2}$ Siddhāntaśirōmani, ed. Bapu Deva Sastri, p. 52, verse 1: in verse 52 on p. 261 he has given the diameter more precisely as 1581_{24}^{1} .

³ Līlāvatī, verses 5, 6: he has referred expressly to this in his statement under Siddhāntaśirōmani, p. 52, verse 1.

did (see p. 238 above) when he presented 10 studia as the practical equivalent of $1 \ kr \bar{o} \dot{s} a$, $= \frac{1}{8}$ of a long $y \bar{o} j a n a$.

Eratosthenes (e.c. 276–196) arrived by experiment and calculation at 250,000 stadia for the circumference of the earth; for which, recognizing that his result was only approximate, he substituted 252,000 stadia, so as to have a number divisible exactly by 360, giving 1 degree = 700 stadia. This value was accepted by Hipparchus

¹ Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients (1862), p. 198; Bunbury, Ancient Geography (2nd ed., 1883), vol. 1, p. 623. The equivalent is 28,959 or 27,800 miles, according to the two valuations of the stadium. But we are concerned here with the actual figures, not with the values of them.

On the assumption that Eratosthenes had practically the true circumference, proposals have been made on the one side to determine the value of the stadium from his figures, and on the other side to decide which one he used out of various stadia. But it is reasonable to hold, with Bunbury (p. 624), that, writing for Greeks, he used "the customary Greek stade, the length of which was familiar to them all": and a perusal of details fully justifies the same writer's decision that "his conclusion was erroneous, because his data were inaccurate, and his observations defective." His process was the proper one, of arcmeasurement; and we know that similar attempts were made in other countries also in early times: but we have no good reason for believing that any early people could perform the operation with any real approach to accuracy; they could not determine with sufficient exactness either the distance between any two points or the latitudes of them.

Eratosthenes may be treated reasonably thus. According to the two valuations of the stadium, his original estimate for the circumference, 250,000 stadia, comes to 28,728 or 27,579 miles, and with $\pi=3.14159$ these give as the diameter 9144 or 8778 miles; all without fractions. These results may be regarded as creditable enough for so early a time, though they were, of course, useless for any really scientific purposes: even the higher of them is not very much more faulty in excess than was, in the opposite direction, the estimate (see farther on) which prevailed in Europe till nearly the end of the seventeenth century.

For an idea of the delicacy and difficulty of the operation of arcmeasurement, reference may be made to Airy's *Popular Astronomy*, revised issue of 1891, pp. 50-71. See also Proctor's *Old and New Astronomy* (1892), pp. 87-91.

The modern measurements which have given us the true dimensions began in 1528; see Airy's "Figure of the Earth" in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. 5, Mixed Sciences, vol. 3 (1845), pp. 165-240: I am indebted to Dr. Burgess for drawing my attention to this article. In that year, Fernel found the value of one degree on the north of Paris to be 56,746 toises: with the toise taken at 2:1315 yards, this gives

(B.C. 162–145) and Strabo (?B.C. 54–A.D. 24).¹ And a story told by Pliny (A.D. 23–79) about a certain Dionysodorus shows that, with the rough value $\pi = 3$, the diameter was taken at 84,000 stadia.² This, divided by 80, gives Āryabhata's value of the diameter, 1050 yōjana.³

Aristotle (B.C. 384–322) quoted 400,000 stadia as the value of the circumference of the earth which had been calculated by mathematicians.⁴ This, divided by 80, gives Brahmagupta's value, 5000 yōjana.

It can hardly be doubted that the origin of Aryabhata's value for the diameter of the earth is the rough diameter of Eratosthenes' estimate of the circumference. And it seems also a plain conclusion that Brahmagupta's value for the circumference is simply the Indian equivalent of

 $1^{\circ}=68.724$ miles; and from this we should have circumference 24,740 miles and diameter 7875 miles, without fractions. Other measurements were made in or about 1617 and 1637. In 1669, Picard obtained the result of 57,060 toises, = 69·104 miles, as the mean value of one degree between Sourdon and Malvoisine, which would give circumference 24,877 miles and diameter 7912 miles. And this last result, becoming known to Newton, enabled him to establish in 1687 his theory of gravitation, in respect of which he had previously failed in consequence of following the then still usual estimate of 60 miles as the length of a degree, with the result of 21,600 miles circumference and 6875 miles diameter.

¹ Bunbury, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 9, 228-9.

² Natural History, 2. 112. The story was that, after his death, there was found in his tomb a letter from him, stating that he had descended to the lowest part [the centre] of the earth, and that the distance [the radius] was 42,000 stadia.

³ His value for the circumference of course works out to more than that of Eratosthenes; because it was the figures for the diameter that he took over, and he applied to them the practically correct value $\pi = 3.1416$, instead of the rough value, 3, by which they had been obtained.

⁴ Bunbury, op. cit., 1. 396. The equivalent is 46,080 or 44,127 miles, according to the valuations of the stadium. This value of the circumference perhaps was (but perhaps was not) associated by the mathematicians with the idea of the earth being a flat disc; a view which Aristotle rejected: he held, with the Pythagoreans, that the earth is a sphere. But it does not follow that the idea would reach the Hindūs with the measure: and any circular plan, with dimensions marked on it, would show the earth as a flat surface, even though it was known to be a sphere.

the value reported by Aristotle. It would be interesting if we could ascertain how it was that Brahmagupta, the later in date, went back to a source earlier than that used by his predecessor Āryabhaṭa.¹

Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587) has not stated the diameter of the earth, but has given the circumference as 3200 $y\bar{o}jana$; apparently from the Original Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Pauliśa.² This seems to be a substitute for Āryabhaṭa's 3300 $y\bar{o}jana$, with a view to having $\frac{3\cdot2\cdot0\cdot0}{3\cdot6\cdot0} = \frac{5\cdot6}{9}$, as more easy to manipulate than $\frac{3\cdot3\cdot0\cdot0}{3\cdot6\cdot0} = \frac{5\cdot6}{9}$, as the value of one degree in $y\bar{o}janas$ along the equator, a meridian, and any other great circle.

The Sūrya-Siddhānta's value of the diameter, 1600 $y\bar{o}jana$, seems to be only Brahmagupta's value, 1581 $y\bar{o}jana$, turned into a round number in the usual fashion. The way in which the Siddhānta states it, is itself indicative of this: the text says that the diameter is 800 $y\bar{o}janas$, i.e. the radius, multiplied by 2; and Brahmagupta's radius, 790 or 791 $y\bar{o}jana$, would suggest the substitution of 800 even more readily than 1581 would suggest the substitution of 1600.

In the case of Brahmagupta there is the curious point that, while he has given $5000 \ y\bar{o}jana$ as the circumference in the passage mentioned above, and has stated it with a view to calculating the $d\bar{e}s\bar{a}ntara$ or 'difference of place' (longitude), in another passage he has indicated quite a different value: he there says that the difference

¹ Another Greek value was that of Posidonius (about B.C. 135-51), who reduced the circumference first to 240,000 and then to 180,000 stadia. Lewis, p. 215; Bunbury, vol. 2, pp. 95, 539. This latter figure, 180,000, was taken over by Marinus of Tyre (second century), and was adopted from him by Ptolemy (A.D. 139 and 161): Bunbury, vol. 2, pp. 539, 564. The equivalent is 20,685 or 19,857 miles. The Hindus would denote the 180,000 stadia by 2250 yōjana: but such a value does not seem to be found in their books.

² Paŭchasiddhantika, trans., p. 71, verse 18; and compare p. 16, verse 14; p. 57, verse 10.

of time on each side of the prime meridian is $1 n\bar{a}d\bar{\iota}$, = 24 minutes, for $60 y\bar{o}jana$; 1 and this postulates an equatorial circumference of only $3600 y\bar{o}jana$, = 32,400 miles. Further, Albērūnī, while mentioning $1581 y\bar{o}jana$, each of 8 'miles', i.e. $kr\bar{o}$ śas (see p. 239 above), as Brahmagupta's value of the diameter, has represented him as using in his Khaṇḍakhādya still another value for the circumference, namely $4800 y\bar{o}jana$. This I am not able to verify: but it may be a substitute, for some general purposes, for the 4743 which would be deduced from the diameter of 1581 with the value $\pi=3$, which is mentioned by Brahmagupta as giving the $vy\bar{a}vah\bar{a}rika$ or rough practical circumference.

Jervis quoted the following other values:4—

Laghu-Vāsishtha-Siddhānta	\int diam. 1581 $y\bar{o}jana$.
nagia (distribution	(circ. 4966 ,,
Siddhāntaśēkhara	(diam. 1581 .,
	(circ. 5000 ,,
Sārvabhauma-Siddhānta .	diam. 1600 ,, circ. 5026 ,,
	eirc. 5026 ,,
Ārya-Siddhānta	. circ. 6625 ,,

There is no difficulty in recognizing the bases of the statements of the first three works. The fourth work is the Mahā-Siddhānta or Second Ārya-Siddhānta, which says (p. 39, verse 56) that the circumference is 6625 yōjana—ta-yav-āngula-mānēna, "by the measure of the angula of six yava." This is only another variety of the same estimate: 6625 yōjanas of this kind would be equal to 4968 or 4969 yōjanas by the measure of the

¹ Brāhma-Siddhānta, p. 414, verse 10.

² Trans., vol. i, p. 312.

³ Brāhma-Siddhānta, p. 198, verse 40.

⁴ Primitive Universal Standard of Weights and Measures (1835), p. 73. It may be noted, as a curiosity, that on p. 53 he made practical use of the long value of π quoted by me in this Journal, 1911. 793, and took the decimal even two places farther, ending with 32384.

angula of eight yava. Perhaps some reader of this Journal in the extreme South of India can give us more information about this angula of the Second Ārya-Siddhānta and the yōjana based on it: I have not as yet found them used anywhere else.

J. F. FLEET.

CREMATION AND BURIAL IN THE RGVEDA

In his elaborate treatise on *The Early Age of Greece* ¹ Professor Ridgeway has laid great, and indeed excessive, stress on the importance of the difference between cremation and burial as indicating racial distinctions. Thus he has argued that the practice of burial in Mycenean ² civilization, as contrasted with the practice of cremation, which is decisively Homeric, is to be explained by the fact that on the earlier civilization had been imposed a later structure in the shape of an Achæan inroad, the Achæans being of Celtic stock, and coming from northern lands where cremation had become usual, while the Achæans he sharply distinguished from Dorians, ³ who were Illyrians, ⁴ by their method of disposal of the dead, the Dorians practising interment and not burning.

Now it is worth noticing that Professor Ridgeway's own evidence from Hallstadt and elsewhere 5 shows that cremation and burial often existed contemporaneously, and that in some places the rich, in some the poor, were buried, in some places were burned. These facts he

¹ See i, 481–551. ² i, 514.

[&]quot;Cf. "Minos the Destroyer" (Brit. Acad. Proceedings, iv), p. 28. But we have no real evidence of what the Dorians did for centuries after their entry into Greece, and this argument from their later usages is not cogent.

⁴ "Who were the Dorians?" in Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor, pp. 295 seqq. Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic 2, p. 61, n., suggests that the Dorians were the tribe of the hand (δῶρον), quoting the lambda on their shields. Unhappily for this wild guess, δίδωμι does not mean "moving the hand" either in Greek or in Sanskrit.

⁵ i, 429, 439, 495-8,

explains by the view that this is a sign of the intermingling of two populations, the "Mediterranean race" and the Alpine or Celtic stock, in the localities in question. But there is not the slightest trace of any reason to assert that the two strata of the population (assuming that they existed) were differentiated in matter of disposal after death; that this was so can only be inferred if we establish otherwise that difference in mode of disposing of the dead is an essential sign of race difference.

Now Professor Ridgeway² cites the Vedic Indians as a people who burned their dead, and he traces them by this characteristic back to Central Europe. But it is quite certain that our earliest evidence is unfavourable to In the Rgveda³ we find expressly mentioned as Pitrs, and therefore as belonging to the Aryan rulers and not to the Śūdra or aboriginal population, those yé agnidagdhā yé ánagnidagdhāh, and the Atharvaveda 4 tells us of the Pitrs yé níkhātā yé pároptā yé dagdhá yé códdhitāḥ. It is unnecessary to consider closely what is denoted by the two additional categories,5 but here we have clear evidence of the existence of both customs simultaneously among one people. Nor can we follow Oldenberg⁶ in denying that the usage of burial is to be seen in another passage of the Rgveda 7 which tells earth to receive the dead. It is perfectly true that the later ritual 8 adapts the passage to the case of the interment of bones after cremation, but this is no proof of its earlier use, and, so

¹ See e.g. Sergi, The Mediterranean Race, 1901; Ripley, The Races of Europe, 1900.

² i, 532 seqq. ³ x, 15. 14. ⁴ xviii, 2. 34.

⁵ pároptāh refers perhaps to exposure (as in Iran) of the dead body to the elements and the birds and beasts, a practice not unknown in later India (see Vincent Smith, Early History of India², pp. 143, 144; Nariman, JRAS. 1912, p. 257); úddhitāh to exposure on a platform or tree.

⁶ Religion des Veda, p. 571. He does not, however, suggest that burial was not known.

⁷ x, 18. 9-13. See also Atharvaveda, xviii, 2. 50-2.

⁸ Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 580.

far from there being nothing in the language to show that the burial of a corpse is meant, the whole passage is full of such indications: the earth is to open up, a thousand pillars are to keep it up, houses dropping ghee are to be assigned to the dead, a pillar (sthūnā) is to be set up. All these are expressions little fitting the small cavity required by a few charred bones, but admirably reminiscent of the stately tombs of Mycenæ. Thus, as a token of racial distinction cremation and burial cannot be successfully used in face of the Vedic evidence, which presents us with early reliable proof of the coexistence of either usage, a coexistence which it may be added is attested for later India through all the ages. With this may be compared the evidence of Ling Roth 1 regarding the Tasmanians who practised simultaneously several very differing modes of burial, and in whose case racial grounds of distinction are not obvious.

It is not, of course, easy to see why Homer should know or mention but one mode of disposal of the dead, but Professor Ridgeway's theory ² really does not help. On his own view the Achæans were a mere aristocracy who ruled over an earlier race, and the poet must have known both burial (used by that race) and cremation, and not cremation alone; equally possibly the change of the prevailing mode of disposal of the dead may have resulted from other motives, some change in the mode

¹ The Tasmanians, pp. 128 seqq. Cf. Lang, The World of Homer, pp. 4, 105-12.

² It is accepted by Burrows, Discoveries in Crete, pp. 209-13. Dörpfeld's ingenious view (Mélanges Nicole, pp. 95 seqq.) that in all cases burial took place, but in some seorching (occasionally leading to complete burning) as a quasi means of embalming, is quite impossible in view of the language of Homer as well as archæological evidence. It is, however, probable that the use of $\tau a \rho \chi b e \nu$ in R. vii. 85; xvi, 457, is a proof that Homer knew of burial as an alternative, as Zehetmaier (Leichenverbrennung und Leichenbestattung im alten Hellas, pp. 121, 122) argues. Zehetmaier is not a believer in the racial distinction of modes of burial, and it is hard to see what ground there is a priori for acceptance of the theory.

of regarding the spirit, or perhaps the necessity of foreign warfare, like the attack on Ilion, and this may have been brought about without any change of race at Or, again, it is perfectly possible that there was influence from the north by peaceful contact, not by conquest. Nor need we doubt that tribal movements were known before the Achæan and Dorian invasions. What is certainly not rendered even probable by the evidence is that there was ever a great Achæan invasion of Celts² practising burning, not burial, upon an earlier purely aboriginal population which was Indo-European in speech but melanchrous and rather small in stature, and which buried its dead. All the evidence so far available justifies us rather in asserting that the aboriginal people did not speak an Indo-European tongue, and that the Achæans were only the chief and for a time the political leaders of the many Āryan Greek tribes 3 who at some uncertain date—perhaps in special strength in the fifteenth century 4—

¹ It may have been aristocratic, but aristocraey is not necessarily racial, and Homer is doubtless in part aristocratic, but he describes the burning of the ordinary soldier as well as of the chief (e.g. Elpenor's burial; cf. Lang, Homer and his Age, p. 99). Murray, Rise of the Greek Epic², p. 96, lays stress on the desire to avoid harm to the body of the dead, which is not, however, altogether consistent with the raising of a mound over the ashes, and he does not insist that it was introduced merely by the northern invaders (whom he brings to Mykenai in the time of its burials).

² The Celtic theory is not to be pressed; that the Greek invaders were Āryans is clear; that they spoke before the invasion during a sojourn in the Danubian region an Āryan tongue is also clear, and probably it would approximate more closely to the Teutonic and Celtic speeches than it did later—though we do not know for this early period the nature of the Teutonic and Celtic speeches or their differentiation (if the differentiation which is usually ascribed to a racial mixing of the Celts had commenced). But that the Acheans were really Celtic in any precise sense is a priori improbable, and the labialism argument has been refuted by Monro, Homer's Odyssey, p. 487.

³ Ionians, Pelasgians perhaps, and Minyai must be reckoned here with others. The Achæans may have been and probably were later comers than these.

⁴ The end of late Minoan (or Cnossus) II. It seems to follow the sack of the palace about 1400 n.c., see Burrows, pp. 94-7, which Ridgeway

settled in Greece, introducing the Greek tongue. But we cannot postulate that these invaders practised cremation alone either when they entered Greece or after they settled there. Moreover, Professor Ridgeway seems to have overlooked the date of the Vedic evidence for cremation when he insists that the Hindus derived the practice from Central Europe. The evidence of the Rgveda cannot reasonably be regarded as later than 1200 B.C., and may well be centuries older, and the evidence for cremation in Central Europe so early is very feeble.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE PARAMARTHA-SARA

Mr. Sovani's arguments may be briefly answered. We have (1) Abhinava-gupta's Paramārtha-sāra, a poem in 105 āryā verses, which modestly claims to be an abridgment of an older work styled "Ādhāra-kārikāh" and purporting to have been delivered by the serpent-king Śēṣa to an inquirer, and secondly (2) a work that has been published in four editions, viz., by Bāla Śāstrī in the Pandit, by Kēvaldīn at the Navalkišōr Press, by the compiler of the Śabda-kalpa-druma, and by Paṭṭisapu

accepts. Probably Greeks were in Greece proper for some generations or possibly centuries earlier; Hall, Oldest Civilisation of Greece, went perhaps too far in ascribing to them a large influence on the Minoan culture. Burrows, pp. 146, 194, shows the evidence against the Indo-European character of the language of the Mediterranean race as derived from traces of it in Egyptian, in Welsh, and Irish as compared with Berber and Egyptian. See also Kretschmer, Gesch. d. griech. Sprache, and Fick, Vorgriechische Ortsnamen and Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland. Conway's view (BSA. viii, 125 seqq.; x, 115 seqq.) that this language is Āryan is based on a series of improbable suppositions, and is rightly rejected by Burrows (pp. 151 seqq.) and Murray.

¹ See i, 495, 500, 503, 506, 548. He regards the Hindus as making their way into India before the beginning of the iron age, 1400 B.c., and "How much earlier who can say?" But there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Indians came from Central Europe (the pros and cons are too evenly balanced to render any opinion useful), and there is certainly none as to the date of the beginning of the iron age there or elsewhere in

Europe at 1400 B.C.

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Vēnkatēśvarudu in Madras. The latter work as presented in these four editions contains respectively 86, 89, 79, and 79 stanzas. My view, as expressed in the JRAS, of 1910. p. 708, is that the latter is mainly borrowed from Abhinava-gupta's Po, and dressed up so as to wear the aspect of orthodox Vaisnava monism, though possibly it may have been based upon the lost original of Abhinavagupta's poem. Mr. Sovani, on the contrary, has discovered that this precious tract, which in its various recensions contains, as I have said, between 79 and 89 verses, is the original Ādhāra-kārikāh of which Abhinava-gupta's P° (containing 105 stanzas) is an abridgment. On this discovery comment is superfluous. I content myself with remarking that Mr. Sovani's arguments prove precisely nothing. The commentator on the Prabodha-candrodaya is late (sixteenth century); the Prabodha-sudhakara throws no light whatever on the subject; and his further observations on Patanjali are quite irrelevant.

L. D. BARNETT.

GINGER

On p. 169 of this Journal for 1905, Dr. Thomas expressed doubts as to the derivation of the Sanskrit word $sringav\bar{e}ra = \text{Greek} \quad \xi \nu \gamma \gamma (\beta \epsilon \rho \iota \varsigma = \text{German} \quad Ingwer = \text{English} "ginger". I think it is quite evident that the second half of it, <math>v\bar{e}ra$, goes back to the well-known Dravidian word $v\bar{e}r$ (Kanarese $b\bar{e}r$), "a root." This derivation was first suggested by Dr. Gundert in ZDMG., vol. xxiii, p. 518, and in his Malayāļam dictionary, s.v. $i\bar{n}ji$, where $*chi\bar{n}ji$ - $v\bar{e}r$ is assumed to be the original Dravidian form of the word. This reference seems to be the source of Dr. Burnell's statements in the Indian Antiquary, vol. i, p. 352, and Hobson-Jobson, p. 286.

Professor Zachariae draws my attention to the fact that the Dravidian origin of the word *vēra* as second member of Sanskrit compounds seems to have been known to Nilakantha, who, in his commentary on Mahābhārata, iii, 188, 42, remarks on the word hrīvēra as follows: वर्गब्द: कर्णाट्यु मूचे प्रसिद्ध: i.e. "the word bēra is employed among the Kanarcse people in the sense of 'root'"; see Dr. Printz's dissertation Bhāshā-Wörter in Nīlakantha's Bhāratabhāvadīpa, p. 17. It may be noted in passing that the earliest Sanskrit work which quotes Tamil words is Bhaṭṭa Kumārila's Tantravārttika (p. 157 of the Benares edition of 1903); cf. Dr. Burnell, Ind. Ant., vol. i, pp. 309 ff.

The first two syllables of *śringavēra* may be a Paṇḍit's corruption of the Tamil and Malayālam *iñji*, "green ginger," or its prototype *chiñji, as suggested by Dr. Gundert. But, like Dr. Thomas, I cannot follow Dr. Burnell if he connected this word with another term which is used in various dialects as a designation of "dry ginger", and which appears in the dictionaries under the following forms: Tamil śuṇḍi; Malayālam, Telugu, Kanarese, and Sanskrit śuṇṭhi; Mahrāṭhī and Gujarātī suṇṭh; Hindī sōṇṭh.

The resemblance which *śunthi* bears to *inji* is of a very superficial nature, and the derivation of the second form from the first or vice versa is phonetically impossible. Besides, the fact that in Tamil "green ginger" is called *inji* and at the same time "dry ginger" *śundi* precludes the identity of both words.

E. Hultzsch.

VERSES RELATING TO GIFTS OF LAND

On p. 252 of this volume Mr. Pargiter has traced one of the verses quoted in grants of land to the *Mahābhārata*, book iii. When perusing portions of this poem some time ago, I noted, besides that verse, another which is sometimes cited in grants (e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 142, l. 33 f.), viz. xiii, 62, 48—

त्रादित्यो वर्षणो विष्णर्त्रह्मा सोमो ज्ञताश्रनः।
भूलपाणिश्व भगवान्प्रतिनन्दन्ति भूमिदम्॥

E. HULTZSCH.

RUPNATH EDICT OF ASOKA

I venture to offer the following brief notes as a contribution to the further study of the Sahasrām-Bairāt-Rūpnāth-Siddapur edict of Aśoka, which has been the subject of so many interesting discussions.

- 1. Samānā. The word occurs in the Siddapur version as part of the phrase amisā samānā munisā, which corresponds to the ammisamdevā samta munisā of Sahasrām. It is therefore a middle participle of the verb as, "to be," which is stated by B. & R., following Burnouf, Lotus de la Bonne Loi, pp. 409-10, to be used after adjectives—we might add also after nouns, participles, etc., as is proved by Burnouf's own instances. Although it might not be difficult to find another explanation of the idiom (e.g. °samāna = °prāya), yet, inasmuch as other middle forms of the verb are known (see, for example, Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar², 636d), the participle samāna is an unquestionable possibility, and that this was the current understanding of the word appears, as was noted by M. Senart in his article relating to the edict (Journal Asiatique, xix, p. 482, 1892), from its equivalence to samta in the present passage. I will now append the instances, additional to those given by Burnouf and Childers, which I have found of its occurrence.
 - (a) Dīgha-Nikāya, vol. i, p. 18, ll. 25-6 (Brahmajāla Sutta): āgato samāno (cf. I. 27).
 - (b) Id., p. 60, ll. 21 and 28-9 (Sāmaññaphala Sutta): pabbajito samāno.
 - (c) Jātaka, vol. i, p. 218, l. 32:

 aham samma makkatacchāpako samāno . . . nigodhapotakassa aggamkure khādāmi.

(For the above three examples I am indebted to Dr. Sten Konow's article dealing with the word in his collectanea for the Pali Dictionary, published in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1909, p. 90.)

(d) Samyutta-Nikāya, vol. i, p. 217, ll. 17-18:

idha kho tam bhikkhave sobhetha yam tumhe evam svākhyāte dhammavinaye pabbajitā samānā uṭṭhaheyyātha.

- (e) ¹ Saddharmapundarīka (ed. Kern), p. 11, v. 22:

 kāmscicca pasyāmy ahu bodhisattvān
 bhiksū samānā pavane vasanti.
- 2. Palakama (Sahasrām, Bairāt), pakama (Rūpnāth, Siddapur).

There can be no doubt concerning the meaning of the former, which occurs also in Rock Edicts vi and x. It represents the parākrama, parakkama of the texts, one of the Buddhists pāramitās, a synonym of vīrya, viriya, in conjunction with which it constantly appears. I have elsewhere remarked ("Les Vivāsāh d'Aśoka": Journal Asiatique, 1910, pp. 515–16) that it contains an at least latent implication of bodily activity, and therefore in this passage is practically equivalent to pakama, which in the Pali texts is exceedingly common in the sense of travelling.

Professor Hultzsch, however, is not content with this explanation. He declines (JRAS., 1911, pp. 1115-16) to accept the evidence of the Pali books, and contends that "in explaining doubtful words we ought to rely on parallel passages of the edicts themselves, whenever we can quote such, rather than on the language of the Vinayapitaka or any other extraneous guide".

I do not apprehend any wide acceptance of such a canon, and I feel some confidence in averring that solid advance in the interpretation of these texts has been due to comparison with the language of the Buddhist books.

But in the case of the word pakama we are without passages in the edicts to use for the purpose of comparison;

¹ Add also the following: Dīgha Nikāya (Tevijja Sutta), i, p. 350, 1. 22; Jātaka (Nidānakathā), i, p. 22, Il. 9, 28; Divyāvadāna, p. 651, 1. 6.

nor do I see any advantage in Professor Hultzsch's quotation of parākrama in Rock Edict x as equivalent of pakama in this edict, when two versions of this very edict supply him with the equivalence in its strongest form, namely in identical passages. If the equivalence is evident anywhere, it is here.

The proposed meaning "to exert oneself", "to be zealous" is not absent from the Buddhist books only. It is likewise absent from general Sanskrit literature, where the word usually means "a procedure". Furthermore, it is not supported by the derivation. In fact, it reposes solely upon a view of the present passage, where I have shown that it is not indispensable.

I will now prove that parakrama has a meaning which brings it closer to prakrama as denoting "travel". The word expresses not merely a moral quality, but rather a bodily (and hence mental) activity, in virtue of which it is frequently contrasted with kausīdya, "sloth." regards the ordinary Sanskrit literature, anyone can convince himself of this by consulting the lexica. From the Buddhist writings we may cite the passage in the Lalitavistara (Lefmann, p. 53, v. 10), tasya viryacaritasya tat phalam yena kāyu yatha meru sobhate, where a strong bodily constitution is said to result from the exercise of this virtue in a previous birth. The Pali writings often couple the word with arambha and nikkama (e.g. Samyutta-Nikāya, vol. v, p. 105, ll. 30, 31; p. 107, ll. 1, 2), and Trenckner in his edition of the Milindapanha (notes, p. 428) goes so far as to make it equivalent to nikkama. But the most decisive passages are two occurring in the Vinayapitaka and Saddharmapundarīka respectively, viz.:

tassa accūraddhaviriyassa cankamato pādā bhijjimsu (Mahāvagga, v, 1. 13).

[&]quot;Through his excessive activity his feet were injured by his walking about."

vīrye sthitāh keci jinasya putrā middham jahitvā ca ašesato 'nye | cankramyayuktāh pavane vasanti vīryena te prasthita agrabodhim | (Suddharmap., ed. Kern, p. 13, v. 31).

"Other sons of Buddha, relying upon activity and having abandoned all sloth, engaged in walking about, live on air. These have sought the highest enlightenment by way of activity."

Here the virtue of $v\bar{v}rya$ (= $par\bar{a}krama$) is expressly associated with walking to and fro (cankramya), and it is therefore far from surprising when we find similar ideas associated in the edict of Asóka.

3. Amisā. M. Lévi's convincing interpretation of this word (in his most valuable article, Journal Asiatique, xvi, pp. 119-26, 1911) has been generally accepted, and the resultant meaning that "those men in Jambudvipa who had 'had unmixing gods' have been mixed with the gods" appears inevitable. But the practical import is far from clear, and I am unable to solve the problem. That the gods mentioned are real gods (see the remarks of Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch, pp. 1091 and 1114 above) and not kings, as M. Lévi suggested, and that the munisa are ordinary men and not deified teachers, as is proposed by Pandit Laddu (JRAS, 1911, pp. 1117-19), is the most natural interpretation. We must remember that the result described had been attained—and not by greatness, but by energy—in little more than a year. Are we to understand a conversion of people who previously did not recognize the Brahmanical gods?

In any case the result is a curious outcome of Aśoka's first work as a zealous Buddhist. But for the laity, even among the Buddhists, heaven is the goal in prospect, as appears later in this very edict, and also in Rock Edict vi. Aśoka is himself devānāmpriya.

4. Sāvana. I cannot agree with Professor Hultzsch

that $s\bar{a}vana$ denotes the whole edict. When Aśoka refers to the inscriptions themselves, he uses variants of the phrase dhammalipi lekhāpitā. How could $s\bar{a}vane$ $s\bar{a}v\bar{a}pite$ or $s\bar{a}vane$ $s\bar{a}vite$ refer to a writing? And why should the phrase have a different meaning here from that which it bears in Pillar Edict vii-viii, etāye me athāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni, where it is coupled with dhammanusathini vividhāni āñapitāni? In the present case the matter is especially clear, as the words conveying the sāvane are enclosed between yathā (Siddapur II) and ti (Rupnath, Bairat, Siddapur).

F. W. Thomas.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF BHAKTI

- 1. I read with pleasure the article with the above title by Dr. G. A. Grierson, vide JRAS. for July, 1911, pp. 800–1. In the anecdote cited by him from the Bhāgavata-Māhātmya, Bhakti (Love to God) was born in Drāvida and grew up in Karnāṭaka. Drāvida country, for purposes of this anecdote, would be the stretch of country in South India lying between N. lat. 8° and 11° approximately, and Karnāṭaka that between N. lat. 11° and 14° about.
- 2. In the Dvāpara Age, Bhakti descended on earth in the person of Śrī Kṛṣṇa on the shores of the Yamunā in North India. After his departure from the mundane sphere, the light of Bhakti became dim. It took birth again in the Drāvida country in the Kali Age. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, vi, 1, 50, says—

Kalau Jagat-patim, Viṣṇum sarva-sraṣṭāram Īśvaram Nā 'rcayiṣyanti, Maitreya! pāṣaṇḍô-pahatā janāḥ.

"O Maitreya! In the Kali Age, men, deluded by heresy, worship not Viṣṇu, the Lord of Kosmos, the Supreme, the All-Creator."

(Also see Harivamsa, i, 54, 61: "Mahesvaram," etc.)

After thus becoming dim, Bhakti took birth in the Drāvida country, for all the Bhakta, to proclaim Bhakti,

take birth here. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, v, 38-40, of which one verse only may here be cited, in Drāvida land mostly, i.e. N. lat. 8-11°, the Bhaktas, such as the Āzhvārs (vide my Lives of Dravida Saints), take birth—

Kvacit kvacit, mahārāja! Dravidesu ca bhūrisah Tāmraparņī nadī yatra Kṛtamālā Payasvinī Kāverī ca mahāpuṇyā, etc.

"Here and there, O great King! the devotees of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) take birth, but mostly on the banks of (the Rivers) Tāmraparṇi, Kṛtamālā, Payasvinī, and meritorious Kāveri are they born."

St. Śaṭhagopa was born on the banks of the Tāmraparnī, 18 miles from Tinnevelly (Madras Presidency), about N. lat. 8° 50'.

- 3. Then came Rāmānuja and his predecessors (vide my Life of Rāmānuja and his Predecessors), who continued the work of the Drāvida saints in the Karņāṭaka country, i.e. N. lat. 11–14°, where lay Rāmānuja's chief field for proclaiming bhakti. In what is now, in the twentieth century, called Karṇāṭaka in a limited sense, viz. the Mysore State, Rāmānuja laboured incessantly for nearly fourteen years, restoring the ruins of the ancient and archaic temple of Nārāyaṇa in Melkote (or Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-puram), 30 miles north of the city of Mysore. Bhakti therefore really grew up in Karṇāṭaka.
- 4. In the Marātha (Mahārāstra) and the Gujarāt country, Rāmānuja's influence was not so fully discernible, hence Bhakti might well have exclaimed "my limbs were mutilated by heretics" (JRAS., p. 801).
- 5. In Bṛndāvana, on the banks of the Yamunā, Bhakti might again well say: "Since I came to V(B)ṛndāvana, I have recovered and am now young and beautiful" (JRAS., p. 801). For, as Dr. Grierson might have

personally witnessed, another great shrine, on the pattern of the Great Shrine Śrīrangam (near Trichinopoly on the Kāveri River), has grown at Bṛṇdāvana, on the lines ordained in the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavat-sāstra (vide my article on this theme in JRAS. October, 1911), to which Rāmānuja and his school belong.

- 6. Even before Rāmānuja, St. Parakāla (Kali Age)¹ visited the shores of the Yamunā; next Yāmunâcārya, the great Guru of Rāmānuja in the tenth century, obtained his name Yāmuna by dwelling on the banks of the Yamunā.
- 7. All these events go to illustrate the anecdote so aptly unearthed by Dr. Grierson from Indian *bhakti* literature.

A. GOVINDÂCĀRYA SVĀMIN.

Mysore (South India). October 25, 1911.

ANOTHER NOTE ON THE WORD BHAGAVAN

In JRAS. for 1911, p. 194, Dr. F. Otto Schrader advocates "Holy" for *Bhagavān*. But this word would only be equivalent to Śuddhah, Pariśuddhah, Pātah, Pāvanah, Pavitrah, used in Sanskrit as epithets of God, and would not express the totality of attributes involved in *Bhagavān*.

The term "Perfect" which I proposed along with other terms, such as "Glorious", "Blessed", etc., although it approaches the perfection of God in all auspicious attributes, would literally, though not connotatively, be an equivalent of the Sanskrit $P\bar{u}rnah$, another epithet of the Deity.

Other epithets which imperfectly comprehend all that is intended by *Bhagavān* are Divine, Supreme, Exalted, and Blissful. The second and third of these are represented by the Sanskrit *Parah*, while Blissful has its counterpart

¹ No. 17, in the hierarchic Table attached to my *Lives of Saints*: his Tamil name is Tirumangai.

in \bar{A} nandah. Divine is simply that which pertains to Deva (Divya).

The infinitude of the auspicious attributes of God, and the entire absence of inauspicious attributes, are implied by the word Bhagavan, as explained in the verse from the Visnu-Purāna (VI. v. 79) quoted several times in the course of this correspondence. On p. 7 of my English translation of the Bhagavad - Gita with Ramanuja's Commentary, I rendered the six types of attributes therein enumerated as follows: (1) $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$, omniscience; (2) śakti, omnipotence or power; (3) bala, strength; (4) aiśvarya, sovereignty; (5) vīrya, constancy or endurance; (6) tējas, glory.1 The question is therefore what single term could be chosen to completely express omniscience + omnipotence + strength + sovereignty + endurance + glory? There are three from which to choose-Perfect, Divine, Blessed. Inasmuch as, not only in idiom and sentiment but also in usage, in both English and Sanskrit, the word "Blessed" most nearly approaches Bhagavān, I resign in its favour terms "Perfect" and "Divine", and join Professor Hopkins, who supports this rendering in his article on "The Epic use of Bhagavat" on pp. 727 ff. of JRAS. for 1911. But I should nevertheless prefer the adoption of the word "Bhagavat" itself, without translation, just as "avatāra", "karma", and "pandit" have been admitted citizenship in the vocabulary of the English language.

I am unable to accept Mr. V. V. Sovani's statement that the term *Bhagavān* was first used of great spiritual teachers and inquirers, and that next it came to be used as an epithet of those persons who had acquired spiritual powers, and that then it came to be used of emancipated souls, and, finally, of God. On the contrary, I agree with Professor Hopkins when he says: "It does not

¹ Even these renderings are tentative, but for our present purpose they may be accepted.

seem to me that the advance in application indicated by teacher, spiritually gifted persons, emancipated souls, God, can be maintained as a strictly historical fact." As for me, Parāśara settles the question in a reverse order—

Aśabda-gōcarasyâ 'pi tasya vai Brahmaṇo, dvija | pūjāyām BHAGAVAT-śabdaḥ kriyate hy upacārataḥ | (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, VI. v. 71.)

The purport of this verse is that God is ineffable—no word can express Him, but, as in His personal character he possesses "perfections" or "auspicious attributes", even the word "Bhagavān" is a conditional or reverential appellative—a word chosen for the sake of reverence to designate Him.

tatra pūjya-padarthô-'kti paribhāṣā-samanvitah | śabdô 'yam nô 'pacāreṇa tv anyatra hy upacāratah || (ib. 77.)

But even this term *Bhagavān*, as a conditional epithet for God, is a sign or mark most aptly expressive of Him. Primarily it expresses "God", and it is only secondarily transferred or applied to others (teachers, etc., of Mr. Sovani) as an honorific or courtesy title. Parāśara himself explains how the term most fully expresses the idea of God in *Viṣṇu-Purāna*: VI. v. 72-6. It is unnecessary to quote the text, which is easily accessible.

"O Maitreya, the word *Bhagavat* is expressive of Para-Brahman, the holy, the ineffably glorious, the cause of all causes. (72.)

"The syllable bha has two senses—Prop and Protector; and the syllable ga, O sage, means 'Leader', 'Director', 'Creator'. (73.)

"The dissyllable *bhaga* is the sign expressive of the sextuple totality of sovereignty, energy, glory, wealth, wisdom, and freedom. (74.)

"The syllable $va = v\bar{a}n$ is for Him who, by virtue of all objects (beings) abiding in Him, is the Inexhaustible,

the Spirit of beings, the All-Spirit—He abiding in all things without exception. (75.)

"Thus, Maitreya, this great word *Bhagavān* is the epithet solely of Vāsudēva, who is Para-Brahman; and is not otherwise applicable." (76.)

Then follows verse 77 already quoted, and the whole is summed up in the oft-quoted 79th verse referred to above, which it is needless to repeat.

The Naighantukas have ruled "Tatra-bhavān BHAGA-VAN iti šabdo vrddhaih prayujyate pūjye"; the terms Tatra-bhavān and Bhagavān are used by great men for adorable objects.

Dr. G. A. Grierson's choice "Adorable" is but the equivalent of *Dhyeyah*, or *Updsyah*, or *Arcyah*.

Until, therefore, further perfection is attained, I would adhere to "Blessed" as the best translation of *Bhagavān*, which has a predicative value, of which even the Latin *Optimus Maximus* falls very much short.

A. GOVINDACĀRYA SVĀMIN.

VEDA-GRHAM, MYSORE. October 25, 1911.

Two Corrected Readings in the Myazedi (Talaing) Inscription

The words which I read as $dijh\bar{a}m$ and ijhim in my transliterations of the above-named inscription published in this Journal should be written $di\bar{n}c\bar{a}m$ and $i\bar{n}cim$ respectively. I make this alteration both on palæographical and on linguistic grounds. The symbol which I had conjecturally rendered jh is plainly, as I now see, $\bar{n}c$, a composite of \bar{n} and c (the Pāli version, I am informed by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, confirms this); and the amended readings give forms which from the point of view of comparative phonetics are more acceptable than my first readings, because more consistent with the phonetic system of

Talaing itself, in its later stages, and of the Mon-Khmer family in general. There is only one point remaining to be cleared up: the form incim appears to involve the prefix in-, with which I am not familiar; but this may turn up elsewhere some day.

(Since the above was written and sent in, a new inscription of the same period has been received by me which contains the word pañcaprāsād, exhibiting the same composite nc. This Indian loanword settles the readings conclusively.)

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SHANS AND BUDDHISM OF THE NORTHERN CANON

In his article on Buddhism in the Shan States, Sir George Scott contends that it is more reasonable to suppose that the first introduction of Buddhism into the Nan-chao and the Mao Shan kingdoms was from India direct, or from Mongolia, than that it was from the south. The Shans were, and are, a considerable people, and the question of the earliest source of their Buddhism is one of sufficient importance to justify looking over the evidence Sir George produces in support of his contention, and to see what may be said on the other side. Sir George Scott is recognized as a great, if not the greatest, authority on the Shans, and anything he writes in regard to their history and religion is worthy of more than ordinary consideration. In the present instance, however, the evidence is of the slightest, and he himself seems to think that his argument is rather interesting than conclusive, for he admits that "the matter is one quite incapable of proof at the present time". Let those of us who hold that the Shans, in all probability, never had any Buddhism until they got it from the south be equally generous, and admit that we cannot prove beyond a question but that the Shans may have had some form of Buddhism before the introduction of the Southern Canon; we argue only for a stronger probability.

This review of the article need not detain us long, for about two-thirds of it has to do with the general history of the Shans and with descriptions of hill races, with little direct bearing on the subject supposed to be treated except as a sort of pictorial background. This is pardonable, for every writer on the Shans knows how necessary it is to draw at times on extraneous material (and imagination) to fill in the wide blank spaces of the Shan records.

On p. 920 Sir George says: "there is evidence of lamaism among the Mongols and in the train of Kublai Khan two hundred years and more before the Peguan king came with his Buddhism to the Mao Shan kingdom." That statement probably no one would question; but it is followed by this non sequitur: "It seems therefore very clear that Buddhism existed most probably in both the Ngai-lao and Meng Mao kingdoms at least as early as it did in Burma, and that it was of the Northern Canon" (the italies are mine). Why is this so very clear? We can show that there is a reasonable degree of probability that Buddhism of the Southern Canon existed in both the Ngai-lao and the Mao Shan kingdoms before the days of Kublai Khan, and with that at least he had nothing to do. Whether these Shans had, or did not have, Buddhism of the Northern Canon at a still earlier date remains to be seen. If they had, it certainly was not due to the missionary efforts of Prince Kublai, for he was not yet born.

Of as little value historically is the reference to Asoka and his 86,000 pagodas (p. 921). That he ever built 86,000 pagodas is probably an hyperbole. The Shan reference to these pagodas belongs to the legendary part of Shan history, where there is a Buddhistical attempt to connect the line of Shan princes, and some of the old towns, with the great Rajas of India. No Shan scholar

seems ever to have taken these fictions very seriously before, and that Sir George himself thinks that they have any historical value is doubtful. Just why he should bring these non-existent pagodas into his argument, and see under them manuscripts of the Northern Canon of Buddhism, I do not pretend to know. My opinion of his scholarship is so high that I am compelled to regard it as a jest; or it may be one of the cases in which it was necessary to draw on the imagination to fill in a blank space.

In order to discredit the Shan accounts of the coming of Shan princes from Möng-hi Möng-ham on the Mehkawng to the Mao Shan kingdom, and of their bringing manuscripts with them, the writer of the article says that "it was quite a common affair in later days for Shan States which had no direct or suitable heir to send to Möng Mit for a ruler", on the ground that they were of the "purer northern Tai". He further maintains that if Shan princes came in from the south "it would be a reversal of all that we know". On the contrary, it is all that we do know, and reverses nothing. There are a few things on which the Shan records agree, and among them are the following: that the old Mao Shan dynasty ran out before the administration of the "Elders"; that Shan princes were called in (or came of their own accord) from the south; that one of these established a new line of princes at Möng Mit (as well as others at Hsen-wi and Möng Mao); that every Shan ruler borrowed from Möng Mit by any other Shan State was of the Möng-hi Möng-ham line of princes, and not of the Mao Shan line as Sir George assumes. Moreover, when there was any borrowing to be done, the States went to Möng Mao oftener than they did to Möng Mit, until after the former State became tributary to the Chinese (or at least the capital and a part of the Mao kingdom). It is therefore quite incorrect to say that the Shans regarded

the Möng Mit rulers as of purer Northern Tai stock than the rulers of the neighbouring States, for they all alike belonged to the same Möng-hi Möng-ham line. If there be any doubt of this, I can certainly support my statement from four Shan manuscripts lying before me. This is not all: according to one of the Ahom manuscripts the then ruling Möng-hi Möng-ham line of princes came originally from Northern Yunnan, and were of the same ruling family to which the early Mao Shan princes were connected by marriage, and are expressly declared to be ngün sao ngao hkun,1 of the same royal line.

Reference is made in the article to the location of Möng-hi Möng-ham.2 Four Shan records agree in fixing the location on the Me-hkawng; two of them say that it was on the border of Chieng-mai; and one is more explicit and says distinctly that it comprised Möng-lü, Möng-yon, Möng-kang, and Möng-hpa. Just what territory was included in these States we do not now know, but the general location is clear enough. That Shan princes came from this Möng-hi Möng-ham to the Mao Shan kingdom in the ninth or tenth century A.D. is well attested by the Shan records.

All this has little to do with the introduction of Buddhism among the Mao Shans, except as it helps to introduce the next statement, which is that they "brought manuscripts with them". The Shan word used here, lik. shows that more than a mere alphabet was intended. If the latter had been meant, mè-lik or tow-lik would have been used. A literature of some sort is referred to. I would not myself dismiss this important statement so

¹ Literally, "silver of lords, origin of kings," i.e. the pure original (line of) kings. Sao is Shan; hkun (and its couplet kwan) seem to be variants of hkan.

² As to the meaning of "Möng-hi Möng-ham", I have ascertained that hi means "long", and ham is not the couplet but co-ordinate, with the meaning "abandoned, deserted"; hence the name means "the long sparsely settled region".

lightly as Sir George does. As the bulk of the Shan literature for all known branches of the Shans (except the Hinduized Ahoms of Assam) is religious, and that religion Buddhism of the Southern Canon, it is a fair supposition that this literature referred to was at least in part religious, and if religious it was of the Hinayana type. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt; neither is there any sufficient reason for doubting that these princes actually brought letters into the Mao Shan kingdom. It was from that moment that traditional Shan history left off and history began. Traditions of immediately preceding events would be trustworthy, but from a little more than a century earlier all is legendary, and much is manifestly pure fiction. This fact goes against any theory that the Mao Shans had any earlier form of writing.

The writer of the article declares that if letters were brought from the south to the Mao Shan kingdom, it is a reversal of all that we know. I fail to see why. Letters came to Tibet from the south; the main body of the Burman alphabet came from the south; what objection can there be to the assumption that the Mao Shan alphabet and the beginnings of their literature came from the same direction? Granting that Buddhism of the Northern Canon was introduced into the basin of the Irrawaddy at Pagan at an early date, that is far from saying that the same agency must have taken it on to the Mao Shan kingdom, together with its literature. If there is the slightest indication that it did so, I am not aware of it.

But as an alternative Sir George suggests Mongolia as a possible source. If Northern Buddhism was introduced into the Mao Shan kingdom from Mongolia, it must have come via the Ngai-lao Shans of Nan-chao. Concerning the early religion of the Ngai-lao Shans of Nan-chao we have at present one Shan document, and only one, that throws light on the subject, and that is one of the Ahom manuscripts. This states clearly that the Ngai-lao Shans, at the time that Hkun-long and Hkun-lai were sent south to establish a new line of Shan princes in Möng-hi Möng-ham, were animists. Eight lacs of spirits (probably ancestral), as guardian spirits of the land, are mentioned, together with specific directions as to the sacrifices that should be made to them. No mention is made of the Buddha, or of his Law, or of his monks. The record is full of references to animism, but contains no reference to Buddhism whatever.

Ney Elias, relying on a mistranslation of this record, makes out that this Hkun-long and Hkun-lai came down from heaven on an iron ladder; but that the record gives us terrestrial facts (real or assumed) and not celestial myths is evident from the record itself. According to this manuscript, Möng-hi Möng-ham was a part of the Shan province of Möng-htin (Yunnan-sen); Möng-htin extended westward to the Salween; Möng-htin and the Upper Kingdom of the Ngai-lao Shans were "equal in power and glory"; the king of Möng-htin called the northern king "our father"; the northern king called the southern "our son"; a messenger was sent back and forth on horseback; he crossed a river in a boat; the mother 1 of the northern king is mentioned, as also astrologers; Hkun-long and Hkun-lai were sent down to Möng-hi Möng-ham with the knowledge and consent of the king of Möng-htin; they were carried on palanquins, with four bearers each; they were to pay annual tribute to the northern king-this, and much more, shows that we have here a document of some value, and not altogether a silly myth; but even granting that it is a legend, it is a legend of a people that were animistic, and not Buddhistic.

But when did these events take place? No date is

¹ The Shan here is ya hseng hpa, "heavenly-jewel-lady." The Shans of Yunnan still use ya in speaking of any old lady, and, in polite address, of young ladies as well; hence the queen, instead of the queen-mother, may be meant. It is more probable, however, that the aged mother would be called for consultation, as in this case.

given in the manuscript. The time, however, may be calculated approximately. Between the descent of Hkunlong and Hkun-lai from the Northern Kingdom to the Me-hkawng and the coming of the southern princes to the Mao Shan kingdom there were nine reigns. Allowing an average of twenty years for each reign, or a total of 180 years, this would bring us back to the latter part of the seventh century, or, following another Shan record, to the middle of the eighth, i.e. to the reign of the great northern Shan king Koh-lo-feng. At that time, according to this Ahom record, the Ngai-lao Shans were still animists. It is therefore scarcely possible that Buddhism was taken southward until after the reign of Koh-lo-feng, if at all. There was time, however, for the introduction of Buddhism of the Northern Canon into the Ngai-lao kingdom between this date and the inroads of the hordes under Prince Kublai. What proof of it does Sir George give us? Here it is: "The Chinese annals speak of the Ngai-lao kingdom as being quite a reasonable approximation to their own civilization, which is a concession that they are not too free in making in much later times. Some of the details given certainly suggest Buddhism." What these details are he fails to state, though he has given us the pagodas of Asoka. I will, therefore, give what may be one of them myself. In the reign of I-mu-hsun, we are told, four copies of a certain treaty were made. A few years ago I wrote to a distinguished archæologist asking in what languages and alphabets these copies of the treaty were presumably written. The reply stated that they were written in Oighur, Chinese, Tibetan, and Shan respectively. This, if true, would have proved that the Shans were at least a literary people at that time. Unfortunately, no proof whatever of the statement was given. Neither is there anything very remarkable in the "concession", for. according to Mr. E. H. Parker's account, the Chinese attributed whatever culture the Shans may have had to

Chinese artisans taken captive in Ssu-ch'uan, and were praising themselves quite as much as they were the Shans.

In my review of this article I have come now to the longest part, concerning Buddhism among the Lahu tribes. On p. 925 we read, "There is, however, one particular race which shows signs of having been at one time Buddhistic, and so adds ground for belief that Buddhism was adopted in the early years of the Ngai-lao and Mao Shan monarchies." The early home of the Lahus, we are told, was on the extreme upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, on the border of Tibet. The grammatical structure of their language, and the presence in it of many Burman words, places the Lahu in the Tibeto-Burman class. That Northern Buddhism may have been introduced among them when they were still living in that early home is quite possible. This, however, is not evidence that the Ngai-lao and Mao Shans adopted Buddhism from the same source. The secondary seat of the Lahus, in the Nan-chao kingdom, was at Möng-men (Mo-mein), and from that time, according to this article, they have been forgetting their Buddhism as fast as possible, if they ever had any. If they and the Shans were both together Buddhists of the Northern Canon, it is singular that they did not together adopt Buddhism of the Southern Canon. This gives us at least a mere hint that the Lahus were not Buddhists at all. If they ever were, it is peculiar that the Lahus of Kengtung know nothing of it. Their worship now, Sir George tells us, "in its simplicity and vagueness recalls the altars in the courts of the Temple of Heaven in Peking," when it does not correspond to the ordinary spirit worship of their neighbours.

I cordially agree with this charming writer that we know but little about the Shans; but we do know a little, and that little throws no light on any introduction of Buddhism of the Northern Canon among them. I wish

to say, however, that Sir George has made the ablest possible defence of his client. I am therefore sorry that, when weighed in a balance like Belshazzar of old, his client should be found wanting.

W. W. COCHBANE.

HSIPAW, N.S.S. November, 1911.

SHAN BUDDHISM

I do not presume to intervene between Sir George Scott and Mr. Cochrane in their discussion of this subject: I should be risking the fate of the proverbial mouse-deer who got mixed up with two contending elephants. But without taking sides in the debate, may I be permitted to draw attention to a few facts which may have some bearing on the question?

- 1. The Shan word *lik*, which I take from Mr. Cochrane to mean "writing", is an Indian loanword (either from Sanskrit or Pāli). It is found in the same form in Talaing.
- 2. Buddhism of a Sanskrit-using Mahāyānist type can be shown to have prevailed in Southern Indo-China at a very early date, before the Pāli-using type can be traced there. This is pre-eminently the case in Camboja, but the presence of a very large percentage of Sanskrit words in Talaing indicates that it was much the same in the Talaing country too, and it is the same in Siam. This Buddhism, however, is associated everywhere in those regions with an Indian alphabet derived from the Southern Indian type and therefore brought to Indo-China by sea, not from Tibet or Northern India overland.
- 3. All the Tai alphabets that I remember to have seen belong to the Southern Indian type. They seem to be clearly traceable to the same stream of culture which brought this type of alphabet to Camboja and the Talaing country.

Manifestly, therefore, the Shans might have received Buddhism of the Sanskrit-using type from the South of Indo-China together with their alphabet, if they got the latter at a period when this form of Buddhism still flourished in those coast lands, as to which point I profess no opinion. But the possibility seems to have been left unconsidered by both parties to this discussion.

Finally, may I draw attention to a passage in Hackmann's excellent little book Buddhism as a Religion, p. 70, in which he speaks of the Shans as "adherents of Buddhism, but of a type strictly different from Hînayâna"? His authority on the point appears to be a work by G. W. Bird, entitled Wanderings in Burma (London, 1897). The matter is interesting and deserves to be cleared up.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SHAN BUDDHISM

Mr. Cochrane still does not convince me that it may be finally accepted as a fact that Buddhism and letters came to the Tai from the South. The exasperating thing about Tai history is that everything is so vague. We talk glibly of the Mao Shan kingdom, and there is nothing that is conclusive, and very little that is even convincingly suggestive as to where the capital of that kingdom was. We want another Dr. Aurel Stein to dig in the curtilages of the old city sites of deserted Shan capitals to furnish us with clues. The presumption is that the earliest and possibly succeeding capitals were in the Nam Mao valley, at the western extremity of which Mrs. Milne lived when she gathered material for her book on the Shans, but whether it was at Sēlan, or Möng Sē, or Möng Mao, we have nothing to show.

Thanks to Mr. E. H. Parker, we know much more about the earlier Ailao or (Ng) Ailao. We know that the Nanchao kingdom extended to Magadha on the west and to Tibet on the north. It also apparently touched the "Female Prince State" (Camboja) on the south. We

know from Mr. Parker's translations of T'eng-yueh annals that the Nan-chao State was highly organized. "There were Ministers of State, censors, or examiners, generals, record officers, chamberlains, judges, treasurers, ædiles, ministers of commerce, etc., and the native word for each department was given as shwang. Minor officials managed the granaries, stables, taxes, etc., and the military organisation was by tens, centurions, chiliarchs, deka-chiliarchs, and so on. Military service was compulsory for all ablebodied men, who drew lots for each levy. Each soldier was supplied with a leather coat and pair of trousers. There were four distinct army corps or divisions, each having its own standard. The king's body-guard were called Chu-nu katsa, and we are told that katsa or katsü meant leather belt. The men wore chuti, helmets, and carried shields of rhinoceros hide. The centurions were called Lo-tsa-tsz. Land was apportioned to each family according to rank: superior officials received forty shwang or acres (the tone of this word being unlike the tone of the first-mentioned word shwung). Some of the best cavalry soldiers were of the Wang-tsa tribe, west of the Mè Khawng. The women of this tribe fought too, and the helmets of the Wang-tsa were studded with cowries. There were six metropolitan departments and six provincial viceroys in Nanchao. The barbarian word for department was kien." This does not sound like the status of an animist race, and the further statement that "When the king sallied forth, eight white-scalloped standards of greyish purple were carried before him; two feather fans, a chowrie, an axe, and a parasol of kingfishers' feathers having a red bag" sounds still less like what we are inclined to associate with the cult of fetish-worshippers.

The old writers of annals were not concerned with the religion of the peoples they fought with. They were greatly more interested in their powers of resistance and in the plunder that was to be had if they were conquered.

The (Ng) Ailao were in touch with Magadha; they fought with and defeated and were defeated by the Tibetans. It seems more likely that they learnt civilization and cohesion and religion from those with whom they had their early struggles than from the southerners whom they gradually drove farther towards the sea and overwhelmed. And the religion they would have acquired would be the Mahāyāna form, not Southern Buddhism, just as the peoples of Northern Burma were Mahāyānists till the days of Nawrat'a.

Dhanmathawka's 86,000 pagodas are doubtless a figure of speech, but they cover a certain amount of truth in their vaunting multitude. The Shwedagon was cased seven times. Some of the Asoka pagodas no doubt have been similarly treated, and beneath them might be found buried, as religious objects were buried below all pagodas, the MSS. of the Northern Canon. It is not possible to believe that ministers of state and censors and record officers were appointed in a State which had not a written character, and that written character was surely-in the days of the early (Ng) Ailao-derived from the Northern Buddhists. I-mu-hsun, with his treaty in four languages, died before the apostles of Southern Buddhism could have made any impression on the peoples of the South. The Lahu are certainly not Buddhists now. The southern sections are purely animist, but the northern branches have suggestions of a vague Buddhism which may have been imposed upon them in the T'eng-yueh neighbourhood by the conquering (Ng) Ailao, and gradually lost in their isolated mountain homes.

It also seems quite possible that the Sanskrit-using Buddhists of the Mahayanist type, who, Mr. Blagden tells us, were found in Southern Indo-China at a very early date, were really the forerunners of the Tai who came to found Siam, and that they were early invaders from the Mahayanist Nan-chao kingdom.

The modern Tai, like the modern Burman, certainly follow the Southern Canon, but it is quite certain that Buddhism first entered Burma from the north, and that it was the Mahayanist form. I still believe that the same will be found to be true of the Tai race. The only hope of proof seems to rest in the libraries of monasteries in the Shan-Chinese States across the border. It may be hoped that Mr. Cochrane will find the time and the opportunity to carry on researches there.

J. George Scott.

THE PEARL-DIVER OF AL-A'SHA

Of the seven passages of which translations are given in my paper on "The Pictorial Aspects of Ancient Arabian Poetry", read on November 14 last, six are easily accessible, and can be read in editions which have passed under the revision of European scholars. One, however, the extract from al-A'shà's poem dealing with the Pearldiver (pp. 146-7), is less known, and has so far been published only in the unvocalized text of the Khizānat al-Adab, by 'Abd al-Qādir of Baghdād, printed in Egypt in 1299 H., which is now rather scarce. I think, therefore, that it will be of interest to readers of our Journal if I append here the original text of the passage, with the vowels added:—

1 كَجُمَانَةِ الْبَحْرِيِ جَاءً بِهَا غَـوَّاصُهَا مِسْ لُجَّةِ الْبَحْرِ وَ صُلْبُ الْفُوَّالِ وَالنَّجْرِ مُتَخَالِفِي الْآلُوانِ وَالنَّجْرِ وَ فَتَنَازَعُوا حَـدَّى إِذَا آجْتَمَعُوا أَلْقَوْا إِلَيْهِ مَـقَالِدَ الْأَمْرِ وَ فَتَنَازَعُوا حَـدَّى إِذَا آجْتَمَعُوا أَلْقَوْا إِلَيْهِ مَـقَالِدَ الْأَمْرِ وَ فَتَنَازَعُوا حَـدَّى إِنَا اللَّهُ مَعَالِدَ الْأَمْرِ وَ وَعَلَتْ بِهِمْ شَعْرَ إِلَى اللَّهُ الْبَحْرِ وَ حَتَى إِنَا مَا سَاءً ظَـنَّهُمُ وَمَضَى بِعِمْ شَهْرُ إِلَى اللَّهُ وَ حَتَى إِنِهُ الْبَحْرِي وَ حَتَى إِنَا مَا سَاءً ظَـنَّهُمُ وَمَضَى بِعِمْ شَهْرُ إِلَى الْمَهْرِ وَ حَتَى إِنِهُ الْمُعْدِي وَمَا اللَّهُ اللْهُ اللَّهُ الللَّهُ اللَّهُ اللللْهُ اللَّهُ الل

8 أَشْفَى يَمُعُ الزَّيْتَ مُلتمِسٌ ظَمْآنُ مُلْتَهِبُ مِنَ الْفَقْرِ
9 قَتَلَتْ أَبَاهُ فَقَالَ أَتْبَعُهُ أَوْ أَسْتَفِيهُ رَغِيبَةَ الدَّهْرِ
10 نِظْفَ النَّهَارِ الْمَاءُ غَاوِرُهُ وَشَرِيكُهُ بِالْغَيْبِ مَا يَدْرِي
11 فَأَصَابَ مُنْيَتَهُ فَجَاءً بِهَا مَسَدَفِييَّةٌ كَمُضِيئَةِ الْجَمْرِ
12 يُعْطَى بِهَا تَمَتَا وَيَسَمَّتُعُهَا وَيَسَقُّهُا مِيَدَفِي صَاحِبُهُ أَلا تَشْرِي
13 وَتَرَى السَّوْرِي يَسْجُدُونَ لَهَا وَيَضُمُّهَا بِيَدَدِيهِ لِللَّحْسِرِ
14 فَتِلْكَ شِبْدَهُ الْمَالِكِيَّةِ إِذْ طَلَعَتْ بِمَهِجَيْهَا وِسَ الْخِدْرِ

Notes

- v. 2. In the commentary contained in the Khizānah, i, p. 544, it is stated that رَئْيس should be vocalized as an accusative, as the رَئْيس of عَنْدُ : it would, I think, be more natural to take it as a عَنْدُ and therefore in the nominative.
- v. 3. مَعْالِدُ الْآَمْرِ. In rendering these words "the collar of captaincy" I have assumed that فَالْدُ is connected with قِالِدَة, and this may well be the case; but the Lexx. generally explain it as equivalent to أَفَالْدِيدُ, "key"; in any case it implies that the sailors invested their chief with authority over them.
- v. 4. گذریک has been substituted for the reading of Khiz. خاریک , which could only mean (when used of a boat) a small craft attached for the service of another, an unsuitable sense here: we may also read خانیک ; both words mean "swift", the sense required.
- v. 7. I have not been able to find authority for نُرِعَت in the sense "(his teeth) were clenched", though this seems to be certainly the meaning intended.

v. 13. الشّوارى is given as an alternative reading to الشّوارى, the latter meaning "sailors". I have preferred the former, because we have already left the vessel and have had brought before us the pearlmerchants who wish to buy the precious prize, which, in the second hemistich, the Diver energetically withholds from them, clutching it with both hands raised to his throat.

v. 14. The first word is a syllable short of what is required by the metre; perhaps we should read فلتلك.

The ode in praise of Qais son of Ma'dikarib of Kindah. from which this extract is taken, is variously attributed to Maimun al-A'sha, the poet of Qais b. Tha'labah, and to Zuhair, called al-Musayyib (or al-Musayyab), son of 'Alas, of Dubai'ah. The former was the opinion of Abū 'Ubaidah, Ibn Duraid, and others, the latter that of al-Asma'i. 'Abd al-Qādir states (i, 545) that he copied the extract he gives from al-A'shà's Dīwān, and presumably the notes from the commentary thereto; the poem is not, however, as I learn from Professor Gever. contained in Tha'lab's recension of the Dīwān. Ibn Qutaibah quotes from it (but not these verses) as the work of al-Musayyib (Shi'r, p. 83). Al-Musayyib was al-A'shà's maternal uncle, and al-A'shà was his rāwiyah (that is, the official transmitter of his compositions). these circumstances it is natural that the works of the elder poet should be appropriated by, and in the course of time be ascribed to, the younger and much more famous author. The balance of probability is, therefore, in favour of al-Musayyib.

Passages dealing with the getting of pearls in the fisheries of the Persian Gulf are not infrequent in the ancient Arabian poetry. There is an interesting description of such a scene in the poem by al-Mukhabbal of

^{1 &#}x27;Abd al-Qādir expressly states (Khiz. i, 545, lines 6 and 5 from foot) that the name is in the active form, given to him by his father because he left the camels of which he was in charge to wander by themselves (سَتَوَا) while he was busy with his poetry. The name is, however, more often given in the passive form, Musayyab, and is so explained in al-Anbārī's commentary to the Mufadḍalīyāt (my edition), p. 92, l. 7.

Sa'd b. Zaid-Manāt (a contemporary of the Prophet) in the Mufaddalīyāt (Thorbecke, No. 11, vv. 13-15, my edition, p. 213), where the diver is depicted as winning his treasure from the midst of a billowy sea in which the sword-fish, sid, Xiphias, lives. There is another in a poem by al-Farazdaq (Naqā'id, No. 59, vv. 18-28, Bevan, pp. 517-20), where the pearl is guarded by a deaf sea-serpent, the terror of the divers. The diver risks death, however, and wins the pearl from the serpent's mouth, but is bitten in doing so and dies as he reaches the surface.

I take this opportunity to make two slight rectifications in my paper. In the passage from Labid's Mu'allagah describing the wild-cow (p. 140), the verses are given in the order in which they stand in all editions of the poem. Nevertheless, however, it seems certain that we should transpose the two verses "She wandered distracted about . . . suckling and weaning" from their present place, and enter them after verse 4 of the extract and before the description of the rainy night. The reason is that in all these scenes the rain and cold are brought in by the poet in order to enhance the speed of the animal; and accordingly the description of them should immediately precede that part of the narrative where the wild-cow is beset by the hunters and their dogs. seven days' wandering, which now stands between. interrupts the proper sequence.

On p. 141 I suggested that the habit of the male ostrich sitting on the eggs laid by his mates was unique. It is, however, common to the ostrich with other Ratite birds, such as the Emeu in Australia and the Rhea of South America, and was very probably the habit of the extinct Moas of New Zealand.

C. J. LYALL.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE PROPHET IN DREAMS

I should like to supplement in a measure, from one point of view, the arguments on this topic furnished by Mr. F. Krenkow in the Journal, ante, pp. 77-9. It is no uncommon thing in Islamic literature to find both theological doubts and questions of practical controversy solved by the decision of the Prophet, who appears in a dream, and this on the authority of the hadith treated by Mr. Krenkow,—decisions which extend as well to isolated cases affecting individuals, as to matters affecting the interests of the community at large. Let me give instances of both classes from that literature.

A man was employed by its owner to drive an ox from one place to another. On the way he was attacked by robbers to the peril of his life, and he escaped only by surrendering to them the ox entrusted to his charge. Thereupon the question of law arose: Was the agent bound to compensate the owner for the property entrusted to him, or did the danger to his life amount to vis major and so displace the liability. The once renowned jurist Ahmad b. Abi Ahmad al-Tabari, known as Ibn al-Qāss, ob. A.H. 335 (A.D. 946-7), in Tarsus, maintained the former view, whilst Abu Ja'far al-Hannāti held that on the true view he was exempt from liability to make compensation. At this point, according to Tāj al-dīn al-Subki,1 the Qāḍi Abu 'Alī al-Zajjāji, a pupil of Ibn al-Qāss, saw the Prophet in a dream, and seized the opportunity of asking him to decide the point of controversy between his teacher and al-Hannāti. "It is your teacher who has decided aright," pronounced the Prophet, to the great joy of his questioner.

Of much the same date is a dream vision in which the Prophet solved a doubt which disquieted the pious Sūfi Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. Sa'dūn al-Jazīrī, a Maghribi who spent a large part of his life in journeying about

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Eastern Islām, and took part in its wars; died A.H. 344 (A.D. 955-6). This holy man, around whom when praying we are told that a light used to play, was anxious to be assured on the point, how many Rak'ahs were obligatory during the Salāt al-duhā. Under the tenets of Mālik and of Laith there was a discrepancy in the number prescribed. The pious man tells us how his doubt disturbed him during his wanderings in the Muqattam range of hills near Cairo, until the Prophet pronounced in a dream a decision in favour of the ruling of the Imām Mālik.¹

The renowned Shafeite jurist of Mecca, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haithami, ob. A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565), mentions in his treatise Riyāḍ al-riḍwān (preserved in the History of Gujarat by Abd Allah Muḥammad Ulugkhānī, which has been edited by E. Denison Ross), in the course of a eulogistic life of the learned vizier, 'Abd al-'Azīz Āṣaf Khān, that a contemporary pious Ṣūfī Shaikh was in continuous communication with the Prophet. On any question of doubt presenting itself, he used to say, "Wait until I can make inquiry of the Prophet," and shortly afterwards he brought the Prophet's decision.² This anecdote seems, nevertheless, accounted for by the Shaikh's hallucinations when in a wakeful state—a trait rather frequently present in Ṣūfi biographies.

The foregoing cases are instances of instruction imparted to individuals; but a number of instances are to be gathered from literary sources where doubts on religious questions affecting the entire community were decided by means of such visions; cf. the vision of al-Ash'arī, the motive for his action against the Mu'tazilah. A disputed point of old standing as to ritual was this: whether when holding prayer over the dead

¹ Maggari, ed. Leyden, i. p. 552.

² An Arabic History of Gujarat, ed. E. D. Ross (Indian Texts Series II), London, 1910, p. 375.

(salāt al-jināza) the corpse may be borne into the precincts of the mosque, or whether the rite should be performed outside. The celebrated mystic Muḥyi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi (whose visions of the Prophet in his dreams were most frequent, as appears from his work, the Fuṣāṣ al-ḥikam, throughout) was desirous that the question in dispute should be set at rest, so far as concerned his place of abode, Damascus. He accordingly narrates how he saw in a dream a corpse carried into the mosque, and that he also saw the Prophet disapprove of this, and direct the corpse to be removed from the mosque, and conveyed to the Jairūn Gate.²

Changes in ritual, too, which confirmed conservatives habitually resisted, were at times alleged to have received the Prophet's approbation in a vision, and this expression of consent was made to supply the want of any confirmation by a written tradition. When the Dervish class in Cairo managed (A.H. 751, A.D. 1389) to get the longestablished Adhān formula extended by the inclusion of Praise of the Prophet, the innovation was rested on the Prophet's approval announced in a vision.³ And when two centuries later conservative circles resisted the establishment of salawāt meetings as introduced by the Sūfis, the legend was spread abroad that the Prophet had appeared in a dream to one of the bitterest opponents, and had signified his approval of the pious custom thus introduced in his honour.4 The appeal to this form of decision passed among this superficial folk as the weightiest argument against the expressed disapproval of theological jurists at the pious Bid'ah.

Earnest voices were, indeed, upraised in disapproval of

¹ Ibn Sa'd, III, i, 105, l. 3; ib. 302, l. 19; and al-Nahrawālī, al-I'lām bi-a'lām beit Allāh al-ḥarām, ed. Wüstenfeld, Gesch. d. Stadt Mecca, iii, 208.

² Murtadā, Ithāf al-Sāda (commentary on the Iḥyā, ed. Cairo, iii, 458).

Maqrīzi, Khiṭat, 1st ed., ii, 272.
 Muhibbī, Khulāṣat al-Athar, ii, 455.

legal decisions being based on such visionary arguments, especially when they sanctioned practices which were in contradiction to the Sunna. To this effect is the opinion of al-Nawawi against any authoritative use being made of reputed visions in dreams.\(^1\) And the Maghribi Sunnazealot, Muhammad al-'Abdar\(^1\) (ob. A.H. 737, A.D. 1336-7), devotes an entire chapter of his work, which he rests on Nawawi's authority, to combating such methods of seeking counsel.\(^2\)

But even up to a very recent period it has been possible to impose on the superstitious multitude, especially on those far removed from the centres of Islamic civilization. precepts which have been imparted by the Prophet in In East Africa a versified religious manual (Manzūmāt al-tauhīd) is widely current, which was dictated to its editor, Ahmad al-Marzūqi, in A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1842), in a dream, on which the author himself, and a learned Javanese, have written commentaries.3 On Java too descended, in A.H. 1297 (A.D. 1880), through a revelation of the Prophet vouchsafed to a certain Shaikh, 'Abd Allah, in a vision, an earnest exhortation to true believers, the written text of which was alleged to have been found by the Shaikh near Muhammad's tomb at Medina. exhortation was some time since brought to public notice by Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who has pointed out its significance. 4

I. GOLDZIHER.

Budapest. January 31, 1912.

¹ Tahdhib, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, l. 7, infra.

² Madkhal al-shar' al-sharīf, Alexandria, 1293, iii, pp. 302 ff.

³ Cf. on this C. H. Becker in Der Islam, 1911, ii, 27.

⁴ De laatste Vermaning van Mohammed aan zijne Gemeente uitgevaardigd in het jaar 1880 n. Chr.: in De Indische Gids, July, 1884.

THE MEANING OF THE WORDS HOJI TASH

In one of my wife's Notes on the Babar-nama, JRAS. for 1909, p. 454, an entry in the Turkī language is quoted, referring to the gift of a manuscript of Babar's Memoirs. The unknown writer says therein that the manuscript, now known as the Kehr MS., and the foundation of the Ilminsky volume, was given to him in 957 A.H. (1550) at a place or stage (manzil) called Hoji Tāsh. Now, though Hoji is written with a wrong h, and there is no dot to indicate that kh was the proper letter, there can be little doubt, I think, that the word intended is Khwājah. It might also be Hājī, but this is less likely. But we have been long puzzled to identify Hoji, or Khwājah, Tāsh, and books and maps have been searched in vain. I think, however, that I have now discovered that Khwajah Tash is a title, and that it means the "Master of Stonework", and that "the place called Khwājah Tāsh" is equivalent to "the place called Farhad". My ground is that in the canto of Nizāmī's Khusrau and Shīrīn which describes the suicide of Farhad, the unhappy lover of Shīrīn, the poet proceeds to moralize on the instability of life, and the flux of human bodies. He says Faridun and Kai-Khusrau (famous Persian kings) are now motes blown about by the wind, and then he adds, Khwajah Tash no longer lives and his breath is borne to and fro by the winds of autumn. Evidently by Khwājah Tāsh he means Farhād, and the allusion is to his skill as a sculptor and an engineer. As Nizāmī tells us, Farhād carved the likenesses of Shīrīn and of Khusrau and his black steed Shabdīz on the rock (at Tāq Bostān), and made a canal for Shīrīn, and was making a road for Khusrau -all for love of Shirin, whom he hoped to win as his reward—when he was treacherously slain by the false news of her death. If, then, Khwājah Tāsh be Farhād, the place called by the former name must in all probability be somewhere near Kirmānshāh or Bīsitūn (Behistūn), and

so in the north-west part of Persia, for that is the only place where Farhåd was employed. If this be so, and the date 957 be correct, the note cannot be by Humāyūn, for he had left Persia two or three years before. However, the fact of the misspelling of the word Khwājah or Ḥājī is sufficient to show that the note could not be by so highly educated a prince as Humāyūn.

H. BEVERIDGE.

"A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON"

Two regrettable errors occur on p. 315 of my book in the citation of Mr. Havell's views on Tibetan painting. The quotation "splendid in drawing", etc., is applicable, not to plate xlix of *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, but to a large painting in Berlin; and the reference to Mr. Havell's criticism of his plate li is inaccurate. His praise refers only to the upper figures in that composition, and not to the principal figure, which he correctly describes as a "monstrosity" of "thoroughly degenerate type".

I cannot explain the lapse of attention which caused me to make incorrect notes on the subject, and can only express my regret at the inadvertent misrepresentation of Mr. Havell's opinions.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

January 16, 1912.

International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archæology

The Fourteenth Session will be held in Geneva during the first week in September. Full information can be obtained from the Secretary, Dr. WALDEMAR DEONNA, 16 Bvd. des Tranchées, Geneva.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS
The Fourth Session will be held at Leiden from
September 9 to 13. Full information can be obtained
from the Secretariat, 71 Plantsoen, Leiden.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

- BIBLIOTHECA BUDDHICA, XIII: MAHĀVYUTPATTI. Ed. J. P. MINAYEF. 2nd ed., with index, by N. D. MIRONOFF. St. Petersburg, 1911.
- (2) Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-127: Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, being an edition and translation of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, by Alexander Csoma de Körös. Ed. by E. Denison Ross, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., and Mahāmahopadhyāya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūsana, F.A.S.B. Part I.

The first edition of the Mahāvyutpatti by Minayef appeared in 1887, and was reviewed by Professor Zachariae in Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1888, pp. 845 ff. It is now out of print. Minayef had at his disposition four MSS. (P, D, M, U), belonging partly to the University Library and partly to the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg, and one printed copy in the Tibetan character forming a part of the 123rd volume of the Tanjur (T.). The best among them is P, of which the editor gives a short description in his preface, pp. iii ff. There are two more MSS. in St. Petersburg (L and S) which Minayef could not use for his edition in 1887, but which he described in the manuscript notes contained in his own copy of the Mahāvyutpatti.

The present editor, N. D. Mironoff, states in his preface that in 1905 Professor Oldenburg suggested to him to prepare a new edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti* in which he would make use of the MSS. L and S and also of the copious notes, additions, and corrections he had found in Minayef's copy. The two new MSS. offered comparatively few additional readings, as we can see in the notes at the

bottom of the pages, which are only a little more extensive than in the first edition. The text also shows slight alterations in those cases only where the first edition had an evident misprint or where Minayef had inserted a correction in his own copy.

In this way most of the pages in both editions are The only real difference lies in the fact that at the beginning of some paragraphs Minayef reproduces the heading, while Mironoff prefers to omit it. So, for instance, \$ 60 reads in the first edition; indrivavaimātratā 1. mrdvindriyah 2, madhyendriyah 3, tikshnendriyah 4. In the second edition we have: mrdvindriyah 1, madhyendrivah 2. tīkshnendrivah 3. It is clear that indrivavaimatrata is only the heading of the paragraph, and if included in the text should certainly not have a number attached to it. The same occurs in § 77. The paragraph begins in the first edition: Catvari dharmasamādanāni 1. Afterwards the four dharmasamādānas are enumerated. and that brings the number to five, which is certainly wrong. The same proceeding may be observed in §§ 81. 82, 100, 119, 120, 183, 208, 267, 269,

The principal advantage of the second edition is the excellent index, which reproduces every word of the Mahāvyutpatti with its paragraph and number. All Sanskrit scholars should be thankful to Mironoff for this capital piece of work.

At the end of his preface Mironoff states that when the third part of his edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti* had nearly left the press another edition of the same text appeared in Calcutta, but that he could not make up his mind to give an opinion about this edition for the present, and that he preferred to postpone it for a later occasion.

This leads us to the second part of our review. The editors of the Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, Denison Ross and Vidyābhūsana, tell us in their preface that they could not use Minayef's edition of the Mahāvyutpatti for

the beginning of their book, but that they got it from Dr. Thomas, librarian at the India Office in London, when the first sixteen pages had already left the press.

The Calcutta edition is based on a MS, written by Csoma de Körös, the pioneer of Tibetan studies. I see from the preface, p. iv, that the Tibetan portion of the MS, needed little or no revision. With regard to the Sanskrit, this seems not to have been the case, as the editors were obliged to change the transcription of Csoma to that adopted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and here and there also to correct the reading of the Sanskrit. The Tibetan portion of the text is not to be considered here—I leave this entirely to a Tibetan scholar—but about the Sanskrit portion I must say with regret that in spite of the corrections which Csoma's MS. has undergone in the hands of the Calcutta editors, a considerable number of mistakes has been allowed to stand in this edition. I shall prove this later on by quoting a number of words from § 186, and I hope that this review will come in time to permit the editors to correct similar mistakes in the second and third instalments of their edition.

As Minayef's and Mironoff's editions do not give any translations of the words in the Vocabulary, this is evidently the most valuable part of the Calcutta edition. Here also the editors have followed Csoma in nine cases out of ten, and they are certainly not to be blamed for doing so. Still, in some cases, for which examples are given in the preface, they have been obliged to correct Csoma's translation.

I shall now submit to the reader a number of interesting words from § 186, with their translations. R. designates the Russian edition, C. the Calcutta edition.

 \S 186 R. = 34 C. gives the names of the degrees or classes among men.

No. 44 R. bhaṭavalāgra = 43 C. ghatavolāgra. Neither reading is satisfactory, but R. is supported by all MSS.,

while C. is an arbitrary correction of the Calcutta editors. The translation is not given.

No. 59 R. kāravālikah = 57 C. karavālika (Taravārika), "he that carries the crooked sword." Both readings are equally correct, as we find them both in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 788 Sch., and Taravārikā, ib. 782, Trikāṇḍaśesha, 2. 8. 54, and Hārāvali 133. Karapālikā occurs also in Pāli Abhidhānappadīpikā 392. The commentator of Hemacandra calls it turushkāyudhaṃ, and this has induced Weber (Indische Studien, 16. 38) to suggest that it might be a Persian loan-word (just as sphara below). If it is Sanskrit the literary meaning would be "hand-protecting".

No. 71 R. dandavāsika = 69 C. dandavašika. Dandavāsika and the identical dandavāsin (Trik. 2. 8. 24) can mean either "a doorkeeper" or "a village headman". The reading of C. dandavašika, and the translation "the keeper of a serpent" are supported by no authority.

No. 64 R. spharika = 62 C. papārika, "the shield-bearer." Spharika is evidently derived from sphara, "shield," Hem. 783. Zachariae, Indische Lexicographie, p. 67, takes it to be a Sanskritization of the Prākrit pharao, but I think that Nöldecke (Monatsberichte der Berliner Academie, 1883, p. 1109) is right, who considers it as a Persian loan-word. Why the editors of C. have changed this into papārika I cannot tell.

No. 84 R. dhānuvādī = 82 C. dhanavādin. Both are evidently incorrect and the reading in the footnotes of R. dhātuvādī must be adopted. Cf. Hārāvali 195. The meaning is the same as that of the preceding khanyavādī, "skilful in discovering mines." C. substitutes dhanavādin (which is not to be found elsewhere) and translates "a broker" or "go-between".

No. 89 R. khatikah = 87 C. khantika. The correct reading is khattika = māṃsavikrayī, a "butcher" or "seller of meat". See Hemacandra's Anekārthas. 3. 30.

No. 97 R. bhraingarikah = 95 C. bhraiamgarika (?). The correct reading (if one is correct) must be that of R., as the second is no Sanskrit word at all, but the meaning is obscure. The St. Petersburg dictionary suggests that it may be a wrong derivation from bhragara, "a water-jar," and identical in meaning with the following sūpakāra, "a cook."

No. 102 R. palagaṇda = 99 C. palagaṇda, "carpenter." This word is correct, and the translation as well. It occurs also in Pāli, Abhidhānappadīpikā 506. Monier-Williams derives it from pala, "straw," but the second part remains obscure.

No. 113 R. çilākuṭṭah = 110 C. śilakuha, "stonecutter." The commentary on Hemac. Anakarthas. ii, 82, explains it by çilākuṭṭakah purushah. There can be no doubt about the meaning of the word. The reading of C. is not to be found elsewhere.

No. 140 R. maudrikah = 140 C. mantrika, "a writer, clerk, amanuensis." According to Böhtlingk and Monier-Williams maudrika is a maker of seals (mudrā). Māntrika, on the contrary, means "a sorcerer" (see Mankha 69), and this may be the correct reading here, as it agrees best with the preceding words maushtika and vidūshaka.

No. 155 R. kṛshivalah = 146 C. kṛshipāla, "a neatherd." Both readings are here equally good; the second is the better from an etymological point of view, but the first is also supported by good authorities. See, for instance, Hemac. 890.

No. 168 R. badhakah = 158 C. vādaka (vādin). The reading vadhaka, although supported by no manuscript, would be still better. In any case the meaning must be "murderer" or "hangman", as this only agrees with the preceding words and with the following hananam, "putting to death." The reading of C. and the translation "petitioner" are totally out of place here

I have reached the end of my review. In the chapter

which I have selected, we have found about a dozen words with regard to which the Calcutta edition and the two Russian editions do not agree, and in most of these cases the Russian reading has proved to be the better one. As for the translations, Denison Ross says in his preface that where any difference arises between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan, he has followed the Tibetan; and I certainly cannot blame him for this.

The present instalment represents about one-third of Csoma's manuscript. If in the following instalments the editors will be careful to stick to the Russian text, and to deviate only from it when there is a palpable reason (as, for instance, in the case of dhānuvādī above), I have no doubt that their work will be an excellent addition to Indian lexicography.

E. MÜLLER.

Berne.
November, 1911.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, BEING LITHIC AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF CEYLON. Edited and translated by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe. Vol. I, Part V. London, 1911.

In the fifth instalment of his interesting work Wickremasinghe gives us seven important inscriptions, of which only one (No. 18) is mentioned in my Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon. The rest was discovered by the editor and Mr. Bell during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Nos. 12 and 13 are pillar inscriptions dated from the first year of the reign of King Abhaya Salamevan, No. 13 from the month Hil (October-November), No. 12 from the month Undvaep (November-December). Wickremasinghe has found in the 51st chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa that Kuṭṭhaka, the chief captain of King Sena II, built the parivena Senāsenāpati and endowed it with great

possessions. This might induce us to identify the Kutthaka of the Mahāvaṃsa with the Kutthā of our inscription, and in this case the name of the king, Abhaya Salamevan, would correspond to Sena II (917–52 A.D.). But for different reasons, stated on p. 165, Wickremasinghe comes to the conclusion that Abhaya Salamevan cannot be identified with Sena, but rather with one of his immediate successors, either Udaya I (952–63) or Kassapa IV (963–80).

No. 14 is a slab inscription by Queen Līlāvatī, found in Anurādhapura. Wickremasinghe compares it with the Abhayavaeva pillar (A.I.C., No. 157) of Lag Vijaya Singu Kit. I am ready to admit that I was wrong in stating (A.I.C., p. 69) that Lag Vijaya Singu Kit married Queen Līlāvatī; he was only her chief minister. Abhā Salamevan is simply an epithet of the queen, and the first line of the inscription 157 should be translated thus: General Lag Vijaya Singu Kit, chief minister to Queen Abhā Salamevan Līlāvatī, etc.

No. 15 is again a slab inscription, dated from the twelfth year of a king who calls himself Abhā Salamevan, and has been identified by Mr. Bell with Dappula V (991–1003). Piriheļā, in line 40, is a gerund of pirihenavā, "to deprive," as I have already stated with regard to the verbal noun pirihelīma, with the same signification, in my edition of Heranasika in Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, p. 29.

Nos. 16 and 17 are pillar inscriptions, the first at Buddhanehäla, 47 miles from Anurādhapura, belonging to Vajiragga, the captain whom King Udaya I (952–63) sent with Prince Mahinda to quell a rebellion raised by Kittaggabodhi, the second at Moragoda, near the Padaviya tank belonging to King Kassapa IV, the brother and successor of Udaya I (963–80).

With regard to the translation I have only one observation to make. The word mahavar, C. 25, is translated by "chief artisans" on p. 171, and in the footnote

Wickremasinghe explains it by Skt. mahākāra or mahāācārya. He admits also the possibility to identify it with Skt. matsuakāra, "fisher," or māmsakāra, "butcher." The same word occurs in the tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintale, B. 54 (Ep. Ceyl. 97, 112), and in the slab inscription of the same king near the stone canoe (Ep. Ceul, 118, 120), besides on the pillar of Kassapa III in the jungle near Mihintale (A.I.C., No. 115, A. 3, C. 2). There Wickremasinghe translates it by "high roads", and in this sense it would correspond to the Skt. Mahāpāra. I believe that this meaning is the correct one, and that the translation on p. 171 must be corrected in this passage. The words rad kol kaemiyan are the subject and the words suvar mahavar are the object of the sentence. Suvar corresponds to Skt. supara just as mahavar to mahāpāra. In this case the translation would run thus: "That the servants of the royal family should not enter the good roads and the high roads." In fact, nobody can understand why the goldsmiths or the butchers or the cooks or the fishmongers should be concerned in an edict in which the entrance of a certain temple property is forbidden to highway robbers, thieves, and murderers.

On the Moragoda pillar, B. 19, we find the word pasladuvan, which Wickremasinghe translates by "keepers of record books". In the note thereto he compares paspot in the Mihintale tablets, A. 54, rendered there by "register", the corresponding Skt. word being pañcikāpustuka. In my translation of this passage (A.I.C., p. 117) I hadrendered paspot by "five books", but I admit that Wickremasinghe's is better, especially with reference to the passage on the Moragoda pillar, where my rendering could not suit at all.

No. 18 is a rock inscription of King Gajabāhu I (177-99 A.D.) at Pālu Maekiccaeva. The square letters belong to the southern Brāhmi alphabet of the second century, and are similar to those of Nāsik, Kuḍā, and Sunnar.

Wickremasinghe has found out that the tank in the Upala district in question is the Vadamanaka tank, which, however, cannot be identified, and that the community of priests to which this tank was granted was that of the Thūpārāma at Anurādhapura.

Our best thanks are due to Mr. Wickremasinghe for the great care he took in editing these inscriptions. We hope that he will soon gratify us with a new instalment of his valuable work.

BERNE.

November, 1911.

DIE GESCHICHTE DER DALAILAMAS. Von G. SCHULEMANN. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911. pp. 262; 8·20 m.

The priest-kings of Tibet are certainly of sufficient political and religious importance and interest to justify a special work devoted to their history. As a contribution towards such a systematic history, Mr. Rockhill published in 1910, in the *T'oung Pao*, an important mass of new material under the title of "The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors". Yet, strange to say, this essential source of material is neither utilized nor even mentioned in the text of the book under notice, which was issued over a year later. By this omission the work loses materially in interest and completeness.

Herr Schulemann has compiled his volume from the miscellaneous references scattered through many books of travel and systematic accounts of Buddhism, the titles of which are mostly cited in the footnotes. It embodies, however, no new material and displays a tendency to discursiveness and the inclusion of much irrelevant matter. About one-third of the volume is taken up with introductory remarks upon topics having little or no direct bearing upon the subject of the book. The first chapter, extending to tifty-four pages, deals with Buddhism in

India, China, and elsewhere from its origin until Tsongkhapa's reformation; and the second chapter with the general features of that reformation itself, from which issued the yellow-cap sect. Although the Dalai Lamas eventually arose within this sect, voluminous remarks upon its general features are scarcely called for in a history of these hierarchs, especially as priest-kingship was established in Tibet several centuries before the yellow-cap sect originated.

In the account of the Dalai Lamas, which begins in the middle third of the book, we notice a want of accuracy on some elementary points, and even on the origin of the title Dalai. The old confusion between the terms Dalai and Gyal-ba in the belief that they were synonymous is repeated. As a fact, the designation Dalai (or properly Talai, as the present writer has shown in these pages from Tibetan sources) was a Mongolian title conferred by the dominant prince Altan Khan in 1576 A.D. upon the third of the series of yellow-cap hierarchs (as Rockhill long ago pointed out from Chinese sources); and not until two generations later did the Dalais attain the temporal sovereignty.

On the other hand, the epithet Gyal-ba, the equivalent of the Sanskrit Jina or "The Victorious One", a common cognomen of the historical Buddha as well as the mystical supernatural Buddhas of the Quarters, which is now applied to the later Dalai Lamas, has not been shown to have been applied to the earlier Dalais or to their non-Dalai predecessors amongst the yellow-cap hierarchs of Lhasa. The later official Tibetan lists apply the term Gyal-ba also to a long series of Tibetan and Indian monks and more or less mythical personages stretching back to the mythical Avalokita himself. But this list, as the writer of the present notice has shown, was presumably the invention of the first sovereign Dalai Lama so late as the seventeenth century A.D., and merely a part of the

fictitious ancestry fabricated for himself and his two predecessor Dalai Lamas.

Amongst minor mistakes it may be noted that the vernacular form and etymology ascribed to the word Darjiling, namely "Dar-rgyas-gling" (IV and 145), is undoubtedly wrong. The word is certainly "rDo-rje-glin" (pronounced Dor-je-ling), or "The place of the rDo-rje (or vajra, thunderbolt)". It is thus written locally, and a legend of the thunderbolt is current at the shrine, the history of which is known and has been cited by the writer in his Buddhism of Tibet. The current English form of the name owes its exchange of a for o to the later uninformed official system of Indian spelling—the earlier official forms having been until after Hooker's day Dorjeling and Dorjiling, in keeping with the actual pronunciation and true form.

For the preparation of a fuller history of the Dalai Lamas a large amount of new material is now available in the shape of numerous biographies and collected works of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo, collected by the present writer in Tibet during the Younghusband Mission of 1904. These volumes are now deposited in the libraries of the India Office, British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge, with the rest of his collection, and await examination.

Grammar of the Persian Language. Part I: Accidence, by J. T. Platts; revised and enlarged by G. S. Ranking. Part II: Syntax, by G. S. Ranking. 8vo. Oxford, 1911.

There appears to be current an idea that the Persian tongue is of transcendent simplicity and beautifully easy to acquire. Doubtless the foot-rule which measures the

¹ See also Place, River, and Mountain Names in Darjiling District and Sikhim; by L. A. Waddell, in JASB., 1891, p. 69.

value of books by their thickness has helped in the formation of this opinion; doubtless a glance within the pages of Persian grammars themselves has demonstrated sufficiently its truth. Many grammars indeed of New Persian have been published in European tongues, and unfailingly they point out prefatorily or otherwise how extraordinarily unembarrassed by grammatical roughness is the path of the speech of the Land of the Lion and the Sun. Each grammarian travels rapidly and cheerfully in the steps of his predecessors, mayhap bringing a pebble that the microscope has discovered, and in the end all with mutual congratulations comfortably rest in the airy palace of fancy of the Ashāb-i-vaqār va nāmūs on the cushions of the ease of accomplishment incomplete.

سراین نکته مکرشمع برارد بزبان

In short there has been really no Persian grammar of outstanding merit, no grammar comparable with those of the first rank that treat of the classical and modern The Lecturer in Persian at Oxford has European tongues. issued a revised and enlarged edition of the late Professor Platts' Grammar. That grammar, so far as it went, was undoubtedly the best English-Persian scholarship could Unfortunately it was never completed. syntax, which his sound knowledge of the language would have given, never appeared, and students have had to chew the cud of patience whilst elaborating a syntax of their own from their own reading. To this new edition, however, Mr. Ranking has added a syntax. He has proposed to himself the construction of a systematic syntax modelled after a series of grammars concerning the quality of which ignorance on our part prevents any statement.

The object of a scientific syntax is to teach and explain the correct and idiomatic usage of a language in its entirety if possible. Mr. Ranking has made a pioneer effort to do so (though evidently the immediate object is to assist in translating from English into Persian), not altogether unhappy, yet not in our opinion with entire success. It might have been fuller; there might have been less repetition; there should have been more examples with the names of all the authors attached. A student is not acquainted with the whole range of Persian literature, nor yet is he able to recognize at a glance a line of verse, and it is at least desirable for him to know whether a citation is prose or poetry, a distich from Firdausi or a sentence from the Vazīr-i-Khān-i-Lankurān. Further, for the guidance of the student greater care should have been taken to point out constructions which, though classical, are to-day obsolete and those also which are most usual. One does not write or speak Elizabethan English. This is one great fault we find with the book, since there is no monition given as in the first edition. It is a matter of opinion, of course, but we should have preferred the Persian of Persia to-day considered as the norm, with the classical and pre-classical features subjoined in notes. explains doubtless the reason for many omissions, and the summary way in which the prepositions are dismissed. The treatment of tenses is unsatisfactory. Much that is given in Part II of the Syntax will be found already stated in Part I or even in the Accidence. One of the most important subjects omitted is a thorough exposition of the collocation of words in a sentence. Is the student to suppose any order is permissible? He may then congratulate himself on writing such exquisite Persian as this: A curious feature also is . نظر حاتم افتاد بریک سر ناکاه the repetition of examples. We have noted in the Syntax at least twenty-two given twice and not always for a different purpose. Perhaps this is a peculiarity of the method on which the syntax is based.

In order better to give our general impression we shall consider one of the sections, say that on the noun-clause. In the first place there is no definition of what a noun-clause MARGINER WAS YOU

is, and secondly the "two great classes" are neither mutually exclusive nor yet complete. The division is also bad. To make A depend on the quality of the sentence (even though "that" is in Britannia type), and B on the introductory word, breaks a common rule of logical The term "that-clause" is objectionable. division. A clause introduced by "that" is not necessarily a noun Examples § 49 (ii) and § 50 (i), p. 257, are repeated on p. 258. For ourselves we should consider , and § 62, نكر تا مرا بر خويشتن نكزيني , 35 \$ and \$ comparable with the Greek (σκόπει) تا درشتی هنر نینداری όπως μη έρεις ότι έστι τὰ δώδεκα δὶς έξ, as so bordering on the final construction as to warrant their treatment Example in § 51 (2) is repeated on under that head. p. 267. § 64 is practically a repetition of § 51. The four examples in § 53 do not contain noun-clauses. پادشاه برسلامت حالش شادمانی کرد We should think that is a simple sentence. Example in § 54 (3) is repeated from p. 233, and (4) is found again at p. 272. It is somewhat difficult to understand why the sentence in should be said , بفرمود تا غلامرا بدريا انداختند , should be said to have a noun-clause, and at p. 247 a consecutive clause, بفرمود تا ویرا در زندان محبوس کنند and again why on p. 261 should contain a noun-clause, and at p. 246 بفرمايم تا a final clause, the result in each case being In the examples in §§ 59, 60 we wonder where the noun-clause is. In § 61 the fourth example is found also at p. 236. In § 62 (4) and (5) have no noun-clauses, and the clause in (6), found also at p. 239, is final. Again, in § 63 (2) a schoolboy would not dare noun-clauses چها دیدم چها کشیدم or چه خوش بودی without danger of chastisement. The term noun-clause has a definite fixed connotation in grammatical language, yet the author has used it not only wrongly but to include what looks like a miscellary of jottings gathered from

reading. A scientific grammar demands a precise use of terms, and either the Eastern grammatical terminology should rule uniformly throughout or the Western. § 64 deals with Oratio Recta and Oratio Obliqua. A more thorough and varied treatment would have given greater satisfaction. Surely it was not necessary to give twice the same example from the Bahāristān of Oratio Obliqua; besides, some texts give بناوية and بغروشة though the Schlecta-Wssehrd printed edition reads بغروشة and بغروشة the phillott in his edition of Ḥājī Bābā says the use of the indirect is on the increase. Less ambiguous examples, then, and more of them ought here to have been given.

As regards the Accidence, Professor Platts' work is too well known to require any comment. Mr. Ranking has made some additions and some alterations in arrangement. has relegated the original verb-classification to an appendix, and substituted his own; the section on compound-words has been remodelled, and changes have been made in the part dealing with the Arabic verbal forms. Platts' Grammar deals with the classical language. In its revised condition one would have liked greater attention paid to present-day usage. Forms that are now disused might have been asterisked. Among the additions it might have been noticed that in a series of plural nouns is very commonly added to the last only, and that in an adjectival series there is a peculiar and idiomatic use of the اضافت as conjunctional connective. Attention might have been drawn also to the adding of the superlative suffix to the last adjective in a number, and to the fact that in the older and newer language the comparative تر is sometimes added to nouns (v. Nicholson's edition of the Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliya, vol. ii, p. 9 of the Introduction). Again, as an adversative particle with the signification of "nevertheless" is not a Persian idiom (cf. the Urdū and Hindī use of राष्ट्रिक, तौभी, in the principal clause in a sentence where the subordinate is concessive).

The section on Prosody, consisting of a short examination of metres and hints on scansion, is also the work of the reviser. We hold, however, with Salemann and Shukovski: "Im Baue des persischen Verses herscht das streng prosodische Princip der altclassischen Sprachen, welches von der Quantität der Silben ausgeht," and think that for practical purposes the idea of vowels long and short together with the axi will give best instant aid in the scansion of a Persian verse. The addition of this section is heartily to be commended. The book itself is well printed, and wonderfully free from typographical error. A greater variety of type would certainly not have been without advantages. The use of the lower case, for instance, to differentiate notes and remarks would have made for greater clearness in the presentation of the principal matter.

We have remarked the following:-

p. 81. آغار instead of اقار (if at all) as present stem of

یای مصدری for یای مصددی

p. 226. ديد for ديد.

p. 235. • transliterated as wa and o when ra and u occur regularly.

p. 250. ما آباکه for مناقبه آب

p. 251. چناشت for چناشت.

. باز داشتند for باز دشتند . p. 262.

. یاد می آید for یادمی آید

"At last," we said when we saw announced the publication of a scientific Persian syntax; "not yet," we now say. Nevertheless the grammar before us is the best and fullest in English, and now that the syntax-ground has been broken we shall hope that Mr. Ranking may be able to change our "not yet" into "at last" by giving us a separate and complete treatise on Persian syntax, not framed upon any extraneous model but according to the plan which his great learning and experience shall suggest as most suitable to an Eastern language. Too long, as he says, has it been the custom to look on syntax in Persian as a quantity to be neglected, and to forget that in reality Persian is one of the most idiomatic of living or dead tongues.

J. S. HAIG.

BEAUTY: A CHINESE DRAMA. Translated from the Original by Rev. J. MACGOWAN. London: E. L. Morice, 9 Cecil Court, Charing Cross, 1911.

The Chinese are enthusiastic theatre-goers and will sit for hours entranced, watching the phantasmagoria of gorgeously attired actors in the silks and satins and plumes of bygone days, albeit the stage is well-nigh bare of our modern-day appanage of furnishing and scenic accessories. The plays themselves are short, but they follow one after the other with scarce any interval. Hence the idea in the West that Chinese plays last for days.

In this brochure we have one of these almost innumerable printed dramas of the Chinese put into English blank verse. Like many of the plays it is founded upon historical facts.

Though women are not allowed, as a rule, on the stage in China, many of the scenes which are enacted have for their motif romance in which, it is needless to say, woman has her fair share. The title of the story in this case is the name of the heroine, who lived some 1,800 years ago. Her tragic tale is most popular among the lovers of the drama in China. The Chinese story, whether told in the form of a novel or dramatized, is generally interesting, often most interesting; for we then get the intimate life

of the people pictured by those who are familiar with all its phases. The present drama is no exception to this rule, as scene succeeds scene in the course of the four acts. The story begins with a double dream. The Emperor dreams of a beauteous maiden, and the lovely girl dreams of the Emperor. Love at first sight, though the vision of each is in a dream. The dream must come true, so wills the Son of Heaven and so Heaven itself wills; but the powers of ill, personified in the villain of the piece, frustrate the rapid consummation of events, and when at last all seems well—the tragedy of it all—then Beauty's loyal sacrifice for the weal of her country.

Mr. Macgowan is well fitted for his task. He has spent a long life in China, is thoroughly familiar with the people and their language, and has the ability to put the Chinese verse into a good readable English equivalent.

The book is well printed and in its simple binding looks dainty and attractive.

J. DYER BALL.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM SEMITICARUM AB ACAD. INSCRIPTIONUM ET LITERARUM HUMANIORUM CONDITUM ATQUE DIGESTUM. Pars I: Inscriptiones phænicias continens tom. ii, fasciculus quartus. Folio; pp. 417–579. Paris: E reipublicæ typographeo, 1911.

The latest instalment of the C.I.S. consists of a series of 648 inscriptions from Carthage, to which are added eight Neo-Punic ones, bringing the total of Phœnician inscriptions up to 3,251. At the first glance the monotony of this class of inscriptions is somewhat depressing, and one cannot but sympathize with the editors' final sigh of relief at the conclusion of a longum et ingratum opus. Yet it was by no means a thankless task, because every student of Semitic philology must feel deeply grateful to them for the untiring industry, accuracy, and comprehensiveness displayed in their reproduction of

the inscriptions and their notes thereon. Their suggestions in the restoration of missing letters in the fragmentary legends are, as a rule, happy, and even where the reader might differ from them there is little room for improvement. The sameness of the texts might be taken as a sign of stagnation in religious matters, and one might ask whether it was worth the trouble to collect, reproduce, and comment on every small fragment of these inscriptions. Now the conservatism visible in these votive tablets is itself a phenomenon of some interest, but of real importance is the great variety of persons' names which would certainly enrich the Semitic vocabulary if we knew the way to read them and how to determine their etymologies. This, of course, offers much material for speculation and research, and shows the necessity of preserving every scrap that has been unearthed.

The instalment before us contains a number of new names, many of which are quite obscure. The following survey gives these names in alphabetical order, together with some non-committing attempts at elucidating their meanings.

אוללפאס (3,000). In the second syllable the editors think of the Latin lepus. Might it not stand for elephas? We know of the extensive use made by the Punians of the elephant in warfare, and the image of the elephant appears on the coins of Juba I, king of Numidia (see Gesenius, Monumenta phæn., tab. 42). The name might thus mean "elephant's strength" (?).

א*בל (3,189) is very happily explained by Dr. Slouschz, one of the editors, as החבל "sailor".

בעלברך (2,859), "Baal has blessed."

הגול (2,643). The possible readings suggested by the editors, וללי or הגלי Gallus, have little to recommend themselves. Why not let it stand, viz. ייני אין cf. ייני LAr. and Tāj Ar.

רד (2,806) is compared by the editors to דרד, but

cf. 255.

(3,056). The suggestions of the editors are not convincing, though at present nothing better offers. Is it perhaps ἀδελφός?

(3,092).

(2,877).

(3,179).

כנת (3,145). Cf. כנתתא (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 298).

ב"ב (3,138). The editors' suggestion במנים Ma[na]ssus cannot be accepted off-hand, as one would expect בונים. Is it not במנים Magus?

מסלוי (3,066) and מסלוי (3,108), to which perhaps also belongs מסולי (Cooke, Text Book, p. 156). All three names might be ethnic forms of Massilia.

מקלא (3,049). To the suggestions given by the editors we might add the Mishnic מקלה (Taunith, ii, 2).

מתלא (3,141). The editors' Metellus is quite acceptable.

NOD (3,000). Souso.

סלם (3,134). Sallum (?).

מכר (2,882) is scarcely to be connected with מיסרא as the editors suggest. It might perhaps be connected with סרסר, which occurs several times in the well-known marble stele, British Museum, Cyprus, Room No. 31.

עבדכרר (2,630).

לישׁם (3,148). Dr. Slouschz suggests אליפֿנ[א] Philippina. With less violence to the spelling we might read it Πολυφώνη.

(2,655).

*55 (2,946).

(2,909).

ושמי (2,760) might stand for אממי (Num. xiii, 4). Both names occur in Professor Sachau's Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka, etc., 8, l. 8; 9, l. 21; 17, l. 5, and 18, col. iii, l. 3. The same work contains a number of pottery stamps with

Phoenician names found in Elephantine. From this circumstance we may infer that commercial intercourse existed between this place and Carthage or the Phoenician mother country. Several of these names are quite new.

I have only to add that the reading במן (2,632) is probably but a stonemason's mistake for אמתנה. There is no evidence that the Aramaic deity במתנח (2 Kings v, 18) was worshipped in Carthage. The name אמתנח (in the same inscription) probably stands for אמתנח, cf. Giddeneme (Pænulus, scene 3) = גוונעם (3,153) is only a misprint for ב.

Appended to the volume is a concordance of the numbers of the inscriptions in the *Corpus* with the older collections, and, of course, very useful. The editors are to be heartily congratulated on the completion of the volume.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE CHINESE AT HOME. By J. DYER BALL, I.S.O., M.R.A.S. 8vo; pp. xii, 370. R.T.S., London. 5s. net.

Nearly fifty years residence among the Chinese, a close study of their literature, manners, and customs, an intimate acquaintance at first hand with the old regime, and a minute knowledge of the causes leading to the new order are no mean qualifications for a writer on China. Mr. Ball has already distinguished himself as a Sinologue, and his writings on Chinese subjects, his grammars and dictionaries of the Canton dialects, and treatises on the Chinese Classics have made him well known to students and residents in the Far East. His *Things Chinese* is a mine of information and one of the few indispensable working tools for the student of the Chinese people. One naturally turns with interest to a new volume from our author, for here we expect to reap the fruit of a rich experience.

The feeling of an old China hand in reading this book is one of familiarity. The whole atmosphere is as Chinese

as are the excellent reproductions in colour of sketches by native artists which are a feature of the volume. The book is a sympathetic study of a much described but little understood people. The oft-recurring phrases such as "the author came across a case in point" inspire the reader with a sense of security regarding the writer's interpretation of Chinese life.

The book is divided into twenty-seven chapters. There are seven coloured plates, six being reproductions of native drawings, besides numerous well-selected photos. It is only possible to make a selection in a short review. The chapter on "The Life of a Dead Chinaman" helps to reveal the secret of the amazing continuity of Chinese life and thought, and shows how the dead hand of the past has stifled China's progress. The chapter on "Fung Shui" also explains some of the causes at the bottom of the "arrested development" of China, and throws a flood of light upon the curious anomaly of a country infinitely rich in natural resources but remaining so miserably poor as China is.

The "Much Married Chinaman" gives a peep into the domestic life of the people. It will be surprising as well as refreshing to many in England to know that "in China the mother-in-law is held up to the highest respect and almost worship".

The chapter on "John Chinaman Abroad" should be carefully studied by all who are interested in the future relations of East and West. The Yellow stream is set towards the Occident, and no Exclusion Treaties will stem the tide. Some 200,000 Chinese annually migrate from the country, and a perusal of this chapter proves that such emigration is not necessarily an evil. One should read in connexion with this chapter that on "The Yellow Peril". Mr. Ball has done great service in revealing the real mind of China as expressed by her sages regarding war. "The idea that China will rouse herself in her hundreds of millions to overrun the Far West is a fevered dream...

not that Chinese brains are not capable of the formation of plans of warfare," but because by temperament her people are peaceable, and apart from external pressure will probably remain so.

There is a delightful chapter on "John Chinaman's Little Ones". "China is a land of children," and these "quaint mites of humanity" with their droll mixture of babyishness and maturity are very fascinating. "A population large enough to fill a kingdom peoples the rivers, etc., of China." "John Chinaman Afloat" is a vivid description of a little known part of the Celestial Empire. The section on opium, "The Drug: Foreign Dirt "-the Chinese name for opium-should be pondered well. The whole subject is controversial, and various opinions are held as to the regularity of its introduction into China, and the attitude of Britain regarding the trade. There is even disagreement about the effect of opium-smoking on the individual, and Mr. Ball's words, "body-ruining, mind-enfeebling, and soul-blasting drug," may sound strong, but one must remember that his experience as Registrar of Chinese and his intimate relations with them for years constitute him an authority.

The style is simple and forcible, and the book really enables the reader to understand the Chinaman. It is to be hoped that Mr. Ball in the leisure afforded him by retirement from the Civil Service will venture upon a larger and more ambitious examination of the Chinese character.

HARDY JOWETT.

A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON. By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. Ret. pp. xix, 516. Oxford, 1911.

In this fine volume Mr. Vincent Smith has made the first comprehensive survey yet attempted of the whole field of

Indian Fine Art in all its branches from its beginnings to the present day. The field is a vast one, and it is dotted (if one may be allowed the expression) with isolated and fragmentary remains, often without ostensible connexion one with the other. A school of art springs suddenly to light and then lapses into obscurity, the next illumination of the scene disclosing something apparently entirely To deal adequately with such a subject on different. historical principles requires qualifications not easily to be found combined in one individual; historical knowledge, research, and accuracy, combined with critical faculty and æsthetic perception and tempered by a sane and balanced judgment, are part of the indispensable equipment of the writer who grapples with this task, and it may be fairly asserted that Mr. Vincent Smith does not fail when judged by this severe criterion.

The classification of subjects alone affords an index of the difficulties of dealing with such a comprehensive field. Should the art of each period be treated as a whole, or should each branch, painting, sculpture, or architecture, be dealt with consecutively? Some cross-division is inevitable. and the art inspired by rival creeds, Hinduism, Buddhism, or Muhammadanism, demands separate treatment. Mr. Vincent Smith's treatment is practical, if not always consistent. Hindu architecture, for instance, is treated in chap. ii from the earliest period to the present day, while Muhammadan architecture from the twelfth century till modern times is not dealt with till chap, xii, where it is placed with other foreign arts towards the end of the volume. Yet Hindu eighteenth century painting, which is equally an offshoot of Persian art, is dealt with in chap. ix, in immediate succession to the painting of Ajanta. Good reasons may be assigned for this treatment, and in fact there is no possible arrangement which would not be open to criticism of some kind. Roughly speaking, the indigenous styles have been dealt with first, but with them must be included

early importations of foreign methods (as in the case of Gandhāra sculpture). Later foreign influences are dealt with in chaps. xi to xiv, which are concerned with the Central Asian and Persian art, introduced by successive Muhammadan invasions.

Outside India proper the art of Ceylon has been rightly included, but no fixed rule seems to have been followed in dealing with the other countries into which Brahmanism or Buddhism were carried by migration. The sculptures of Java are dealt with, but not its architecture, while the great Hindu buildings of Kamboja are not mentioned. Siam is omitted, while Tibet is included. The subject of the colonizing of Further India and the Archipelago is a vast one, and might well form the subject of a separate treatise, but a partial inclusion (such as that of the Boro Budur sculptures) is perhaps to be regretted. Javanese art (like Tibetan) can only be considered Indian in its original inspiration, and shows signs of such varying ethnical elements that it is very doubtful whether it should be classed as Indian, although it finds a proper place in a description of arts illustrating the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions.

These are minor points; the main substance of Mr. Vincent Smith's work is entirely satisfactory and provides an indispensable survey of the subject. The chapters on architecture are very full and useful, both as regards the early and mediaeval styles and the Muhammadan architecture of later times. They may be compared with advantage with the latest edition of Fergusson, especially in the part relating to Muhammadan buildings.

Mr. Vincent Smith brings forward a new theory of the origin of the domed stupa and of other roofs in early or later Hindu or Buddhist buildings (such as the curvilinear steeple of the modern temple), viz. that these forms are derived from an original constructed with

elastic bamboos bent in towards the centre. This theory (first applied to curved roofs by Mr. W. Simpson) has been extended by Mr. Vincent Smith to the domed stupas, and certainly deserves careful consideration; if further research confirms it, a truly Indian origin has been found for these most interesting buildings, and this development is comparable to that of lithic from wooden forms in many well-known cases. In sculpture, on the other hand, as far as a judgment can be formed from the scantv remains of Asoka's time, the first impulse came from outside India. No other deduction can be drawn from the combination in the fine Sarnath capital discovered in 1905 (plate xiii) of the lions on the abacus with a Persepolitan capital (also found in the slightly earlier pillar at Bakhirā). Mr. Vincent Smith does not accept Mr. Marshall's opinion that this capital may have been the work of an Asiatic Greek, but it is hardly possible to resist the conviction that this art proceeded from Persia, at that period under Greek rule, and less than a hundred years afterwards we find Heliodorus, son of Antialkidas of Taxila, erecting a monument to Vishnu at Besnagar, which shows how direct Greek influence may have been exercised. The railing at Bodh-Gayā (about a hundred years after Asoka's death) shows many motives derived from Asiatic Hellenistic art. The carvings at Barahat (185 to 173 B.C.) also show unmistakable signs of outside influence, but display as well the power, so often found afterwards, of assimilating this influence and adapting it to Indian ideas. The same may be said of the Sanchi sculptures and the work of the Gandhāra school, of slightly later date. (It may be remarked passim, with regard to the date of the Gandhāra sculptures, that Professor Oldenberg's theory dating Kanishka's accession in A.D. 78 is now by no means generally accepted, and that this event may probably be placed more than a century earlier. If this

be the case the commencement of the Gandhara school of sculpture must be placed in the middle of the first century B.C. and not long after that of Sanchi.) great difference between the schools of Gandhara and Barāhat and Sanchi is, that while foreign elements are found in the latter, the treatment is purely Indian, while in Gandhāra there is very strong evidence of Hellenistic work, and in the best specimens the naturalistic treatment of the human body and the drapery shows that the sculptors had undergone something resembling Greek training. But here, too, the Indian feeling was strongly This combination forms one of the most shown. interesting problems in Indian art, parallel to the later treatment of Hindu subjects by Indian artists trained in the Persian school. In both cases the result has been a successful form of art, the rapid decline of which may be traced to political and social disruption rather than natural decay. The more purely Indian development of sculpture culminates in the Amarawati stupa with unrestrained luxuriance of form and ornament, contemporary with, but apparently uninfluenced by, the later Gandhāra schools of the north. The latter, however, had an important offshoot in Mathura, but its most important result was in Central Asia, where the remains recently discovered at Dandan-Uiliq, Turfan, and other places by Stein and v. Le Coq show the derivation of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist art from this source. The whole of this subject is very fully dealt with by Mr. Vincent Smith, and the latest discoveries of archæology are utilized.

In India proper Buddhist art soon disappeared, and was succeeded by a more debased form, that of the Hindu sculpture based on the Brahmanical revival and introducing the violent and distorted forms with which we are familiar in mediaeval and modern sculpture. When not extravagant it is stiff and weak, and the modelling almost

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uniformly poor. Technical skill in carving is not lacking, and occasionally life-like figures are found in minor parts of reliefs, but these are few. The excessive laudations which have been lavished on the more successful specimens can only lead to disappointment in those who search through the depressing wilderness of mediaeval and modern sculpture for something pleasing and natural. The free and open-air life depicted so effectively in the relief-pictures of Sañchī, Barāhat, Gandhāra, and Amarāwatī has disappeared, and it is rare indeed to find any reflection of the life of the Indian middle ages in the enormous mass of sculpture which survives. The Jain sculpture does not suffer from the extravagances of Paurānic Hinduism, but is stiff and lifeless.

To find sculpture with life in it we must go outside the limits of India proper. In Java, among an alien race with ethnic qualities manifestly differing from those of India proper, we find in the beautiful reliefs of Boro Budur a revival of the glories of the early Buddhist sculpture, and in the smaller bronzes of Ceylon and some of those from Tibet there is often beauty and grace. The bronzework of Southern India, as distinguished from Ceylon, is monotonous and lifeless as a rule. It may be doubted whether the pleasing figure of Pārvatī (fig. 175) given by Mr. Vincent Smith is not really from Ceylon, as it reproduces the characteristic expression and attitude found in many of the minor Cevlon bronzes. There are few bronzes of more than a few inches in height. The fine figure of Pattini Dēvi (in the British Museum) from Ceylon (pl. 1) is an exception, and but for the unnatural smallness of the waist it would be a very satisfactory work of art. Of the numerous figures of Siva dancing the Tandava dance the Polonnaruwa figure (fig. 188) is perhaps the best, although the extra arm stretched across the breast is more than usually disfiguring. Several of these figures show life and grace, and it is to be regretted

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that there is no good example in England, the British Museum specimen being heavy and not among the best of its kind.

The Ceylon art approaches nearer to the Indian than does that of Java; on the other hand, that of Tibet, inspired by Lamaistic Buddhism, though descended from the late Indian Mahayanist school, is yet Mongolian in style and sentiment, and can in no way be considered as Indian. Some of the bronzes of this school have considerable beauty; the small figure of Saraswati (pl. xlic) is extremely graceful.

Taking Indian sculpture from first to last Mr. Vincent Smith has given a masterly and exhaustive survey, and, without detracting from other treatises dealing with parts of the subject, it may be safely asserted that there is no other authority of an equally comprehensive nature.

Painting in India does not admit of anything approaching consecutive treatment. We have the sudden and early blossoming (probably under a stimulus from Central Asia) at Ajanta, Bāgh, and Sīgiriya, of which an excellent and fully illustrated account is given in chap. viii, and then we spring across the ages to the Hindu adaptations of the Persian or Central Asian art brought into India by the Mughal conquest in the sixteenth century. The gap cannot be filled; in India there is practically nothing after the middle of the seventh century, and it can only be conjectured (see Mr. Vincent Smith's remarks on pp. 303 and 328) that the Indian artists who so quickly mastered the foreign style must have had some previous training; undoubtedly Hindus predominated among the artists of Akbar's time, as is shown on p. 470. No doubt in introducing this art from the laxer Shī'a communities to the more rigorous Sunnis of North India, Akbar was met by the religious difficulty which has crippled painting and sculpture in other Sunni lands, and was glad to find a body of native craftsmen hampered by no such prejudices.

Mr. Vincent Smith has perhaps exaggerated the special Hindu developments of this art. It seems to be merely Hindu, inasmuch as it deals with religious subjects and Indian tales, but in beauty of colouring it can hardly be considered equal to the art of Bukhārā and Persia. are minor arts, purely illustrative of narratives, and, in spite of all praise, this pretty form of painting, destitute of perspective and atmosphere, can never take the highest rank. Mr. Vincent Smith appears to consider that the principles of art established in Europe by centuries of practice and criticism are inapplicable to Oriental painting, and that its conventions must be persisted in; yet it seems doubtful whether a false system based on disregard of nature and its laws can ever be revived when once it is dead, and whether the true laws of sight applied with Indian patience and colour-sense may not ultimately result in a finer school of art than that which is now departed, even though the first results of the combination may not seem promising. Mr. Vincent Smith's criticism is on the whole moderate and sane, and supplies a wholesome counterbalance to some recent writings on Indian art which ignore its most obvious defects, and seem sometimes inspired as much by political as by artistic enthusiasm

Some mention should be made of the minor arts—Hindū and Muhammadan—to which Mr. Vincent Smith devotes two interesting chapters (x and xiii). These deal with gems, coins, jewellery, gold and silver work, work in other metals, terra-cotta, tiles, and woodcarving. These chapters are excellent and far in advance of anything existing on these subjects. The most interesting finds of modern times are here described as well as the more familiar specimens. Thus we have the Kanishka casket, the Yusafzai pendant, and the Tānk patera, as well as the Bimārān reliquary and the Badakhshān patera. As regards the last it seems doubtful how far it may be

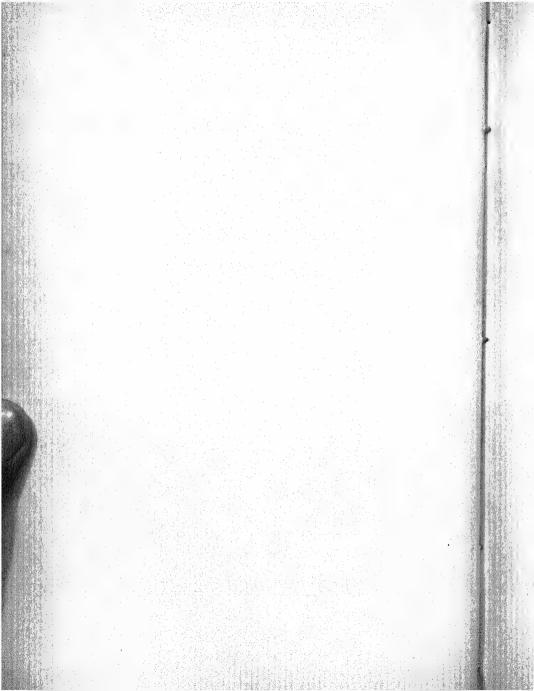
called Indian. Perhaps Græco-Persian would better denote its origin. The Tānk patera is undoubtedly Indian, and Mr. Vincent Smith's theory that the drinking figure and his female attendant represent a Yaksha and Yakshī, as in some of the Mathurā sculptures, is deserving of careful consideration, and may very probably be correct.

The selection of intaglios (p. 352) hardly seems adequately to represent this minor phase of Indo-Greek and Indo-Sassanian art, but the available specimens are not numerous. In coins Mr. Vincent Smith is an authority, and his description of such of them as have artistic merit is excellent.

Among the minor arts of the Musalmān period perhaps that of tile-making, not yet extinct, is one of the most interesting. (Some fine domed tombs decorated with modern blue and white tiles were erected a few years ago by a Baloch chief, Sir Imān Bakhsh Khān, to deceased members of his family at Rojhān on the North-West Frontier.) It may be noted here that the animal represented in the tile in plate exic is an ibex, and that in plate exii a is an uriāl or wild sheep, which I have also seen as an intaglio on a cornelian ring. In neither case are they antelopes.

Taking Mr. Vincent Smith's work as a whole there can be no doubt that it is, and must remain, for several years to come, the principal authority on the fascinating and important topics with which it deals. It is a beautiful work, very fully illustrated, and the Clarendon Press as well as Mr. Vincent Smith must be congratulated on its appearance.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1912.)

I.—General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society January 9, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair. The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. T. M. Ainscough.
Mr. Pulinkrishna Dé.
Miss Mary Foley.
Mr. A. P. Peters.
Babu Hira Lal Sood.
Mr. H. A. Thornton.
Mr. James Troup.
Mr. M. N. Venketaswami.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Hogarth gave a lecture on "Carchemish".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Tuckwell, Dr. Hagopian, and Dr. Pinches took part.

February 13, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:-

Mr. Shambhu Dayal Bhatnagar.

Mr. H. Gipperich.

Rev. Percival Gough.

Babu Jogendranath Gupta.

Dr. Asutosh Roy.

Mr. R. N. Samaddar.

Thirteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Sir Charles Eliot, K.C.M.G., read a paper on the "History and Monuments of Cambodja".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Dyer Ball, Mr. Blagden, Mr. Dames, and Dr. Thomas took part.

March 14, 1912.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Mr. Talib Masih Alexander.
Mr. Gerard L. M. Clauson.
Babu Manomohan Gangooly.
Rev. A. S. Geden.
Dr. van Hinloopen Labberton.
Pandit Sunder Narayan Mushram.
Mr. Joseph Holdsworth Oldham.
Mr. William James Perry.
Mr. Jotindranath Samaddar.
Mr. G. Tahoor.
Mr. R. L. Turner.
Mr. Raza Ali Wahshat.

Rev. Godfrey Edward Phillips, M.A.

Two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. R. Grant Brown, I.C.S., read a paper on "The Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages".

A discussion followed, in which the Rev. J. Knowles, Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht, Miss Ridding, Dr. Pollen, Mr. J. Dyer Ball, and Mr. Daniel Jones took part.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

I. Zeitschrift den deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Bd. LXV, Heft iv.

Weissbach (F. H.). Zur Keilinschriftlichen Gewichtkunde. Littmann (E.). Tigrë-Erzählungen.

König (E.). Neuere Stammbildungstheorien in semitischen Sprachgebiete.

Schmidt (R.). Beiträge zur Flora Sanskritica.

Grill (J.). Zur mandschurischen Übersetzung des Taotě-king.

Roeder (G.). Das ägyptische Mastaba-Grab.

Praetorius (F.). Bemerkungen zu Takla Ḥawāryāt.

II. VIENNA ORIENTAL JOURNAL. Vol. XXV, No. iii.

Bartholomae (C.). Mitteliranische Studien.

Grube (W.). Proben der Mongolischen Umgangssprache.

Charpentier (J.). Rgveda, viii, 100 (89).

Reich (N.). Aus der Sammlung der demotischen Papyri in der kgl. bayrischer Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München.

III. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
Vol. XXXII, Pt. i.

Haupt (P.). Some difficult passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.

—— The five Assyrian Stems la'u.

Vanderburgh (F. A.). Babylonian Legends. B.M. Tablets 87,535, 93,828, and 87,521.

Oliphant (S. G.). The Vedic Dual.

Gray (L. H.). The Dūtāngada of Subhata translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Blake (Frank R.). The Hebrew Metheg.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.
Vol. XXXIII, Pt. vii.

Sayce (Prof. A. H.). The Hittite Inscription at Aleppo.

—— Three Seal Cylinders.

Langdon (D. S.). Tablets from Kiš.

Ball (Rev. C. J.). A Study in Biblical Philology.

Hall (H. R.). Two Coptic Acknowledgments of Loans.

V. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde. Deel LIII, Afl. $\overline{5-6}$.

Rapport supplémentaire concernant le pays d'Asahan.

Krom (N. J.). L'inscription de Nglawang.

Rinkes (D. A.). Les Saints de Java.

Erp (T. van). Notices Archéologiques. (7 planches.)

Juynboll (Th. W.). La date de l'épitaphe de Malik Ibrāhīm.

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VI. BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT. Tome XI, Nos. 1-2.

Huber (Ed.). Études Indochinoises.

Deloustal (R.). La Justice dans l'ancien Annam.

Cadière (L.). Le dialecte du Bas-Annam."

Peri (N.). Sur le Drame lyrique Japonais $N\bar{o}$.

Une Mission archéologique Japonaise en Chine.

Maspero (H.). Contribution à l'étude du système phonétique des langues Thai.

VII. REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. Tome LXIV, No. ii.

Cumont (Fr.). L'origine de la formule grecque d'abjuration imposée aux musulmans.

Faye (E. de). De la formation d'une doctrine chrétienne de Dieu au 11e siècle.

Avezou (Ch.) et Ch. Picard. Bas-relief mithriaque découvert à Patras.

Basset (A.). Bulletin des périodiques de l'Islam, 1908-10.

Tome LXIV, No. iii.

Toutain (J.). L'antre de Psychro et le Δικταιον αντρον.

Combe (Et.). Bulletin de la religion assyro-babylonienne, 1909–1910.

Dussaud (A.). Les papyrus judéo-araméens d'Elephantine publiés par M. Sachau.

VIII. T'OUNG PAO. Vol. XII, No. v.

Maspero (G.). Le royaume de Champa.

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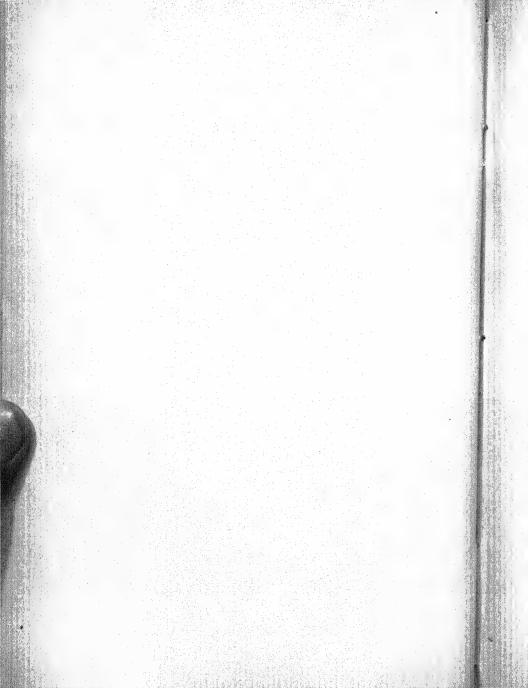
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TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Medal for 1912 has been awarded to Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (ret.), for his distinguished work in Indian Epigraphy, History, and Chronology, in which subjects he is the foremost authority in England as well as in foreign countries.



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JOURNAL

OF THE

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XVII

NOTES ON SOME SUFI LIVES

By H. F. AMEDROZ

BY the recent appearance in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" of vol. xvii, the Kashf al-Mahjúb of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, preceded, as it was, rather closely by the Treatise on Mysticism of Evelyn Underhill, the Eastern as well as the Western manifestations of the mystical spirit are portrayed. Dr. Nicholson is concerned exclusively with the former, which in Mysticism are but lightly touched on, its subject being that Mysticism which is dependent on a specific religious impulse, and is thereby distinguishable from Pantheism.

The number of accredited Western mystics throughout the ages seems to have been small: their list in the appendix to Mysticism scarcely reaches three figures. This is perhaps not matter for regret. What Gibbon says (chapter xxi) of abstruse questions of metaphysical science, may be said too of the problems involved in mysticism, that it must often have been those least qualified to judge who aspired to do so, their weakness for the task being measurable by their degree of obstinacy and confidence. The mystic's aim is to escape from the world of sense and perception; his goal is to become in some way identified with, or merged in,

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Reality or the Absolute 1; his path is throughout assumed to be upwards; and the warrant for his attaining his goal is solely his own confident and ecstatic assertion that he has attained it. Mystics, we are told in Musticism (p. 26), far outdistance "the votaries of intellect, or of sense"; and again (p. 43) that "they stand head and shoulders above ordinary men"; they are "the pioneers of the spiritual world"2; and (p. 5) that "we have no right to deny validity to their discoveries, merely because we lack the opportunity or the courage necessary to those who would prosecute such explorations for themselves". Substituting here a lack of "the leisure or the inclination", as in no way detracting from the roundness of the sentence, its logic, it may be observed, would have disqualified most of us from distrusting Dr. Cook's narrative of his journey to the North Pole. For we are warned (ibid.) that "we must not begin to talk of the unreal world of these dreamers until we have discovered-if we can-a real world with which it may be compared". In the case put, only the South Pole would have fulfilled the requirement.

In truth the mystic's unvarying and unhesitating confidence of success, whatever may have been his intervals of doubt and despondency, is very akin to that

[&]quot;Reality" is defined (p. 40) as "an independent spiritual world unconditioned by the world of sense"; the "real life, spirit" is to be preferred to the "lower life of sense"; not "existence, the superficial obvious thing," but "substance, the underlying verity," is to be our home (p. 207). The better antithesis would seem to be "Annihilation of our thought of phenomena", the Súfi's ultimate goal.

The majority of the names in the Appendix are of small weight in the world's annals, and it is not as mystics that some of them, such as Aquinas, Dante, or even William Law, are known. The contention on p. 541 is staggering: "When science, politics, literature, and the arts—the domination of nature and the ordering of life—have risen to their height and produced their greatest works, the mystic comes to the front, snatches the torch and carries it on. It is almost as if he were humanity's finest flower. . . "The Renaissance, then, blossomed into St. John of the Cross and St. Rose of Lina.

"certainty" insisted on by Newman in his Grammar of Assent, and is open to the same objection, viz. that experience shows that no degree of certainty, however strong, can be conclusive evidence of the facts believed. Such certainty may, and does, prove a whole-hearted enthusiasm and a predisposition to be convinced—but nothing more. Certainty is attainable, if at all, by another method, and the rival processes are illustrated in Froude's criticism of Newman 1 by the contrast he draws between the gravely and cautiously formed conclusion of the scientific investigator, and the schoolgirl's determination that the weather is going to be fine,she having this advantage, that she is quite convinced the fact will be as she believes. In Mysticism, too, p. 287, occurs a highly suggestive comparison of the mystic's perception of his "illumination"—his half-way house to his goal—with a lover's conviction of his mistress' perfection. Precisely so: his wish is father to the fact he believes.

The imperfections of our sense impressions are also emphasized, and young idealists are invited (p. 8), as a useful exercise, to consider what would be the result were our senses, at the bidding of some mischievous demiurge, to exchange duties, so that we came to hear colours and see sounds. But most of us in our youth, whether idealists or not, must have been faced by the problem—

"If all the trees were bread and cheese,
And all the sea were ink,"

without any resulting anxiety.2 A simple method of

¹ Short Studies on Great Subjects, 1872, vol. ii, p. 124.

² A very similar problem exercised the mind of an eminent Ṣūfi, Shakīk al-Balkhi. His pupil, Ḥātim al-Aṣamm, quoted to a Christian monk a saying of Shakīk: "If the skies were brass and the earth iron, rain and vegetation would cease, and were all people from end to end of the earth dependent on me, I should remain unconcerned."

لوكانت السما المحاس والارض من حديد فلا السما المصطرولا The monk الارض تنبت وكان عيالي ما بين الخافقين لم أبالي

foiling the demiurge would be to shift the terms used to denote these frolicking senses.

Nor is Mysticism's terminology of the clearest. We are told (p. 40) that the mystic "knows reality because he is real"; and (p. 49) that he attains Being because "only Being can know Being"; and again (p. 146), that "the soul, according to mystic principles, can only perceive Reality in proportion as she is real "-aphorisms which recall the sentiment that "who drives fat oxen should himself be fat". Some of the dicta are more striking than convincing. Thus (p. 87), "the light that never was on land or sea" is, to the favoured few, a "scientific statement"; the mediaeval mind (p. 91) "gave to music a cosmic importance, discerning its operation in many phenomena which we now attribute to that dismal figment, Law"-law being used, presumably, rather in its sense of an unvarying rule of nature than of (inter alia) the protector of the author's copyright. A luminous saying of Jalal-al-Din (p. 38, repeated by the author in a recent article in the English Review, 1912, p. 522). "Pilgrimage to the place of the wise is to find escape from the flame of separation," is called "the mystic's secret in a nutshell"; and again (p. 127), certain lines of Blake of the "more inspired", and therefore more unintelligible, character are declared to contain a prominent Christian doctrine "in a nutshell". In a nutshell, too, it was that another, and not less inspired, poet set himself to describe the Higher Pantheism—the Pantheism "to which the mystics always tend" (p. 144)—and his concluding couplet may well be cited here-

[&]quot;God, whom we see not, is: and God, who is not, we see: Fiddle, we know, is diddle: and diddle, we take it, is dee."

advised him to quit a teacher who indulged in such baseless fancies; كان كنف كان (Mir'āt al-Zamān, B.M. Or. 4618, 1026, 1. 18).

^{1 &}quot;The Higher Pantheism in a nutshell," in The Heptalogia, or, the Seven against Sense (a cap with seven bells); London, 1880.

Dr. Nicholson may be held, therefore, to have been well advised in subjecting his work to a scholarly treatment rather than, as suggested by the reviewer in the Athenaum of May 27, 1911, in seeking to make it attractive to the general public. "Austere scholarship" may, in their eyes, have its drawbacks, but to those whom Dr. Nicholson is immediately addressing it is welcome. It implies, moreover, the exclusion of the element of propaganda, which in Mysticism is undeniably present.

The Kashf al-Mahjúb is stated to be the most ancient Persian treatise on Sufiism. The language and the subject are equally outside my knowledge, but the authorities on which the author relied were Arabic, and the transliteration of the sayings quoted throughout the volume shows that they reached him in that tongue.1 This led me to search for their originals in the Tabakāt al-Sūfiyya of Sulami, B.M. Add. 18520, where many of them are given. Some of these occur, with others added, in the copious Sufi obituary notices in the Mir'at al-Zamān of Sibt ibn al-Jauzi, B.M. Or. 4618, covering A.H. 219-79, in his grandfather's Muntazam, B.M. Or. 3004, covering A.H. 228-89, and in the Turrikh al-Islām of Dhahabi, Leyd. Cod. 1721 (Rev. Cat. No. 843), B.M. MSS. Or. 48*, Or. 48, Or. 49, and Or. 50, covering A.H. 241-490. The yield from these sources may be of interest. The Suff, if not a man of much action, was assuredly a man of many words: their sayings gave rise to a copious literature. Sulami, himself a Sūfi, composed, besides the Tabakāt, other works on Sufiism, viz. Ta'rīkh al-Sūfiyya and Miḥan al-Sūfiyya, both quoted by Dhahabi,

¹ The oldest extant treatise on Sufiism in Arabic is said (Preface, xxiii) to be the *Kitāb al-Luma*' of Abu Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. A.H. 378, Dhahabi, B.M. Or. 48, 155^b); this text Dr. Nicholson intends publishing in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series from a MS. in the possession of Mr. A. G. Ellis. Lately the British Museum also has acquired a complete and legibly written MS. of the work, of A.H. 548 (Or. 7710).

and perhaps used by the author of the Kashf.1 It is. however, from deeds rather than from words that the truth should be sought, and by this test it would appear that in two important respects the Sufi differed from the Western mystic: he was not averse either from learning or from domestic life. Many of them handed down traditions. wrote polemical treatises, and were intimate with jurists of eminence. In the case of Ibn Khafif (noticed Kashf, pp. 158, 247) his four hundred marriages are stated, and very plausibly, to have been nominal, and to have implied on the wives' part the seeking rather a blessing than an establishment, but he is described to us as advising his hearers to stick to study, and to pay no heed to any Sufi warnings to the contrary; he himself had pursued learning under difficulties, and those who foretold his failure, in the end found him of service to them.2 And we find him in discussion with his teacher, the eminent Shafeite jurist Ibn Suraij (d. A.H. 306, Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 46), who demonstrated from the Kuran that

¹ Dr. Nicholson assumes (Preface, xxiii) that the work of Sulami referred to by the author of the Kashf is the Tabakāt, but the Ta'rīkh may be equally intended, and this might account for the discrepancy mentioned p. 114, n. 1. The Mihan is quoted in Leyden, 1721, 6°, and B.M. Or. 48*, 100°, 1. 6, the Ta'rīkh, ib. 47°, and Or. 48, 70°, 100°, etc. Dhahabi says of Sulami, ib. 149°: عمادات وهو غير ثقة] حمايات منكرة من حمايات القوم .

قال ابن باكويه: نظر ابو عبدالله بن خفيف يوما الى ابن ممكتوم وجماعة من اصحابه يكتبون شيئًا فقال: ما هذا. قالوا: نكتب كذا وكذا. قال: اشتغلوا بتعلَّم شي ولا يغرَنَكم كلام الصوفية فانى كنتُ اخبأ محبرتى فى جبيب مرقعتى والورق فى حُجزة سراويلى و انهب خفية الى اهل العلم فاذا علموا بى خاصمونى وقالوا: لا تفلح، ثم احتاجوا اليّ (18, 48, 129). وابن مكتوم هو محمد بن الحسين (4, 149, 1, 149). وابن باكويه هو محمد بن عبد الله محمد بن الحسين (4, 1, 149, 1, 149).

the love of God is obligatory 1; Bistāmi (p. 106) said that the disagreement of the learned was essential to the observance of the precepts of divine knowledge 2; and Ruwaim (p. 135) held that dissension was essential to Sūfi well-being. 3 When the Sūfi Shaikh Abu-l-Faḍl al-Sahlaki met the jurist Abu Ishak al-Shīrāzi (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 9) at Bistām on his return from his mission from the Caliph to Nizām al-Mulk, he was treated as an equal with much courtesy (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 81).4

And the Sūfi appears constantly as a "family man". The author of the Kashf discusses the question of marriage, and leans somewhat in favour of celibacy (see pp. 360-6, the last of these pages putting a case very similar to that of Tristram Shandy), but Sūfi practice tended in the other direction. Junaid (p. 128), when a slave-girl was unexpectedly bestowed on him, gave her to a brother Sūfi, by whom she had a fine boy (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 339); Ruwaim (p. 135), reproached for having deviated from Sufiism into the service of the State, (for that is the truth of the Kashf statement that he "hid himself among the rich"), protested that he had been compelled to this

قال ابن خفيف : سألنا يومًا القاضى ابو العساس بسن سُريج أ بشيراز وتحن محضر مجلسه لدرس الفقه فقال لنا : محبّة الله فرضٌ ام لا . قلنا : فرضٌ . قال : فما الدليل . فما منا من اجاب بشمى أ فسألناه فقال : قوله تعالى "قلّ ان كان آباؤكم وابناؤكم" الآية (ix, 24). قال : فتواعدهم الله على تفضيل محبّتهم لغيرة على محبّته والوعيدُ قال : فتواعدهم الله على تفضيل محبّتهم لغيرة على محبّته والوعيدُ

ما وجدتُ شيئًا اشدٌ على من العلم ومتابعته ولو لا اختلاف متحدًا (B.M. Add. 18520, 140).

قال رُويم : لا تزال الصوفيّة بخير ما تناقووا فاندا اصطلحوا اهلكوا " (ib. 39°).

⁴ Dhahabi (Or. 50, 150^a) tells how Sūfi women met Abu Ishak and threw their rosaries into his litter in the hope of a blessing through contact with his person.

course by the claims of a family; ¹ another Sūfi, al-Kalānisi (d. A.H. 271; Ansāb, Gibb facsimile, 467a, l. 3 a.f. and Or. 4618, 241b, l. 11), when a disciple for whom he had arranged a marriage refused the bride, himself took his place; Ibn al-Hawāri (p. 118) had his full number of four wives, one of whom was a Zāhida; ² and so had Hātim al-Aṣamm (p. 115), with nine children, and he thankfully declared himself free from any Satan-prompted concern for their bringing up; ³ Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān, who on his death, A.H. 376, aged 90, was anticipating the birth of a child, promptly devoted it to Allah and declared he had received a receipt; ⁴ and of Bishr al-Ḥāfi it was

وقيل ان رُويمًا دخل في شيء من امور السلطان فلم يتغيّر من محاله ولا توسّع فليم في ذلك فقال: كذب الصوفيّة احوجني الي الله ولا توسّع فليم في (B.M. Or. 48*, 24).

² Rābi'a bint Ismā'īl, d. A.H. 229 (Or. 3004, 5^h). Abu Nu'aim, d. A.H. 430, says of her in the Hilya (Leyd. Cod. 1188, 24^h, Rev. Cat. No. 1073) that, according to Sulami, she shared name and patronymic with Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 515), but she was of Baṣra, and this one of Syria, and on all the authorities the latter should be written Rā'i'a. We are told that on Ibn al-Ḥawāri meeting with a Princess and her companions she was so overcome on hearing him by love for Allah that she forthwith died (Or. 4618, 134^a, l. 6). A similar incident is recorded of Biṣṭāmi (p. 106). A young man invited to visit him had refused, saying that the sight of Allah sufficed him; on persuasion he went, and died on the spot. Biṣṭāmi explained the occurrence as the result of his own superior "state" having served as the medium of communication between the young man and Allah:

ما طمع الشيطان ان يوسوس لى فى شىءً من ارزاقهم (B.M. Or. 4618, 102°, 1. 12).

توقّى وزوحته حُيلى فبلغنى انها قالت له عند وفاته: قد ثم قربَت . لادتى . فقال : سلّمتُه الى الله فقد جا وا برآءتى من السما قربَت . لادتى . فقال : سلّمتُه الى الله فقد جا وا برآءتى من السما (B.M. Or. 48, 149), on the authority of al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūri. Muḥammad's father, Abu Ja'far Aḥmad (d. A.H. 311), also a Ṣūfi, is noticed in B.M. Add. 18520, 76°, and Or. 48°, 77°.

said by the Imām Aḥmad b. Hanbal that he needed only to have been married to be a perfect character.¹

As was inevitable, a rather exalted stage of Sufism was that characterized by renunciation, zuhd, i.e. asceticism; it constituted the "state" hal, next below tawakkul (p. 181), and its representative was Noah (p. 371). It was declared specially efficacious as a corrective of wealth, the corrective of learning being 'ibāda.2 Its danger, unnoticed in the Kashf, is its tendency to produce the "hideous, sordid, and emaciated maniac" deplored by Lecky as the later ideal of "nations which had known the writings of Plato and Cicero, and the lives of Socrates and Cato"3. In the East there was no such past to efface, but there is evidence that zuhd was capable of making shipwreck of manners and of intellect. A Sūfi, Tāhir b. al-Husain al-Jassas, d. A.H. 418, is described as versed in the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, the Psalms, and the Kuran, and as the author of a work in seven juzon the rules of Noviciate, called Ahkām al-Murīdīn. But his austerities undermined his intellect, and opinions were divided as to whether he was a heretic or a man of right gnosis.4 And of his personal habits we learn that he

الوكان بشر تزوّج لَتُمّ امرُهُ : 1. 17 الوكان بشر تزوّج لَتُمّ امرُهُ : 17 المال والذي ينجيك من ثق الدنيا طغيانان طغيان العلم وطغيان المال والذي ينجيك من طغيان العلم العبادة والذي ينجيك من طغيان المال الدرهدد (B.M. Add. 18520, 42").

³ History of European Morals, ch. iv.

This argument was advanced in Tahir's favour by one present, viz., that Jesus, admittedly a prophet, had brought on mankind more tribulation than Tāhir, and that to neither of them personally did any mischief enure. The text runs: مُعَلَّمُ الْمُعَرِّفَ عَلَيْهُ وَلَمْ الْمُعَرِّفَةُ وَلَمْ الْمُعَرِّفَةُ وَلَمْ الْمُعَرِّفَةُ فَلَمَا كَثَرِتِ الْا قَاوِيلُ فَيْهُ قَلْتُ : ان عيسى عم كان سبه الى المعرفة فلما كثرت الا قاويل فيه قلت : ان عيسى عم كان سبه الى الناس به اكثر وافتتانهم بعيسى ضرّهم وسا ضرّه وكمذلك سبيًّا وافتتان الناس بطاهر يضرّه ولا يضرّه (B.M. Or. 49, 106).

reluctantly allowed his garment to be cleaned, stipulating that its inhabitants (kaml) were not to be injured, and on its return cleaned, said that the change was to him a matter of indifference. Stories of self-inflicted sufferings among Sūfis are constant. The notice of Bishr al-Hāfi (p. 105) in the Mirat al-Zaman (B.M. Or. 4618. ff. 51-7) is a record of exaggerated austerity. deplored his birth, wept until his eyes suffered, courted cold to emulate the poor, and refused food prepared by his sister, as he could not be sure whence it had come. Bistāmi (p. 106) refused to dry his clothes on a tree for fear of injuring its branches, and used his own back instead (ib. 206^b, l. 3 a.f.). Khair al-Nassāj (p. 145) submitted to being wrongly claimed as a slave, "deeming this to come from God" (which would have been true, too, of his resistance, and, moreover, is an amplification of the version in Tabakāt, 73a; as is also the master's "repentance", and the sight of the "Angel of Death"); and the conduct of Abu Hamza Khurāsāni (p. 146) completely traverses the dictum that God helps those that help themselves, for on what principle he, after ignoring the help of the thoughtful wayfarers, made use of the dragon's tail to escape from the pit, is a mystery indeed. Ibn al-Jauzi, who was a man of approved piety, tells this story of Abu Hamza Baghdādi, and adds that his silence in such a case, i.e. when in peril of life and with help within call, was contrary to revealed law. 1 Of Ibn Khafif (p. 158) Dhahabi says that, wrongly suspected of theft from a shop, he decides on resignation (taslīm), and is silent. When condemned by the Amir to lose his hand he recognizes in him a former slave of his father, answers his Arabic by Persian, and is answered by a kunya which he had borne only in his youth. Emotion on the Amir's part follows; next the real thieves are caught; and

^{.(}B.M. Or. 3004, 203°) وسكوته في مثل هذا مُخالف لِلشرع '

finally, the Amīr, in lofty, if undeserved self-reproach, undergoes a self-inflicted penance. Akṭa (mentioned p. 304, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 397) is also noticed by Dhahabi (Or. 48*, 47°). He actually did lose his hand for wrongly imputed theft, and refused to have the stump treated. In a night vision he saw the Prophet lay hold of his hand, and in the morning he found it healed.

Throughout these stories the element of legend is, of course, prominent. The marvellous is, indeed, ever liable to accretion, and to this the pages of the Kashf bear witness. Ibn Adham (p. 103) is reproved there by an antelope "in elegant language"; in the Tabakāt his game is a hare, or fox, and the voice proceeds from the pommel of his saddle.² The additions to the story of Nassāj have been mentioned. And in the case of Shibli (p. 155), according to both Ansāb, 329a, l. 14, and Dhahabi, Or. 48*, 227a, it was not he, but his father, who was chamberlain, and not to the Caliph, but to Muwaffak, on whose deposition from the succession he lost his place—an unexpectedly tangible result of that proceeding.

On the other hand, the Kashf narrative discloses likewise omissions, due conceivably to the author's inability at times to put a Persian sense on his Arabic original.

فنظرتُ اليه فعرفته وكان مملوكًا لوالدى فكلّمنى بالعربية وكلّمتُه الله بالفارسيّة فنظر اليّ وقال: ابو الحسين . وكنتُ اكتّى بها فى صبائى فضحكتُ فعرفنى فاخذ يلطم راسه ووجهه واشتغل الناس به فاف بضجّة عظيمة وان اللصوص قد مُسكوا فذهبت الناس ورائى وانا ملطخ بالدماء جائح لى ايام لم اكل فراتنى عجوز فقيرة وقالت : آدخل الينا . فدخلت ولم يرنى الناس وغسلتُ وجهى ويدى فاف الامير قد اقبل يطلبنى فدخل ومعه جماعةً وجرّ من منطقته سِكّيناً وحلف بالله وقال: ان امسكني انسان لاقتلنّ نفسى . وضرب بيده وحلف بالله وقال: ان امسكني انسان لاقتلنّ نفسى . وضرب بيده وحلف بالله وقال: ان امسكني انسان لاقتلنّ نفسى . وضرب بيده وحلف بالله وقال: ان امسكني انسان مفعة حتى منعته انا ثم اعتذر (*B.M. Or. 48, 128).

² من قربوس السرج (B.M. Add. 18520, 3).

The notice of Makki (p. 138) is taken up mainly by a story of his curing a youth by causing verses to be chanted to him. The first couplet was a hackneyed one; it occurs Agh. xx, 182, and in the 'Umdat of Ibn Rashik, Cairo, 1325, i, 23, and it is applied by the poet Ibn al-Hajjāj to his own case in Hilāl al-Sābi, 431; and in all the versions it is not a slave, 'abd, but a dog, kalb, who is supposed visited in illness. The next couplet cures the youth, and in Tabakāt we are given Makki's explanation why this was so, and it may well be that the author of the Kashf found the explanation a dark one.

Another omission seems to occur on p. 153. The Persian equivalent of the transliterated Arabic words, "speaking tongues are the destruction of silent hearts," imports a contrast not present in the Arabic. But the *Tabakāt* version has added words which do introduce the soul, nafs, and it may be that the Persian was a free rendering of both the sentences.

Hamdun al-Kassar, in expounding the doctrine of Blame, malāma, says (p. 66) that it is a compound of the Hope which characterized the Murjiyya sect ³ and the Fear

فَسُنُلُ عَمْرُو مِن ذَلِكُ فَقَالَ: إن الاشَارِة اذَاكَانِت قبل السَّمَاع كَانِت مِن القليل مِنْهَا يَهْلَكُ (B.M. Add. 18520, 45"). I am indebted to Professor Goldziher for a meaning, which he declares to be only tentative. "If the illumination precedes the Simā' it is of a higher sort, and a little music suffices to cure; if, however, the Simā' be applied to an unenlightened person whose enlightenment comes only later, then it is of a lower order, and the Simā', being profane in character, may be injurious." The Professor concludes:

ألسنة مستنطقات تحت نُطقها مستهلات] وانفس [ألسنة مستبلكات] وانفس (B.M. Add. 18520, 70°). Professor D. S. Margoliouth has solved this saying thus: "The tongue when made to speak is made to perish thereby; and the soul, when made subservient to some worldly purpose, meets the like fate."

" Ma'mun held the tenets of this sect to be proper for kings: قال المامون: الارجاء دين الملوك (Ibn abi Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, B.M. Add. 23318, 349).

which was incident to *Kadari* tenets. Dhahabi makes him go on to say that the combination of the two was needed, inasmuch as unmixed fear induced despair and unalloyed hope led to a lack of humility, which is a very intelligible position. The author of the *Kashf* detects in the opening words "a hidden meaning", and he is but moderately successful in unearthing one.

To represent Sūfi dicta by words is difficult—in their view wellnigh impossible—but the profane should be aided in the attempt by having before them the dicta as uttered. In some cases the author of the Kashf quotes them inaccurately. On pp. 245-6 we are given "subtle indications" on the subject of $fan\bar{a}$ and $bak\bar{a}$, terms which Dr. Nicholson has elsewhere rendered by "armihilation of our thought of phenomena" and "perpetuation of our thought of God". On this subject sayings by Nahrajūri and by Shaibāni are quoted, which appear also in Tabakāt and in Dhahabi, and more correctly.2 The former makes the perfect state to consist in the passing away of the aspect of man's worship, and its replacement by an abiding perception of the deity's presence in all his acts here below. The latter holds perfection to hinge on man's true attainment of the higher state, working in conjunction with his true mystic development here below, i.e. īkhlās, not "and",

وسُئِل (حمدرن) عن طريق الملامة فقال: خوف القدريّة ورجاء المرجيّة يعنى كلاهما معًا فان من ركب النحوف المقلِق قنط ومن (Leyden, 1721, 123°).

قال النهرجوري في الفنا والبقا : هو فنا وية قيام العبد لله " وبقا وية قيام الله في الاحكام

قال ابو اسمى القرميسيني (يعنى ابرهيم بن شيبان): علم الفنا والبقا يدور على اخلاص الوحدانية وصحة العبودية وما كان غير هذا فهو من المغاليط والزندقة

(B.M. Add. 18520, 87^s, 92^b; and Or. 48*, 193^c, 233^s).

but "of" wahdaniyya, this applying to the higher state towards which man is to strive, whereas 'ubūdiyya refers to man's lower attitude of worship. Such is the explanation, if I have rightly grasped it, for which I am indebted to Professor Snouck Hurgronje. The author of the Kashf proceeds to give the "real gist" of the sayings, and in a cloud of words.

Again, certain experiences of Bisṭāmi on his pilgrimages (Kashf, 107, and again 327) are described by the author as a "subtle tale", which indeed is true of his version, but the subtlety seems in part due to his blundering. A different and fuller version is given in the notice of Bisṭāmi in Or. 4618.¹ In the Kashf version his third pilgrimage is a success, and is not calculated to awake his repentance. But in the text below, on that occasion he sees neither the house nor its master nor the people.

He is surprised that this should befall one who had attained to his "state", and his pride rises. Thereupon an unseen speaker bid him begone, rejected. He wanders disconsolate to a monastery in the desert, and finds there worshippers of the Cross, whom he rebukes for thus wasting their efforts. Again the voice warns him that his advice is unsought, and that he is rejected. In despair he asks to be given a monk's cord, zunnār, which he sets about putting on, and has nearly done so when the voice resumes, and tells him to desist, saying that things have not come to this pass, but that whilst his love was recognized so was his pride. The Sūfi, in his scorn of those professing another creed, was probably unconscious how very much he and they had in common, and how largely, indeed, his own system was derived from those he presumed to admonish. The story affords, too, an instance of the "spiritual pride" at times incidental to the Sūfi state, as will be noticed later.

Ahmad b. Yahya al-Jallā (p. 134) is made to explain his patronymic Jallā, both in the notice of Yahya (d. A.H. 258) in Or. 4618, 201° and in the son's notice by Dhahabi,¹ as due, not to his having ever wandered from his home, but to the power of his exhortation in attracting hearts. Both the notices tell how Ahmad, having persuaded his parents to devote him to Allah, returned in after years, and knocking at their door received the reply, "We had once a son, but gave him to Allah," and the door was not opened. Anyone who, remembering Mrs. Humphry Ward's heroine in Helbeck of Bannisdale, and her wish for "Ivan with his axe" to drop on the neck of St. Francis Borgia, should be led to applaud the parents' act, will have missed the true inwardness of the incident. For it is as a Zāhid that Yahya is noticed in two MSS., and in

ما جلا ابي شيئًا قط لكته كان يعِظ الناس فيقع كلامه في قلوبهم أما جلا ابي شيئًا قط لكته كان يعِظ الناس فيقع كالمه في حسلًا القلوب

both his act is attributed to the Arab rule of not recalling a gift.¹

The Mihna suffered by the Sūtis at the instigation of Ghulām Khalīl (pp. 137 and 190) is mentioned in Dhahabi's notice of him,² but not the woman's accusation

(B.M. Or. 4618, 2018, Lult., and Or. 3004, 1709, L. 14). Ma'rūfal-Karkhi (p. 113), born a Christian and converted to Islām, returned also, knocked, and announced himself. Asked his religion, he replied "Islām", and his parents thereupon became Moslems also (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. iii, 384).

قال الذهبي في تاريخ الإسلام: ذكر لغلام خليل هذه الشناعات " من حوض الصوفية في دقائق الأحوال والفناء والاصطلام والمحتة مهما يذمّ المحوض فيه ائمّة السُّنة. قال ابن الاصرابي: ذُكر له بعض مذهبهم فى المحتبّة ولم يزل يبلغه انهم يقولون: محن محتّ رتبنا وهو يُحمّنا قد اسقط عنا خوفه بغلبة محمّنة. فكان ينكر هذا المخطا بخطا مثله حتى جعل محبّة الله بدعة وقال: انما المحبّة للمغلوقين والنحوف افضل واول بنا. قال الاعرابي: بل المحبّة والنحوف اصلان من أصول الايمان لا يخلو المؤون مينهما وأن كان أحدهما أغيلب على بعض الناس. قال: فلم يزل غلام خليل يقص بهم ويحذِّر منهم ويغرى بهم السلطان والعامة ويبشد على يدد والدة الموقق (المتوكَّل) فامرتُ المحتسب بطلبتهم وطلب القوم وفرَّق الاعوان في طلبهم وكتب اسماوهم وكانوا نيفأ وسبعين نفسا فاختفى عامتتهم وحبس جماعة منهم مدة . قلتُ : انكاره المحتة جهل منه وكذا منَ استغرق في المحتبّة ولم يلمح النحوف والنار واهوال القبيمة فهو جاهل وبكلّ حال حبّ الله واجب والنحوف منه انفع في كل وقت (Leyden, 1721, 119b).

وقال ايضًا فى ترجمة النورى: قال ابو نعيم: سمعتُ عمّن الينا بمكّة يحكى: لما كانت محنة غلام خليل ونسب الصوفية الى الزندقة امر المخليفة بالقبض عليهم فأخذ فى جملتهم النورى فأدخلوا على المخيلفة فامر بصرب اعناقهم فبادر النورى على السيّاف فقيل له فى ذلك فقال: اوثر حياة اصحابى على نفسى هذه اللحظة. فتوقف السيّاف فرد المخليفة امرهم الى قاضى القضاة اسماعيل بن اسحق فسأل النورى عن مسائل فى العبادات فاجابه against Sumnun, which is probably a fiction. We find Ghulam Khalil sharing the objection of the orthodox in general to the Sufi views on Ahwāl, Fanā, and Mahabba, holding that the proper objects of the last were fellowcreatures, and that the Deity was an object of fear. exhortations roused the people, and the Caliph had some Sūfis imprisoned. In the view of Ibn al-A'rābi (Abu Sa'īd Ahmad b. Muh. b. Ziyad, d. 340) love and fear are equally admissible; Dhahabi discourages excess of the former as prejudicial to the latter: and, regarding religion as an auxiliary of the civil power, Ghulam Khalil was in the right. Nūri's self-sacrifice (p. 190) is told by Dhahabi on the authority of Abu Nu'aim (d. 430), and he is made to say only that he prefers his comrades' lives to his own. To the Chief Kādi, who reports favourably on them, (he was not al-'Abbās b. 'Ali, but Ismā'il b. Ishak, d. A.H. 282), Nuri says that Allah has servants who hear, speak, and eat through him (but not "who sit", etc., as in the And the Sufis are released by the Caliph Kashf). without being given the refusal of a boon.

The story that Abu Bakr al-Warrāķ (p. 142) caused some of his writings to be committed to the river by an agent (whose behaviour resembled that of Sir Bedivere to King Arthur) describes an apparently not unfrequent Ṣūfi act, for Abu Ḥayyān al-Tauḥīdi (Irshād al-Arīb, v, 386, 389), when reproached for having burnt his works to prevent their falling into unworthy hands, defended his

وقال له: وبُعدَ هذا فلله عباد يسمعون بالله وينطقون بالله وياكلون بالله. فبكى القاضى ودخل على الخليفة وقال: أن كان هولا زنادقة (ib. 159*). فاطلقهم

Ibn al-A'rābi is probably quoted from his Tabakāt al-Nussāk, which Dhahabi mentions by name in the notices of Muḥāsibi (ib. 3b), of Abu Hamza Baghdadi (ib. 103b), and of another Sufi, Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. 'Ali al-Masūḥi, d. A.H. 256 (ib. 90b). Ibn al-A'rābi is noticed by Dhahabi, Or. 48*, 241b, and Brock. i, 521. In the Kitāb al-Luma' of al-Sarrāj (B.M. Or. 7710) he is said to have written a work, the Kitāb al-Wajd, which does not appear to be elsewhere recorded.

conduct by the examples of Dā'ud al-Ṭā'i (p. 109), Dārāni (p. 112), and Sufyān al-Thauri (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. i, 596), all Ṣūfis, and of Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ (Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhāb, xi, No. 792, where the act is mentioned), Abu 'Amr b. al-'Aṭā (ib. xii, No. 846), and Abu Sa'id al-Sīrāfi (Irshād, iii, 84).

Certain differences between Sufi sects are enumerated in the Kashf (pp. 176 ff.), but all of them excepting two are declared commendable, and the difference between them lay, not in the sum-total of the tenets, but in the emphasis laid on the items. A leading Sufi preached on some special tenet, and it became identified with him and with his followers. Muḥāsibi's section heads the list, and we are told (p. 182) that his theory did not influence his practice. This was to distribute blame evenly—indeed, freely; witness his angry denunciation of his pupil Abu Hamza's very innocent greeting of a bird, for such Dhahabi, in his notice of the pupil, declares the act to be, and he declares it on what looks very like another version of the previous story, which he had just given, but more briefly than in the Kashf. In the two it is only the bird that differs. The second story is laid by Abu Nu'aim at Tarsus, and it led to Abu Hamza being mobbed.1 a mob could plead excuses which were not open to Muhāsibi, and his attitude was not warranted, for his own

doctrine was held unsound by so high an authority as Ibn Hanbal. Professor D. S. Margoliouth refers to this disapproval in his notice of the writings of Muhāsibi at the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (*Transactions*, i, 292, 1908), as having been attributed to professional jealousy of his fame as a preacher. Here also Dhahabi goes on to quote Ahmad b. Ishak al-Sibghi (d. A.H. 342, B.M. Or. 48*, 255a) for a story 1

قال ابو بكر بن اسمى الصبغى الفقيه: سمعت اسمعيل بن ا اسمت السرّاج يقول: قال لي أحمد بن حنبل: بلغني أن المرث هذا انكر الكون عندك فلو احضرتُ منزلك واحتبسني من حيث لا يرى وأسمع كلامه وحَضر العَرث وأصحابه فأكلوا ثم صلّوا العتمة ولم يصلوا بعدها وقعدوا بين يدى المحرث لاينطقون الى قريب نصف الليل ثم ابتدا رجل منهم فسأل عن مسئلة فاخذ الحرث في الكلام واصحابه يسمعون كأنَّ على رؤوسهم الطير فمنهم من يبلى ومنهم من يخن ومنهم من يزعن وهو في الكلام. فصعدت الغرف لاتعرف حال ابي عبد الله (يعني ابن حنبل) فوجدتُه قد بكي حتى غشى عليه فانصرفتُ اليهم ولم تزل تلك حالهم حتى اصبحوا ودهبوا . فصعدت الى أبي عبد الله فقال : ما اعلم اني رايت مثل هولا القوم ولا سمعتُ في علم الحقائق مثل كلام هذا الرجل وسع هذا فلا ارى لك صعبتهم. ثم قام وخرج. رواها الحاكم عن الصبغي. قال أبو القاسم النصراباذي: بلغني أن المرث تكلم في شيًّ من الكلام هجره احمد بن حنبل فاختفى في دارومات فيها . . . قال الحسين بن عبد الله الخرقي: سألتُ المرودي عن ما انكر ابو عبد الله على المحاسى فقال: قلتُ لابي عبد الله: قد خرج المحاسبي الى الكوفة وكتب الحديث وقال: أنا أتوب من جميع ما انكرعلي أبو عبد الله . فقال : ليس ليحرث توبة يشهدون عليه بشي و ويجاتحد انما التوبة لمن اعترف فاما من يشهد عليه وجعد فليس له توبة . ثم قال : حذروا عن المحارث ما الآفة الاحارث . وقال ايضاً الذهبي: قد سمعتُ من تواليفَه كتاب الكفُّ عماً سحر (Leyden, 1721, 23b).

how Ibn Ḥanbal induced a friend to conceal him within earshot of a meeting of Muḥāsibi and his followers. And on the termination of the proceedings, which are described, he told his host that, whilst highly admiring Muḥāsibi's powers, he advised him not to attend his teaching. Naṣrābādhi (159) relates, too, how Ibn Ḥanbal's disapproval drove Muḥāsibi into retirement at Kūfa, where he took up traditions. This act of his, coupled with the fact that he had recanted his errors, was urged in his favour, but the Imām replied that recantation without admission of guilt was unavailing, and he stigmatized him as "pernicious".

Again, the statement (p. 214) that Isfarā'ini held a saint to be ignorant of his saintship whilst Ibn Fūrak held that he was conscious of it, is not born out by what Dhahabi says in his notices of them (Or. 48, 55, and 104s), for he says of the former that according to Kushairi (p. 167) he denied the validity of karāmāt, "a grievous error," zalla kabīra, and of the latter that it was Sa'īd al-Maghribi (p. 158) who, in controversy with him, affirmed the consciousness, whilst Ibn Fūrak denied it. Isfarā'ini's view has the support of Abu-l-'Abbās al-Kankashī (d. A.H. 449), who quoted his master, Aḥmad al-Aswad, for the dictum that "to rely on miracles is deception".

Hallāj (p. 150) was somewhat of a stumbling-block to the Ṣūfis, and the case made for him in the Kashf amounts to this, that his feelings carried him away overmuch. The author, on p. 153, somewhat strangely considers the fact that he had himself found it necessary to compose a work to demonstrate the sublimity of Hallāj's sayings as evidence that those sayings should not command confidence. But, as Dr. Nicholson says in the Preface, p. xxiv, "the logic of a Persian Ṣūfi must sometimes appear to European readers curiously illogical."

^{.(.}B.M. Or. 49, 223°, penult.) السكون التي الكرامات مكّر وخدعة 1

That many leading Sufis accepted Hallaj is certain, and one of them, Ahmad b. Sahl b. 'Atā al-Āmuli (p. 149 Ibn al-Athir, viii, 95), on being interrogated by the vizier Hāmid b. al-'Abbās on Hallāj's views, retorted that they were nothing beside his acts of peculation and cruelty. He was then tortured, and expressed the hope that Hamid too might lose hands and feet. And Hamid, we are told, was eventually so treated,1 but this is the sole authority for the fact, for history states that he died at Başra, perhaps poisoned, and was buried there (cf. Hilāl al-Sābi, preface, 18-19). An estimate of Hallāj is given in the lately appeared Fark bain al-Firak, a work half a century earlier than the Kashf.2 Hallaj is dealt with in a chapter on the deification, Hulūli, heresy, pp. 246-9, and in connexion with the Hulmāni sect (from whom he is distinguished in the Kashf, p. 260), and the author of the Fark sets out the line of reasoning by which he himself refuted a Hulmāni disputant. Of Hallāj he says that his form of Sufiism was that termed ecstasy, shath, a state which may be laudable, or the reverse, and قال السُّلمي: امتحن بسبب العلُّج حتى احضره حامد بن 1

قال السُلمى: اماتحن بسبب الحلاج حتى احضره حامد بن العباس فقال له: ما الذي يقول الحلاج. فقال: ما لك ولذاك عليك بما نُدبت له من اخذ المال وسفك الدماء. فامر به ان تفكّ اسنانة فقعل به ذاك فقال: قطع الله يديك ورجليك ثم مات بعد اربعة عشر يومًا ثم بعد ذلك قُطعت اربحة حامد الوزير قال السُلمى: سمعت ابا عمرو بن حمدان يذكر هذا وكان ابن عطا ينتمى الى المار ستانى ابرهيم ويزعم انه شيخه فقيل انه فقد عقله ثمانية عشر عامًا ثم صح وذكر ابو الحسين بن خاقان انه فقد عقله ثمانية عشر عامًا ثم صح وذكر ابو الحسين بن خاقان انه معدون الليل و النهار ساعتين عمرو اللهار والنهار ساعتين عمرو ويؤيم اللهار والنهار ساعتين عمرو ويؤيم المنازية ويوني اللهار والنهار ساعتين ويؤيم المنازية ويؤيم المنازية ويؤيم ويؤيم اللهار والنهار ساعتين ويؤيم المنازية ويؤيم المنازية ويؤيم المنازية ويؤيم و

² The author of the Fark, Abu Mansūr 'Abd al-Kāhir b. Tāhir, is noticed by Dhahabi under A.H. 426 and 429 (B.M. Or. 49, 139*, and 152*), where the Fark is not mentioned, only his Takmila fil-Hisāb (Hāji Kh., No. 3523). By Ibn Khall. (de Sl. Eng. iii, 149) his death is dated A.H. 429, followed Brock, i, 385).

that people accordingly differed about him. The scholastic theologians, Mutakallimān, declared him an unbeliever, whereas the Sālimi sect (Kashf, 131 note) held him to be a true Sufi. Ash'ari, again, in his refutation of the Mutazila, denounced him as a trickster (a view of him which Tanükhi enforces by anecdote in the Nishwar al-Muhadara, as will be apparent in the forthcoming edition of this work by Professor D. S. Margoliouth). By the orthodox jurists he was declared worthy of death, but the leading Sufis differed in opinion, both Akta and Makki holding him blameless, whilst others pointed to his view, as shown by his writings, that the Sufi's putting off all earthly weaknesses led to his putting on something heavenly, which was the case with himself (Hallaj); that it was the number and rank of his adherents that led to his being put to death; 2 and the passage concludes by saying that "his Sufi partisans allege that miraculous states, ahwāl min al-karāma, were disclosed to him, and that he revealed these to the public,3 and his punishment was being

قال السَّلمي في تاريخ الصوفية باسناده عن النحادي: حدثني البويعقوب الاقطع وكان المحلّم تروّج بابننه وعمرو المكّي كانا الموقي كافر خبيث (B.M. Or. 48*, 47b).

2 Dhahabi says, sub A.H. 344, on the subject of Ḥallāj's detection:

* Dhahabi says, sub A.H. 344, on the subject of Hallaj's detection: هرون بن عبد العزيز ابو على الاوارجي الكاتب عاشر ستًّا وستين سنة وكان قد ولي اعمالًا جليلة من المخراج وكتب المحديث وصحب الصوفيّة، وخالط المحلّاج ولما وقف على اعتقاده اظهر امرَد واطلع عليه الموزير (B.M. Or. 48*, 266°).

⁵ In the Sufi view concealment was meritorious; the arcana of Sufiism are mentioned, Kashf, p. 157, and are born out by the following sayings of Murta'ish (p. 39, etc.) and Abu 'Amr (qy. 'Umar) al-Dimashki (p. 38); compare also the Shiite conception of Takiyya (Goldziher, Vorlesungen ü. d. Islām, p. 215):—

قال ابو محمد المرتعش: التصوّف الاشكال والتلبيس والكتمان (B.M. Add. 18520, 80°).

قال محمد بن عبد الله الرازى: صمعتُ ابا عمر الدمشقى يقول:

given over to disbelievers in these miracles, in order that his own state, $h\bar{a}l$, should continue to be obscure ", 1 for the Sūfi attitude was one of outward uncertainty but of inward purity, some holding the latter to be the case of Ḥallāj, on the strength of an utterance by him at the time of his execution which was deemed to show his belief in the Unity.

The above-mentioned Sālimi sect are described by Haarbrücker (trans. Shahrastāni, ii, 417, but, in fact, from a passage in the Berlin MS. of the Fark bain al-Firak) as a number of scholastic theologians of Basra (Kashf, 131 note). In the Ansāb of Sam'āni (Gibb Facsimile, 286, l. 6 a.f.) the nisba Sālimi is attributed to three named persons each of whom had a following, but all of them were to be reckoned as holding by (Abu-l-) Hasan b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sālim in respect of usul, and to be followers of his son Abu 'Abd Allah in respect of Sufi practice, their number including most of the jurists and traditionists of Basra and its neighbourhood. Dhahabi the kunya of father and son are inverted, and correctly, for Ibn al-Athir records the death of Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Sālim in A.H. 297 (viii, 45), saying that he was $S\bar{a}hib$ of Tustari, and Dhahabi, in his notice of Abu-l-Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Sālim (d. A.H. 350-60), son of the founder of the sect, says the same of the father, who is called Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Salim, quoting the Hilya of Abu Nu'aim (d. A.H. 430, Brock. i, 362) and Sulami's Ta'rīkh al-Sūfiyya. And he concludes by admitting that he had been unable to get any precise information on the sect.2

كما فرض اللهُ على الانبيا وظهار المعجزات ليومنوا بها كذلك فرض اللهُ على الانبيا وظهار المعجزات ليومنوا بها كذلك فرض (B.M. Add. 18520, 61%, and Or. 48*, 125°).

¹ This passage is translated, not quite correctly, by Haarbrücker, trans. Shahrastāni, ii, 417-18.

احمد بن محمد بن سالم ابو الحسن البصرى الصوفى بن الصوفى م المتكلّم صاحب مقالة السالمية له احوال ومجاهدة وانباع ومحبّون

Professor Goldziher has been more fortunate. In his article "Die dogmatische Partei der Sālimijia" (ZDMG. lxi, p. 73) he fully describes their tenets, saying that they were not to be supposed followers of Hisham b. Salim, mentioned Shahrastāni, 41, l. ult., who was a Shiite fanatic. And after quoting Mukaddasi's experience of them (Bibl. Geogr. Ar., iii, 126), he gives their tenets from the Ghunya of Abd al-Kādir al-Ghīlāni, i, 83. In a note he quotes Dhahabi's Huffaz for the story how 'Abd al-Rahman b. Manda (d. A.H. 470, Wüst. Gesch. 214) had occasion to complain that dogmatic discussion, which in all ages and climes seems to have proceeded on much the same lines, had exposed him, whenever he hesitated to accept a proposition, to being dubbed by some sectarian name which he in no way deserved, e.g., that if he quoted any tradition on the sight, Ru'ya, of Allah he was promptly called a Sālimi.1 And, indeed, in a later passage in the

وهو شيخ اهل البصرة فى زمانه عُمّر دهرًا وادرك سهل بن عبد الله التسترى واخذ عنه لان والده كان من تلامذة سهل وبقى الى قريب التسعين و ثلثمانة وكان من ابنا التسعين قال ابو سعيد محمد بن على النقاش المحافظ: رايته وسمعت كلامه فسلم اكتب عنه شيئًا . قلت: وكان دخول المنقاش المجلية فقال: ومنهم محمد بن وثلثمائة . . . وذكرة ابو نعيم فى المحلية فقال: ومنهم محمد بن احمد بن سالم البصرى صاحب سهل التسترى وحافظ كلامه ادركناه وله اصحاب يُنسبون اليه . قلت : هكذا سمّاة وكثّاه فى المحلية و قال المسرى والد ابى المحسن ابن سالم روى كلام سهل من كسار اصحابه البصرى والد ابى المحسن ابن سالم روى كلام سهل من كسار اصحابه اقام بالبصرة وله بها اصحاب يسمّون السالميّة هجرهم الناس الإلفاظ الهجيئة اطلقوها وذكروها . . . قلت : السالميّة لهم محملة الأحققها (B.M. Or. 48, 70°; Al-Nakkāsh, Muh. b. 'Amr b. Mahdi al-Isbahāni, ob. A. H. 414, B.M. Or. 49, 90°).

¹ The story occurs also in Dhahabi's notice of Ibn Manda in the Ta'rīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 50, 124).

Fark, p. 324, this sect is accused of holding the erroneous view that infidels might behold Allah, the tenet which heads Professor Goldziher's list. The Professor reverts also to this sect in a note to his recent review of the Fark (ZDMG. lxv, 356), where he refers to their mention by Ibn Taimiyya (Brock. ii, 100), Majmū'āt-al-Rasa'il, Cairo, 1323, i, 102, ll. 9, 121 n., and ib. 36, l. 10, under the name of "Sābiliyya", and to Suyūṭi's Bughyat-al-Wu'āt, Cairo, 1326, p. 113, for further particulars of their tenets.

It may be assumed that the qualities creditable to Sūfis were adequately set forth in the Kashf, for its author was one of them, and his work is wholly sympathetic in tone. It may, however, be surmised that a very probable result of the Sūfi's real, or fancied, superiority over his fellowmen would be to produce in him what in theological circles is termed "spiritual pride". Some of them came to think that the rules of religion existed rather for the vulgar than for themselves. This view the Kashf combats (p. 218), where Bistāmi (p. 106) is made to say that a saint (i.e. one who has succeeded in annihilating self, which is the Eastern equivalent of the Western mystic's union with the absolute life) must keep the religious law, in order that God may keep him in his spiritual state. A short way of dealing with an offender in this respect was to deny that he had attained saintship, for the denial was as conclusive as the assertion. And this was, in fact, Bistāmi's method in the case of the Suff whose conduct in the mosque he disapproved (p. 218), for in the notice of him in Or. 4618 he is made to say: "This man's behaviour is unsound, for he has outraged religion: his saintship must be no better." Another Sufi, Abu-l-Hasan ('Ali b. Ahmad b. Sahl) al-Būshanji (p. 44) neglected to attend the mosque, on the plea that retirement,

فهدا غير مأمون على ادب تناكا بالشريعة فكيف يبكون مأمونًا أ فهدا غير مأمون على ادب تناكا بالشريعة فكيف يبكون مأمونًا الولاية (B.M. Or. 4618, 206°, 1. 5 a.f.).

'uzla, was more profitable to him. For this he was blamed, and Dhahabi declares that he was claiming an inadmissible indulgence, rukhṣa.¹ And Rūdhbāri (p. 157), hearing of a Ṣūfi asserting that in his case music for the purpose of diversion, malāhi, was allowable as he had attained a grade in which differences in states, aḥwāl, were of no moment, said that what he had attained was hell fire.²

Simplicity in dress was a badge of the Sūfi, being indeed implied in the name, and when Ibn Samūn (p. 21), who was wont to inculcate *zuhd*, was found to be well dressed and living in luxury, it excited comment. His explanation was, that once your state was a sound one you should do whatever fitted you for God —the soundness being necessarily a point on which the speaker was the sole judge. An instance of a well-kept wardrobe is found, too, in the account given by Dukki (p. 408, n. 2) of his Sūfi tutor Farghāni (d. A.H. 331, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 303) and how he managed to preserve a neat appearance

و فى ابى المحسن البوشتجي قال الحاكم: سمعتُه غير مرّة يعاتَب فى ترك المجمعة فيقول: أن كانت الفضيلة فى المجماعة فأن السلامة فى الحُرِّلة. قلتُ: هذا عذر غير مقد بول منه ولا رخصة فى ترك ناهر العرّلة وهذا بالاجماع (B.M. Or. 48*, 279).

سُمُل ابو على الروف باري عمن يسمع الملاهي ويتقول: هي لمي تُ حلال لاني قد وصلتُ الى درجة لا يوثر فيّ اختلاف الاحوال. فقال: (B.M. Add. 18520, 81, نعم قد وصل لعمرى ولكن وصل الى سَقَر (and Or. 48*, 157*).

قال البرقاني: قلتُ له [يعنى للمحمد بن احمد بن اسماعيل قبن عيسى الامام الله الجسين ابن سمعون البغدادي الواعظ] يومًا: تدعو الناس الى الزُهد وتلبس احسن الثياب وتأكل أطيب الطعام فكيف هدا. فقال: كُلّ ما يصلحك لله فآ فعله اذا اصلح حالك فكيف هدا. فقال: كُلّ ما يصلحك لله فآ فعله اذا اصلح حالك

during his religious wanderings, siyāhāt.¹ He likewise took pride in his saintliness, for he relates a visit he paid to a very austere monastery, whose inmates boasted of their powers of fasting. Having learned that their utmost effort covered thirty days, he accomplished forty, and was prepared to extend them to sixty, when he was asked to depart as his presence was not beneficial to the inmates. It may be that his powers impressed them overmuch, for failing any means of appraising the real value of such like feats, it seems to be assumed that the power of evading physical restrictions lends some sort of colour to dogmatic assertions on subjects which lie beyond the range of the physical. It may be, therefore, that to outlast members of another faith in fasting is evidence of the superior truth of one's own.

But polemical matters are out of place in these impartial pages, and the foregoing string of stories must find their

محمد من اسمعیل ابو بکر الفرغانی الصوفی استان ابی بکر الدُقی الله من المجتهدین فی العیادة قال الد قی : مارایت احسن مسنه ممن یظهر الغنی فی الفقر کان یلبس قمیصین ابیضین وردا وسراویل ونعلاً بظیفاً وعمامة وفی یده مفتاع ولیس له بسیت ینطرح ویسطوی الخمس والست. وقال احمد بن علی الرستمی : کان یسیم ومعه کوز فیه قمیص نظیف رقیق فانه اشتهی دخول بله تنظف ولبس القمیص ومعه مفتاح منقوش فیصلی ویطرحه بین یدیه یموهم انه تا چر. و قال عبد الواحد بن بکر: سمعت الدقی : سمعت الفرغانی یقول : دخلت الدیر الدی بطور سینا فاتانی مطرائهم باقوام کانهم نشروا من القبور فقال : هولاء یأکل احدهم فی الاسبوع اکله یغضرون بذلک ، فقلت لهم : کم صبر مسیحیکم هذا . قالوا ثلثین یوما ام اکل یوما اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فخرج الی مطرانهم قال : یاهذا قم فقد افسدت قلوب ولم اشرب فنادی ده قلت : حتی اتم ستین یوما . فالخوا علی فخرجت ولم شربی فی الدیر . فقلت : حتی اتم ستین یوما . فالخوا علی فخرجت الله . الم الله . یاهذا قام دانه . الم الله . یاهذا قام فقد افسدت قلوب کل می فی الدیر . فقلت : حتی اتم ستین یوما . فالخوا علی فخرجت . الم ستین یوما . فالخوا علی فخرجت . فالم . الم الم یکر . معتوانی می الم ستی الم ستین یوما . فالخوا علی فخر . الم سیم الم ستی الم ستی . الم سیم یوما الم یکر . فی الم یکر . فیکر . فیکر

justification, if at all, in a dictum I have found attributed to one of the highest of the Sūfis, Junaid (p. 128), that anecdotes should be numbered in Allah's hosts, for they vivify the minds of those who have attained to knowledge, and cleanse the minds of those on the way to attainment.¹

A word in conclusion on mysticism as an ideal. Its literature throughout assumes that, however great the obstacles, the end outweighs them all, and that to attain is to be happy. But is this inevitably the case? The "dullness of entire felicity" has formed a poet's theme.² May it not be that the mystic's aloofness from all that makes up a life which, on the current acceptance of values, is to be held worth living, is calculated to induce dullness likewise, or something worse than dullness? Let the poet again answer, for, if we are to leave the world of visible and tangible reality for one which, to all appearance, is much akin to dreamland, then as against the mystic's legend may fairly be set the poet's dream—³

"To the eye and the ear of the dreamer This dream out of darkness flew,"

a dream that man, by persistent effort, had shaken off every earthly shackle, even to death itself, and the result to him was misery—

> "The torment of all-things-compassed, The plague of nought-to-desire"

—until, in very pity, he was remitted to his earlier and less exalted lot. The mystic's progress is indeed accompanied by doubt and despondency, but they hover around the

والى هذا اشار الامام ابو القسم المجنيد فقال: الحكايات جنود من جنود الله سبحانه بحيى بها قلوب العارفين ويصفوا بها اسرار من جنود الله سبحانه بحيى بها قلوب العارفين ويصفوا بها اسرار The passage occurs in the introduction to a MS., Khulāşa Ta'rīkh al-Bahā, in my possession and destined by its owner, Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, for the Library of the British Museum.

3 The Dream of Man, by William Watson, 1892.

² The Eloping Angels, a Caprice by William Watson, 1893.

quest only, they never settle at the goal. That to no single mystic should any glimpse of disillusion have ever been vouchsafed may, in some minds, induce a suspicion that, in fact and in truth, their quest has been unavailing and their goal unattained.

Table of Dates and Lives of Sufis mentioned in the "Kashf al-Mahjub"

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Azdi = Shakik.

Baghdādi, Abu Ḥamza b. Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Bazzāz (154), d. 269 or 289. S. 66^a; A. vii, 391; Ibn J. 203^a; Leyden, 1721, 103^a.

Balkhi, Muḥ. b. al-Faḍl (140), d. 317. S. 47^a; Or. 48*, 110^a. Bishr al-Hāfi (105), d. 227. S. 8^b; A. vi, 377; Khall. i, 257; Sibt J. 51^a; Dhahabi, Bodl. No. 659, 188^a; Ansāb, 151^b, 9 a.f.

Bisțămi, Țaifūr (106), d. 261. S. 14^a ; Ibn J. 177^b ; Sibt J. 206^a-9^a ; Leyden, 1721, 93^a .

Bundar, b. al-Husain al-Sairafi (249), d. 353. S. 107^b; Or. 48, 35^a.

'Ali b. (16), d. 357 or 359. A. viii, 435; Or. 48, 55^b, 62^a. Būshanji (Fūshanja), Abu-l-Ḥusain [sic] 'Ali b. Aḥmad b. Sahl (44 and 299), d. 347. S. 105^b; A. viii, 392; Or. 48*, 279^b.

Dakkāk (162), d. 406 or 412. A. ix, 230; Khall. ii, 155; Or. 49, $54^{\rm a}$.

Dārāni (112), d. 205 or 215. Leyden, 1721, 180^a ; Ansāb, 216^b , 3 a.f.

Darrāj, Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusain (408), d. 310-20. Or. 48*, 198^b; Ansāb, 224^a, 13.

Dhu-l-Nun (100), d. 245-6. S. 6^b; A. vii, 59; Khall. i, 291; Ibn J. 94^b; Sibt J. 138^a-44^b; Leyden, 1721, 28^a.

Dimashki, Abu 'Umar (38), d. 320. S. 61^b; Or. 48*, 125^a.

Duķķi, Muḥ. b. Da'ūd (408), d. 360. S. 103^a; A. viii, 451 (called Raķķi, *sub* 359); Or. 48, 68^a; Ansāb, 227^b, 8 a.f.

Fārmadhi, Fadl (169), d. 457. Ansāb, 416a, 4 a.f.

Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ (97), d. 187. S. 2^a ; A. vi, 129; Ibn J. B.M. Add. 7320, 142^b .

b. Fūraķ (214), d. 406. Khall. ii, 673; Or. 49, 55^b.
 Ghulām Khalīl (137), d. 275. Leyden, 1721, 119^b.

Ḥaddādi Abu Ḥafs (123), d. 265 or 271. S. 23^b; Ibn J. 193^a; Sibt J. 240^b; Leyden, 1721, 96^a; Ansāb, 158^a, 8.

--- Abu Ja'far (249), d. 290-300. Leyden, 1721, 178b.

Hallāj (150), d. 309. S. 69^b; 'Arīb (Ṭab. cont.), 86-108; A. viii, 92; Khall. i, 423; Or. 48*, 47^b; Ansāb, 181^b, 3.

Hamdūn al-Ķasṣār (125), d. 271. S. 25^b ; Leyden, 1721, 128^a ; Ansāb, 454^b , 9 a.f.

'Abu Hamza = Baghdādi and Khurāsāni.

b. Ḥanbal, Aḥmad (117), d. 241. A. vii, 53; Khall. i, 44; Ibn J. 68^a ; Sibt J. 113^b ; Leyden, 1721, 7^a-19^a ; Ansāb, 178^b , 2 a.f.

Harawi = Shaikh al-Islām.

b. Harb, Ahmad (365), d. 234. Ibn J. 35b; Sibt J. 90b.

b. abi-l-Ḥawāri (118), d. 246. S. 19b; Sibt J. 133b-5b.

— his wife, Rābi'a, a Zāhida, d. 229. Ibn J. 5^b.

Hīri, Sa'īd (132), d. 298. S. 36^a ; Sibț J. Or. 4619, 50^b ; Leyden, 1721, 166^a ; Ansāb, 182^b , 4 a.f.

Hīri, Sa'īd, his son Muh., d. 325. Or. 48*, 170b.

— his grandson Ahmad, d. 353. Or. 48, 34^a.

Husri (160), d. 371. S. 113^b; A. ix, 12; Or. 48, 126^b; Ansāb, 169^b, 21.

Işfahāni 'Ali b. Sahl (143). S. 52a.

Isfarā'ini Abu Ishak (214), d. 418. Khall. i, 8; Or. 49, 104^b. Jallā, Aḥmad b. Yaḥya (134), d. 306. S. 37^b; Or. 48*, 35^a.

—— his father, Yaḥya, d. 258. Ibn J. 170°; Sibṭ J. 201°.

Jariri [sic] Ahmad (148), d. 311 or 313. A. viii, 106 (called Jurairi); Leyden, 1721, 194-5; Or. 48*, 78a, 87b.

Junaid (128), d. 298. S. 32^a; A. viii, 47; Khall. i, 338; Sibt J. Or. 4619, 43^b-6^b; Leyden, 1721, 163^a; Ansāb, 464^b, 3. Jūzajāni (147). S. 55^a.

Kassār = Ḥamdūn and Raķķi.

Kattāni, Muh. b. 'Ali b. Ja'far (325), d. 322, 328. S. 85^b;

A. viii, 222 (called Kināni). Or. 48*, 156°; Ansāb, 475°, 16.

Kazwīni Abu 'Amr (166), ? Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. 'Umar, d. 442. A. ix, 391; Or. 49, 198^a; Ansāb, 451^b, 17.

b. Khadruya (119), d. 240. S. 21^a; Ibn J. 68^b; Sibt J. 108^a.
b. Khafif b. Isfakshādh, Muḥ. al-Shīrāzi (158), d. 371. S. 106^b;
A. ix, 12; Or. 48, 127^b; Ansāb, 344^a, 15.

Kharķāni [sic] 'Ali b. Aḥmad (163), d. 425. Or. 49, 135^a; Ansāb, 194^b, 9.

Kharrāz, Aḥmad (143), d. 277. S. 51^a; A. vii, 306; Ibn J. 224^a; Leyden, 1721, 187^a; Ansāb, 191^a, 2 a.f.

KhawwāṣIbrāhīm (153),d. 291. S. 63^b; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 27^b-32^a. Khayr al-Nassāj (144), d. 322. S. 73^a; A. viii, 222;

Khall. i, 513, n¹; Or. 48*, 153a.

b. Khubaik b. Sābik Abd Allah al-Anṭāki (128), d. 260. S. 30^a ; Leyden, 1721, 60^b .

Khuldi, Ja'far b. Nuṣair (156), d. 348. S. 100^a; A. viii, 393; Or. 48*, 282^a; Ansāb, 205^a, 13.

Khurāsāni, Abu Ḥamza (146), d. 295. S. 74^a; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 41^a.

Khuttali Muḥ. b. al-Ḥasan (166), ? son of al-Ḥasan b. Abi Ṭāhir, pupil of Mīhani (Or. 49, 188a), d. 460. Or. 50, 72a.

Kirmāni = Shāh Shujā'.

Ķirmīsīni, Abu Isḥaķ Ibrāhīm b. Shaibān, Shaikh al-Jabāl (147, 246), d. 337. S. 92^b ; Leyden, 1721, 232–3; Or. 48^* , 233^a; Ansāb, 448^b , 16.

Kushairi (167), d. 465. Khall. ii, 152; Or. 50, 100^a; Ansāb, 458^a, 11 a.f.

Ibn al-Kūţi (408), ? Kurţi (as in n¹) Muḥ. b. Kāsim b. Shuʿbān,
d. 365. Or. 48, 45^b; Ansāb, 447^b, 2.

Maghribi (147), d. 279 or 299. S. 54^a; Sibţ J. Or. 4619, 54^a. Makki, 'Amr b. 'Uthmān (138), d. 297 or 301. S. 44^a; Sibţ J. Or. 4619, 46; Or. 48*, 14^b.

Malik b. Dīnār (89), d. 123-31. Tabari, iii, 2501; Khall. ii, 549; Ibn J. B.M. Add. 7320, 90^b; Sibt J. B.M. Add. 23277, 239^b-241^a.

Maʻrūf al-Karkhi (113), d. 200-4. A. vi, 225; Khall. iii, 384. b. Masrūk Ahmad b. Muh. (146), d. 298. S. 53^a; Sibt J. Or. 4619, 48^b; Leyden, 1721, 160^b.

Mīhani, Fadl b. Aḥmad (164), d. 440. Or. 49, 183^a; Ansāb, 550^a, 14 (for Avicenna's Waṣiyya to him, Or. 49, 145^b).

b. Mu'ādh al-Rāzi, Yaḥya (122), d. 258.
 S. 22^a; A. vii, 178;
 Sibţ J. 200^a; Leyden, 1721, 79^a.

b. Mubārak al-Marwazi (95), d. 181. A. vi, 109.

Muhāsibi (108), d. 243. S. 11^b ; A. vii, 55; Khall. i, 365; Ibn J. 78^a ; Sibt J. 121^a ; Leyden, 1721, 22^b ; Ansāb, 509^b , 9 a.f.

Mukaddasi (260), ? Tāhir, contemp. of Shibli. S. 61a.

Mukri, Muh. b. Ahmad (41), d. 365. S. 117b; Or. 48, 91b.

— Ja'far, his brother, d. 378. Or. 48, 154b.

Murta'ish, Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Ja'far (39), d. 328. A. viii, 273; Leyden, 1721, 217^b; Or. 48*, 187^b.

Muzaffar b. Ahmad b. Ḥamdān (170), his father Aḥmad, d. 311. Or. 48*, 77b.

Muzayyin Kabīr, Abu Ja'far (257). S. 87^b; Ansāb, 527^b, 2 a.f.; is in the company of Nahkshabi, d. 245, Ibn J. 90^b, 8.

— Şaghīr, Abu-l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muḥ., d. 328. Leyden, 1721, 217^b; Or. 48*, 187^a.

Nahrajūri, Ishak b. Muh. (245), d. 330. S. 86^b; Or. 48*, 193^b.

Nakhshabi, 'Askar (121), d. 245. S. 31^a; A. vii, 59; Ibn J. 90^a; Sibt J. 130^b; Leyden, 1721, 34^b; Ansāb, 556^b, 5 a.f.

Naṣrābādhi b. Maḥmawaih [sic] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. (159), d. 367. S. 112^b ; Or. 48, 97^a ; Ansāb, 561^a , 3.

Nīsābūri = Haddādi.

b. Nujaid Ismā'il (298), d. 365. S. 104b; Or. 48, 89a.

Nūri Abu-l-Ḥusain (130), d. 295. S. 34^b; Sibt J. Or. 4619, 37^b; Leyden, 1721, 159^a.

b. Nusair = Khuldi and Tā'i.

Raķķi Ibrāhīm al-Ķassār (233), d. 326. S. 72^b; Or. 48*, 172^a.

Rāzi, Yūsuf (136), d. 304. S. 40^a ; A. viii, 79; Or. 48^* , 29^a .

Rāzi = b. Mu'ādh.

Rūdhbāri Abu 'Ali (157), d. 322. S. 81^a ; A. viii, 222; Khall. i, 86, n. 4; Leyden, 1721, 212^a ; Or. 48^* , 156^b .

—— Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā (318), d. 369. S. 115^a; A. viii, 522 Or. 48, 108^b.

Ruwaim (135), d. 303. S. 38^b; Khall. ii, 172, n. 3; Or. 48*, 24^b. Sahlaki, Abu-l-Faḍl Muḥ. b. 'Ali (164), d. 477. Or. 50, 153^b. Sairafi = Bundār.

Saķati, Sarī (110), d. 253. S. 10^a; A. vii, 111; Khall. i, 555; Ibn J. 135^a; Sibt J. 173^b-7^b; Leyden, 1721, 58^b.

b. Sam'ūn Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl (Sam'ūn) (21), d. 387. Khall. iii, 21 ; Or. 48, 203 $^{\rm b}$.

Sarrāj 'Abd Allah b. 'Ali, author of $Kit\bar{a}b$ al-Luma' (323), d. 378. Or. 48, 155 $^{\mathrm{b}}$.

Sayyāri (157), d. 342. S. 101^b; Or. 48*, 257^b; Ansāb, 320^b, 8 a.f. Shāh b. Shujā' Abu-l-Fawāris al-Kirmāni (138), d. c. 290. S. 42^a; Leyden, 1721, 166^b.

Shaibāni = Kirmīsīni.

Shaikh al-Islām 'Abd Allah b. Muḥ. al-Anṣāri al-Harawi (26), d. 481. A. x, 111; Or. 50, 176^a.

Shakīk al-Azdi al-Balkhi (111), d. 194. S. 12^b; A. vi, 164. Shakkāni Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad (168), d. 479. Or. 50, 166^a.

— his son Abu-l-Fadl al-'Abbās, d. 506. Ansāb, 386a, 16. Shibli (155), d. 334. S. 76b; Khall. i, 511; Or. 48*, 227a;

Ansāb, 329a, 11.

Sulami, author of *Tab. Sūfiyya* (81), d. 412. A. ix, 230; Or. 49, 79^a; Ansāb, 303^a, 2 a.f.

Şu'lūki, Muḥ. b. Sulaimān (272), d. 369. Khall. ii, 609; Or. 48, 111.

Sumnūn b. Ḥamza Abu-l-Kāsim al-Khawwāṣ (136), d. 298. S. 42^b; Sibṭ J. Or. 4619, 51^b; Leyden, 1721, 166^a.

Tā'i, Da'ud b. Nuṣair (109), d. 160 or 165. A. vi, 33; Khall. i, 355, n. 18; Ansāb, 364^b, 6 a.f.

Thakafi, Muh. b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (16), d. 328. S. 82^b; Khall. ii, 610, n. 6; Leyden, 1721, 215^b; Or. 48*, 183^a.

Tirmidhi, Muh. b. 'Ali b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥakīm (141), d. 285. S. 48^a; Leyden, 1721, 147^b.

1 Cf. Haji Khalifa, Index, No. 313; in the entries his death is dated Brockelmann mentions two writers of this name, vol. i. pp. 164 and 199; one died 255; the other, whom he calls al-Hakim, died 320, and to him he attributes the Kitab al-Furuk (H. Kh. No. 9040), besides some of the works mentioned in the Kashf, p. 141, and which appear in H. Kh. under rather different titles; cf. Nos. 76, 8608, 9040, 10085, and 13252. The confusion between the two writers is indicated in Berlin Cat. Ahlwardt, No. 8504, 5a (vol. viii, 486); and that there is something to justify it appears from Dhahabi's statement that Ibn al-Najjār (d. A.H. 643, Brock. i, 360), in his notice of Tirmidhi, omits his date of death, but says that someone was studying under him in A.H. 318, which was impossible. Dhahabi quotes Sulami for his having to quit his native city for Balkh owing to the disapproval aroused by two of his works (mentioned H. Kh. No. 76), and by his regarding saints as superior to prophets (see pp. 235-9). Sulami holds that he was wronged, and that his critics' intelligence was at fault, but Dhahabi deplores the works; hereties and philosophers had imposed on the vulgar with Sufic explanations. And he deplores also a work Sulami had written, Haka'ik al-Tafsīr, as Karmathian in spirit.* The path he preferred was no doubt that he had indicated in a saying he had quoted from Nasrābādhi-

"Prophets begin, know this, where Saintship ends." †

Ibn Sam'ūn, above mentioned, had a narrow escape at the hands of 'Adud al-Daula. When that monarch reached Baghdād and found it distracted by conflicts of rival sects he considered the mischief to arise

قال السلمى: المحكيم اصله من ترمذ اخرجود منها وشهدوا عليه "
بالكفر وذلك بسبب تصنيفه كتاب ختم الاولياء وكتب علل
الشريعة وقال انه يقول للاولياء خاتم كما ان للانبياء خاتم وانه فقل
الاولياء على النبوّة فقدم بلخ فقبلود بسبب موافقته لهم فى المذهب.
قال السلمى: قيل ان هُجر ترمذ فى اخر عمرد لاجبل كتاب ختم
الولايه وليس فيه ما يوجب ذلك ولكن لبعد فهمهم عنه. قلت :
لو لم يصنفه لكان خيرًا له وقد موهت الزناندة وصوفة الفلاسفة على
عوام الاميّة بالعبارات الصوفيّة والسلمى قد عمل كتاباً سمّاه حقائق
التفسيرهى تاويلات القرامطة والباطنيّة بعينها فلاليته لم يصنفه فنعوذ
التفسيرهى تاويلات القرامطة والباطنيّة بعينها فلاليته لم يصنفه فنعوذ. (Leyden, 1721, 148)

† النصراداني: نهايات الإوليا بدايات الانبيا + النبيا + 97°, 1. 2 a.f.).

Tustari, Sahl b. 'Abd Allah b. Yunus (139), d. 273 or 283. S. 45^b; A. vii, 334 (called "Surri"); Khall. i, 602; Ibn J. 262^a; Sibt J. Or. 4619, 6^a-8^b; Leyden, 1721, 142^b.

from the preacher's exhortations: let all such not touch on the Prophet's Companions, but stick to the Kuran, or else they should suffer for it. Soon came a report that Ibn Sam'un was preaching; he was sent for, and the messenger, impressed by his dignity and confidence, advised caution on him when before the monarch. But he entered unperturbed. made apposite Kuran quotations on his predecessor 'Izz al-Daula, and went on to exhort him with such eloquence as to draw tears from him, which was not 'Adud al-Daula's habit. But in his view Suffism was to be judged, and strictly, by its fruits, and he sent a slave after Ibn Sam'un with an offer of money and clothes, either to keep or to give to friends, and he instructed him that, if they were retained, he was to return to him with Ibn Sam'un's head. Ibn Sam'un, however, told the envoy that his clothes had lasted him, with care, for forty years, and would outlast him; that he had the rent of a house, left by his father, for his support; and that none of his friends were destitute. On hearing this 'Adud al-Daula gave thanks that each of them had escaped the other.* This way of stating his own share in the matter is akin to the

قال أبو الثنا شكر العصدي: لما دخل عصد الدوله بغداد فقد هلك اهلها قتلاً وجوعًا للفتن التي اتّضلت فيها بين الشيعة والسُّنة فقال: آفةٌ هولا القصّاص . قنادى "لا يقصّ احدٌ في لجامع ولا في الطرق ولا يتوسّل منتوسّل باحد من الصحابة ومن احت السوشل قرأ القرآن فمن خالف فقد أبام دمه " فوقع في المحبر أن أبس سمعون جلس على كرسيّه بجامع المنصور فامرني ان اطلبته فاحصر فدخل على رجلٌ له هيئة وعليه نور فلم امكن ان قمتُ له واجلسته الى جنبي فجلس غير مكترث فقلت: أن هذا الملك جبّار عظيم وما اوثرلك مخالفة امره وانى موصلك اليه فقبّل الارض وتلطِّف له واستعِن بالله عليه . فقال : المخلق والامر لله تعالى . فمضيت به الى حُجرة قد جلس فيها وحده فاوقفتُه ثم دخلتُ الستأذن فاذا هو الى جانبي قد حوّل وجهه اليي دار عزّ الدولة ثم استفتح وقرأ: وكذلك اخذ ربّك اذا اخذ القُرى وهي ظالمة ان اخذه اليم شديد (xi, 104) قال : ثم حوّل وجهه اليه وقرأ : ثم جعلناكم خلائف في الارض من بعدهم لننظر كيف تعلمون (x, 15) واخذ في وعظه فاتى بالعجب فدمعت عينا الملك وما رايت ذلك منه

Uwais al-Karani (83), d. 32. Tabari, iii, 2475; Ansāb, 449^a, 4.
Warrāk Muh. b. 'Umar b. Muh. b. Ḥafs al-Balkhi (142),
d. 290. S. 49^a; Sibt J. Or. 4619, 26^b. 'Umar, a son, d. 313,
Or. 48*, 90^a.

b. Wāsi', Muḥ. (91), d. 127. A. v, 259, d. 120; Ibn J.
 B.M. Add. 7320, 82^a; Sibt. J. B.M. Add. 23277, 189^a-190^a.

French marshal's telling his visitor how highly he valued a picture, as it had been the means of saving a man's life, which his aide-de-camp explained to mean that its owner had surrendered it on threat of being shot if he refused. But the story depicts 'Adud al-Daula as statesmanlike and resolute, and his action may not have been without effect on Ibn Sam'un and the Ṣūfi brotherhood.

NOTE

M. L. Massignon, now engaged on a work on Ḥallāj, has furnished me from the Berlin MS. of the Tabakāt al-Ṣāfiyya (Cat. Ahlwardt No. 9972) with a material emendation of the passage given ante, p. 562, n. 2. The last word appears there as مُستهديات, and M. Massignon interprets the passage thus: "Tongues, by being induced to utterance, are led to their destruction, whereas souls, by being induced to action, are led to salvation," the inducement proceeding in each case from above, and a contrast being implied between the Zāhir of the tongue and the Bāṭin of the soul.

M. Massignon points out, too, that the Ash'ari mentioned in connexion with Ḥallāj, ante, p. 572, l. 4, is not the celebrated Abu-l-Ḥasan, d. 324 (Khall. ii, 227), but the Ķāḍi Abu Bakr al-Bāķilāni, d. 403 (ib. 671), often called Ash'ari as being an adherent of Abu-l-Ḥasan—cf. Ansāb, 62*, 1. And he inclines to hold the passage to be in praise of Ḥallāj.

XVIII

CATALOGUE OF THE STEIN COLLECTION OF SANSKRIT MSS. FROM KASHMIR

COMPILED BY GERARD L. M. CLAUSON, SCHOLAR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND BODEN SANSKRIT SCHOLAR.

WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY PROFESSOR A. A. MACDONELL, KEEPER OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE.

THE subjoined catalogue describes a collection comprising 368 separate texts mainly in Sanskrit, which were collected by Dr. M. A. Stein and acquired at his expense chiefly at Śrīnagar during his visits to Kashmir between 1888 and 1905. Apart from texts needed by Dr. Stein for his labours, during 1888–99, on his critical edition and annotated translation of Kalhana's Rājataranginī, numerous MSS. were purchased by him either to assist the work of fellow-scholars in Europe or on account of their philological or palæographical interest.¹

In May, 1911, this collection was formally handed over by Dr. Stein to the Curators of the Indian Institute, Oxford, as a deposit during his lifetime. The Curators had gratefully accepted Dr. Stein's benefaction under the following conditions:—

(1) The MSS are to be kept as a separate collection in a suitable place in the Indian Institute Library, on the understanding that they remain Dr. Stein's personal property during his lifetime, and that they are bequeathed to the Indian Institute under his will.

¹ Selections from his collection of Sanskrit MSS. were handed over by Dr. Stein in 1894-5 to the late Professors Bühler and Roth for the Vienna Imperial Library and the Tübingen University Library respectively. A smaller selection subsequently passed, through M. Émile Senart, Membre de l'Institut, to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(2) The MSS are to be held available for Dr. Stein's use during his lifetime wherever and whenever he may require any of them, arrangements for their transmission being made by the Librarian.

(3) No MS. is to be allowed to pass outside the Library

except with Dr. Stein's written consent.

(4) Dr. Stein's permission for the use of MSS. of hitherto unpublished texts must be obtained by intending students in each case as long as the MSS. remain his

property.

(5) A brief but exact catalogue of the MSS. is to be prepared for the Curators by a competent Sanskrit scholar selected with Dr. Stein's approval, and to be published within three years of the date on which the MSS. have been deposited at the Institute; the publication to be made, if possible, in the Journal of some Oriental Society.

The last condition has already been fulfilled by the compilation of the catalogue, with Dr. Stein's approval, by Mr. Clauson, and its publication in this Journal. The catalogue is based on one which was prepared in slips and written in Sanskrit by the late Pandit Govind Kaul, and which was revised and copied, with reference to the original MSS., in December, 1905, and January, 1906, by Pandit Sahajabhatta under Dr. Stein's supervision.

The MSS. are classified according to subjects in the usual way. The original manuscript numbers are given in the first column printed as Arabic numerals in thick type, while the serial numbers appear in the last column as Roman figures. This distinction is made in order to prevent confusion in identifying the MS. wanted when application is made to the Librarian to transmit it to a distance.

¹ See regarding this eminent Kashmir scholar (died 1899), Stein, Rajatarangini edition, p. xvii; Translation, vol. i, p. xxii.

² Compare for Pandit Sahajabhatta's scholarly experience and valuable assistance, Stein, *Catalogue of Jammu Sanskrit MSS.*, p. xi. This highly deserving scholar died in November, 1911.

Records made by Dr. Stein on the fly-leaves of MSS. have as far as possible been reproduced in the column of Notes.

Where not otherwise noted, the MSS are written in Śaradā characters and on Kashmir paper. The note "old paper" is intended to convey that in Dr. Stein's opinion the MS cannot date later than from the eighteenth century, but may be earlier.¹

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the Catalogue: Sār. = Sāradā; Dev. = Devanāgarī; Rāj. = Rājānaka; Mā° = Māhātmya; Sam° = Samhitāyām. The size of the MSS. is given in inches.

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	Lines.	Akṣaras.
	Agreement of the second decision of the secon	I.	VEDA,	VEDĀ.	NGA, Ero
208	Rgvedasya Āśvalāyanaśākhā		176	16	22
224	Asyavāmasūkta (R.V. I, 164) satīka	_	12	12	15
29	Kāṭhakasūktāni		196	15	16
222	,,		60	12	17
				,	
228	55		18	12	16
228 <i>a</i> 30	Some Kāthakasūktāni with		117	12	40
30	Brāhmaņa		117	12	40
243	Mantras from the Kāṭhaka Recension with Karma- kāṇḍakrama		310	24	25
287	Kāthaka Reaka Ekacakra- grahestibrāhmanarūpa		11	14	20
280	Kaivalyopaniṣaddīpikā	Śańkarācārya	11	17	19
278	Gopālatāpanyupaniṣaṭṭīkā	Viśveśvarācārya	43	14	15
279	Nārāyaņopaniṣaddīpikā	Śańkarācārya	8	15	15
282	Māndūkyopanişad		3	17	22
81	Māṇḍūkyopaniṣaddīpikā	Śańkarācārya	4	16	22

^{*} For Rājānaks Ratnakantha and his pupil or fellow-scholar, Bhatta Haraka (A2), work, pp. 45-9. + Probably from Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's library.

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
The second secon	on the transfer of the second		A CONTRACTOR OF THE CONTRACTOR	anne principe - principe and a - Balance received Minister
Old paper	Śār.	$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 114, 133-7, 149-52, and all after 186 are missing. Contains RV. I, i-III, lx; RV. I, i-cxii, accented. The introduction to	i lliew
			the Sarvānukramanī is inserted at the beginning, and the ap- propriate section before each adhyāya. Bought in 1896.	
Birch-bark	,,	$6\frac{1}{2} imes 5\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 5-16 only, bought in 1896.	ii
Old paper	,,,	10×7	Fols. 1–199 except 28, 39, and 131. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in 1894" [M. A. S.].	iii
,,	55	**	Fols. 1-44, 139-150, 20-2, and one other. Four or five hands can be distinguished. Some annotations by Bhatta Haraka.* "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in	iv†
,,	,,	> 2	1894-5" [M. A. S.]. Fols. 1-18 (?). Some annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	4.5
Birch-bark	,,	,,	Mere fragments.	vi
19th century paper	Dev.	8×14	Complete; copied in 1894 from Dayārām Jotsi's MSS. at Śrinagar.	vii
Old paper	Śār.	12×8½	In a contemporary leather binding. Fols. 2, 8 blank, 1-10, 1-21, 1-19, 1-32, 1-8, 1-10, 1-10, 1-32, 1-43, 1-16, 1-72, 1-3, 3 blank, 1-25, 1-9, 1 blank, 1-18, 7 blank. Also known as Reaka and Kaśmīrakakar- makāndapaddhati.	viii
19th century paper	Dev.	$10\frac{1}{4}\times 9\frac{1}{2}$	"Copied by Pt. Sahajabhatta in 1892" [M. A. S.].	ix
17th century paper	Śār.	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. cxxxv.	x †
,,	7,7	3,	Fols. 1-6, 12-21, 23-49. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. exxxv.	xi †
,,	>,9	,,	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. cxxxv.	xii +
9 8 - 1 2 8 - 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	,,	,, ,		xiii †
(a)	,,	,,) xiv t

of. Stein's edition of the Rājataranginī, pp. vii-xi, and his Translation of the same

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios,	LINES.	AKŞARAS.
248	Märtändabrähmana	Photograph .	3	11	20
225	Udyāpanavidhayaḥ	_	88	15	20
62	Cārāyaṇīyaśikṣā		98	8	12
41	Laugākṣiśikṣā	the maner	47	8	12
4	Anvayakalikā		4	II. (RAMMAI
5	Abhidhānaviveka	Ratnadhara	7	17	27
98	Aştādhyāyīsūtrāņi	Pāṇini	30	10	
	Aştadışvayısıdıranı	Lanimi	30	10	18
	The state of the s				
27	Kalāpavyākaraņa	Sarvavarman	244	25	22
32	77-101				er er sært. S
ಎ ಜ	Kātantrapañcikā	Trilocanadāsa	7	14	55
97	A Kātantrapathavartinī Comm. on Pānini	_	1	25	26
33	Kātantravivaraņapañcikā	Trilocanadāsa	67	15	57
74	Dhātumīmāmsāsārasangraha		7	16	- 22
202	Dhātvavatāra		18	15	20
32	Nipātasūtrāņi		4	13	19
			1		
61c	A Commentary on Pāṇini	_	?	22	30
95	Prakriyākaumudī		9	17	20
					OGRAPH
6	Amarakośatikā Paňcikā Pada- candrikā vā	Rāyamukuṭa	219	16	45
	Cultura Va				
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MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
	A-			· - magain - managain in casa anns
Old paper	Śār.	$4 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 3-5 (end). Bought in 1898.	XV
Birch-bark	,,	7×8	Much injured.	xvi
19th century paper	,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Copied in 1894.	xvii
**	,,	,,,	98	xviii
New paper	Śār.	91×71	Complete.	xix
Birch-bark	,,	$6\frac{1}{4} imes 6\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 4-10 (end). Bought in 1894.	xx
,,	,,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 24-37 (?) and 63-78 mutilated. Boughtin 1894 from Devapandit. With annotations.	xxi
3,	,,	8×8	pp. 1-254 with some missing. Bad condition. Some annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	xxii †
17th century paper	,,	$6\frac{1}{2} imes 12\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 1, 2, 66-9, and another in Rāj. Ratnakantha's hand. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka in	xxiii †
3.5	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{1}{2}$	Srīnagar in 1892" [M. A. S.]. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. Fragment only. v. xxxvii.	xxiv+
,,	,,	$6\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1-65, 3 and another. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha "Sake 1595". Boughtat Srinagar, 1891.	xxv†
Birch-bark	٠,	$6\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 11 (beginning)-17. Same codex as No. xx. Annotated by Rāj. Ratnakantha.	xxvi †
Old paper	,,	$9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 3-20 (end). Bought at Srînagar, 1891.	xxvii
,,		6×4	Fols. 61-4. Bought in 1896 from Rājya Kaul.	xxviii
Birch-bark	,,	$5 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Much injured.	xxix
17th century paper	,,	9×6	A few leaves only, with many annotations. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	xxx†
17th century paper	Śār.	6½×12½	Fols. 2-55 1st kāṇḍa [end part only (?)]; fols. 1-58 2nd kāṇḍa, 5th and 6th vargas; fols. 1-60 2nd kāṇḍa, vargas 7-10, and 47 other leaves, some manu secunda, which I cannot identify. "One has a backing containing apparently part of Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha's Comm. on the Stutikusumāñjali. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha 'Sake 1599' in the Kaṣṭavāṭa country. Bought in 1891 at Śrīnagar" [M.A.S.].	xxxi†

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras.
9	Amaravidyā	_	4	13	46
226	Ekākṣarakośa	_	4	11	13
254	Mankhakośa with a Vyākhyā	Mankha	85	26	27
				TO THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN	
	1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -				
102	99 44 (1914) 99	,,	127	16	22
103	Mankhakośa	,,	92	12	18
289	Viśvakośa	Maheśvara son of Śrībrahma	58	20	23
1 214		er difference English disense state		2-	
157	"	,,	58	25	23
290	Śāśvatakośa	Śāśvata	31	18	19
164	**************************************	99	25	24	19
				IV. B	HETORIC
11	Arthālankārāh		14	19	21
197	Alankārasarvasva with Comm. called Alankāravimarsinī	Jayadratha Rājānaka	107	24	26
12	A1.01				
12	Alankārodāharaņa	Jayadratha	41	13	16

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śār.	6×12	Fols. 1-4. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha.	xxxii †
Old paper	,,	8 × 6	Complete. Purchased from Rājya Kaul in 1896.	xxxiii
,,	23	$10 imes 6\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 4-11, 16-64, 66-93 only. "This MS. was purchased in Oct. 1892 at Srīnagar from	xxxiv†
			Prasāda Pandit, son of Nārāyana Pandit and grandson of Sāhib Pandit, through Viṣnubhaṭṭa Kācharī, Kārkun, his Yajamāna. The same Cod. contained also the Viśvakośa and Śāśvatakośa, of which portions were purchased at the same time" [M. A. S.].	
19th century paper	,,	$9 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$	Copy of No. xxxiv made in 1892.	xxxv
	Dev.	10×8	"Copy made under Pt. Mukund Rām's supervision in 1892 of a Sāradā paper MS. of the 17th cent., brought from SrInagar. Only 28 of its original 49 fols. were extant" [M. A. S.].	xxxvi
Birch-bark	Śār.	101×72	Bound in an old cloth cover with Nos. xxiv, xxx, xxxix, xcviii, cxviii, cxxx, cxxxiv, cxl, which are in Rāj. Ratnakantha's handwriting. "It was secured from Bhadrawāh in 1899, where Rāj. Ratnak. prob. left it on his visit there, c. 1660 a.p." [M. A. S.]. Fols. 4-59 only, fols. 1-3 supplied in paper.	xxxvii†
Old paper	1,	10×63	Fols. 2-15, 17-60 only. v. xxxiv. Some annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	xxxviii †
17th century paper	,,	$9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$? Copy of unfinished MS. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. xxxvii.	xxxix †
Old paper	,,	10×63	Complete. v. xxxiv. Annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka.	x1+
Old paper	Śār.	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1–14 only.	xli
19th century paper	,,	10×63	Fols. 38-144. "In Pt. Sāhibrām's handwriting, Purchased in 1894 from Sankara Rājānaka" [M. A. S.].	xlii
* * * * * * * * * *	,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1-41 only.	xliii
,,	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times7\tfrac{1}{2}$	Complete.	xliv

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	Lines.	Akṣaras.
244	Kāvyaprakāśa	Mammața and Alața	107	12	19
38	Kāvyaprakāśatīkāsārasamuc-	Ratnakantha	16	15 (27
	cayo Jayantīmukhyaṭī- koddhṛtaḥ				
261 d	Kāvyaprakāśasanketa		?	?	?
47	Kuvalayānanda	Appayya Dīkṣita	79	21	22
117	Rasatarangini	Bhānudatta	16	25	26
118	Rasamañjarī	***	9	18	35
145	Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra	Vāgbhaṭa	3	17	61
12a	Sabdālankāraprakaraņa		10	13	16
		1			
10				V	
10	Amarukaśataka saṭīka	Amaruka : Arjunavarman	49	16	22
46	Kumārasambhavatīkā	Kālidāsa : Vallabhadeva	116	12	24
51	Khadgasataka	-	49	12	15
52	Khadgaśatakaţīkā		101	12	15
59	Ghaṭakarparavivṛti	Ghatakarpara	4	16	31
63	Jahangīrakāvya		19	5	16
276	Dīnakrandana	-	6	14	17
71	Dṛṣṭāntasataka	Kusumadeva	6	10	38
231	Nidhanacarita	Sundarabhaṭṭa bidāla	14	23	24
263	Nītipaddhati	Kşemendra	37	15	23
81	29	"	19	27	23
305	Comm. on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavivṛti	Rājānaka Ānanda	11	20	16
	1				

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
Birch-bark	Śār.	84×7	Fols. 1-119 except 2-3, 22, 40, 60-1, 78, 80-2, 100, and 103, and some fragments. Bought in 1898.	xlv
17th century paper	,, :	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 9$	Incomplete (?).	xlvi
Birch-bark	,,	$5 \times 6 \frac{1}{4}$	Much injured.	xlvii
19th century paper	,,	$7\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{4}$	Complete.	xlviii
Old paper	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{1}{2}$	Fols. 1-16 only.	xlix
,,	Dev.	$4\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1-9; ślokas 1-130. Pothi-shape.	1
,, 17	,,	***	1st pariccheda complete; ślokas 1-25 of 2nd; 126-end of 4th; 5th complete. Same codex as l.	li
19th century paper	Śār.	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Same codex as xliii.	lii
Pub	l			
Old paper	Śār.	$6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 1-16, 18-31, 49-62, 79-83 injured in parts.	liii
Birch-bark and old paper	27	8×8	Fols. 3-108 (2 pp. missing) birch- bark and 4-15 paper. Bought from Pt. Sahajabhatta. Old leather binding.	liv
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Copied from the incomplete Jammu MS. Cf. Stein's Cata- logue, pp. 67 and 279.	lv
1.7	,,	,,,		$lv\alpha$
Birch-bark	Sär.	8×8	Complete. Fols. 158-61 of same codex as liv.	lvi
Old paper	,,	$3 imes 4 rac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-9, 11-21; śl. 2-18, 20-41.	lvii
17th century paper	, 9 9.	7½×6	Fols. 1-6 written by Rāj. Ratna- kaṇṭha. v. exxxv.	lviii
, , ,	.,,	$6 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	lix
19	,,	$7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$	Complete. v. ccxxv. Purchased from Pt. Devakāka, 1894.	lx
6/17th century paper	.,,	$7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 65-103 of cexxiv. Complete.	lxi
19th century paper	"	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	A copy of lxi.	lxii
17	Dev.	8×6	An extract containing the author's prasasti. Copy by Dr. Stein from "a paper MS. (6" × 3") of Pt. Sunakāka Rāzdān, Haba Kadal, Srīnagar" [M.A.S.].	Ixiii

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	LINES.	Akşaras.
306	Comm. on Naisadhacarita called Tattvavivrti	Rājānaka Ānanda	13	13	20
258	Prabandhacarita		259	14	19
245	Bhartṛṣārasvatasūktāvali	Bhārtṛsārasvata	97	6	12
205	Yudhişthiravijayakāvya Sişyahitātīkāsahita	Vāsudeva: Rāj. Ratnakantha	244	24	17
114	Raghuvamsatīkā	Kālidāsa : Vallabhadeva	33	19	26
266	Rāghavapāṇḍavīya saṭīka	Kavirāja : Śaśidhara	134	24	24
120	33	>> ,	51	41	41
121	Rājataranginī	Jonarāja	64	16	16
122-3	••	Śrīvara	67	20	22
				i de la companya de l	
124			10	19	17
125		Kalhana	6	21	22
126	Rājataranginī Paneamī gadyapadyamayī	Pt. Dāmodar	60	12	19
127		,,	49	16	19
128	Rājatarangiņīpradeśavyākhyā	Pt. Govind Kaul	201	19	14
129	Rājatarangiņīsangraha gadyarūpa	Pt. Sāhibrām	130	14	20
130		**	77	14	21
				-	**

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	$10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	Similar copy by Pt. Govind Kaul.	lxiv
,,,		9×9	Modern copy of an original containing small lacunæ.	lxv
Old paper	Śār.	$4 imes 6rac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-58, 61-96, 2, 7, and two others (colophon on last page but one).	lxvi
19th century paper	,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	"Modern copy of the author's original MS. Bought from Pt. Devakāka, Śrīnagar, 1892" [M. A. S.], Complete. Comm. composed Sake 1593. Cf. Stein's	lxvii
wh			Rājataranginī. Preface, p. viii.	
Birch-bark	,,	8×8	Fols. 125-57 (end).	lxviii
19th century paper	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{3}{4}$	Complete.	lxix
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	***	,,,	Complete; "written by Pt. Dāmodar and bought from him in 1889" [M. A. S.].	lxx
37	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	"Apparently a modern transcript of the printed edition" [M.A.S.].	lxxi
Old paper	Śār.	104×74	Fols. 1, 20-4, and 74 (the last one) missing. Also called Jainarāj. Some annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. "Bought in 1888 and 1891 from a paṇḍit, to whom books had been pawned by Pt. Keśavarām's father Śaṅkaropādhyāya" [M. A. S.].	lxxii
,,	,,	$10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-5, 7, 10, 12-15 only.	lxxiii
, i	,,	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-7 only.	lxxiv
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8$	Copy of author's original unfinished MS.	lxxv
S. 19 22	Śār.	93×73		lxxvi
,,	Dev.	94×6	Complete. Notes regarding some places mentioned in the Rāja-taraṅgiṇē, in various hands.	lxxvii
,,	25	9½×8	"Copies of a Bombay Govt. MS. beginning at Sarga iv and Poona MS. 1875/6, No. 178 (?), which lacks the end" [M. A. S.].	lxxviii
,,	99	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy of Pt. Sāhibrām's original notes for his continuation of the Rājataraṅginī, containing an account of Kaśmīr, under Sikh rule, and a narrative of events in Ranbīr Singh's time" [M. A. S.].	lxxix

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	Lines.	Akṣaras.
268	Rājataranginīsangraha gadyarūpa	Pt. Sāhibrām	100	24	25
267	Rājataranginīsāra	***	79	21	18
· ·					
271	Rājataranginī Notes	M. A. Stein and Pt.Govind Kaul			
131	Rājāvalī		2	15	23
137	Lekhaśiksā	Pt. Sāhibrām	61	12	17
138		Pt. Dāmodar	27	17	18
246	Vairāgyaśataka	Bhartrhari	16	13	18
303	Śrngāratilaka	Rudrabhațța	16	18	21
301	Śŗngāramanjarī	Bhānubhaṭṭa	22	16	20
166	Śrīkanthacaritatīkā	Jonarāja	16	12	42
171	Samayamātṛkā	Kşemendra	31	12	13
255	Samayamātrkāvyākhyā		95	14	24
256			25	36	36
178	Suvrttatilaka	Kşemendra	15	15	26
187	Haravijaya	Rāj. Ratnākara	159	27	30
2446	••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••		12	12	19
188	Haravijayaṭīkā Laghupañcikā	Rāj. Ratna- kaṇṭha	13	14	48
189	Haravijayatīkā visamapa- doddyotābhidhā	Rāj. Alaka	96	27	26
294	Haravijayasāravivaraņa	Utpala	14	22	30
				· V.	I. DRAMA
2	Anargharāghavanāṭaka	Murări	102	16	21
105	**	"	33	15	62

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Śār.	10×7	First 100 fols. Script changes at fol. 32.	lxxx
,,	,,	9×6	Fols. 1-64, 66-80 (error in numeration only). "Received from Dr. Hultzsch, 1898. Author's autograph MS." [M. A. S.].	lxxxi
,,,			"Miscellaneous notes written 1890-92" [M. A. S.].	lxxxii
Old paper	Śār	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Fols. 121–2 with a modern transcript in Dev.	lxxxiii
19th century paper	Dev.	$9{\scriptstyle\frac{1}{4}}\times7{\scriptstyle\frac{1}{4}}$	"Copy made in 1892 of author's original incomplete MS.	lxxxiv
>	,,	12×7	"Author's original MS. Specimens of letters, adapted from a Persian text" [M. A. S.].	lxxxv
,,	Śār.	$7 imes 4\frac{3}{4}$	v. exxxvi.	lxxxvi
Old paper	, 99%, 74	$6\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{1}{4}$	Fols. 18-31 (end) and two folios of notes. v. ceclix.	lxxxvii†
,,	Dev.	,,	Complete. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. v. ceclix.	lxxxviii†
17th century paper	Śār.	$5rac{3}{4} imes10rac{1}{2}$	Fols. 15-24 end of 2nd sarga; fols. 25-30 beginning of 3rd. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha.	lxxxix+
19th century paper	Dev.	7×11	Complete copy of damaged MS.	xe
,,	,,	13×8	Complete. "Written by Pt. Govind Kaul for me in 1898" [M. A. S.].	xci
Foolscap	,,	10×9	The transfer of the control of the c	xcii
Birch-bark	Śār.	8×7	Fols. 30–44 (end). A chandaḥ- śāstra.	xeiii
Old paper	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2} \times 6\tfrac{1}{4}$	Complete.	xeiv
Birch-bark	77	8½ × 7	Fols. 8 (beginning)-19, preceded by two leaves of Lokaprakāśa. Part of same (?) codex as xlv.	xev
17th century paper	,,	$6 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$	Author's own MS. dated Śake 1603. Incomplete.	xevi†
Old paper	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{1}{4}$	Fols. 1-96 only. Same codex as xeiv.	xevii
17th century paper	,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. Fols. 1-14 only. v. xxxvii.	xeviii †
Old paper	Sār.	8½×6	Fols. 2-99, 101-4 with annotations.	xeix
,,	Dev.	4½×9½	Pothi-form. Leaves much muti- lated at the edge. Fols. 1-33; ends in middle of 7th act.	С

Sankhadhara Sankhadhara	MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	LINES.	AKŞARAS
90	3	Anargharāghavasanketa	Murāri	17	22	23
93 Prabodhacandrodayaṭtkā Rāj. Ratnakantha 7 18 50 216 Ratnāvalī Harşadeva 22 20 23 35 Laṭakamelanaprahasana Sānkhadhara 51 12 13 384 Vidagdhamādhava Rūpa Gosvāmin 104 17 17 59 Sākuntalānāṭaka VII. ROMANCES, 3 34 Kādambarī Bāṇabhaṭṭa 13 21 28 35 , 31 23 18 271b Kādambarīkathāsankṣepa Kṣemendra 2 18 28 271a Kādambarīkathāsāra Abhinanda 17 18 28 284 Tantrākhyāyikā Viṣnuśarman 112 15 21 289 , , , 19 22 27 299 , , , 146 6 41 204 , , , , 146 6 41	90	Pracandapāndava	Rājaśekhara	21	14	23
Ratnāvalī	91	,,	>>	12	27	25
Sankhadhara Sankhadhara	93	Prabodhacandrodayaṭīkā		7	18	50
Vidagdhamādhava Rūpa Gosvāmin 104 17 17 17 18 17 18 18 18	116	Ratnāvalī	Harşadeva	22	20	23
Sakuntalānāṭaka Kālidāsa 52 14 23	135	Latakamelanaprahasana	Śańkhadhara	51	12	13
Sakuntalānāṭaka Kālidāsa 52 14 23	284	Vidagdhamādhava	Rūpa Gosvāmin	104	17	17
VII. ROMANCES, 1 34 Kādambarī Bāṇabhaṭṭa 13 21 28 35 ,, 31 23 18 71b Kādambarīkathāsaṅkṣepa Kṣemendra 2 18 28 71a Kādambarīkathāsāra Abhinanda 17 18 28 71a Tantrākhyāyikā Viṣṇuśarman 112 15 21 798 ,, 19 22 27 799 ,, 146 6 41 704 ,, 31 17 22	159					
35 ,, 31 23 18 171b Kādambarīkathāsankṣepa Kṣemendra 2 18 28 171a Kādambarīkathāsāra Abhinanda 17 18 28 164 Tantrākhyāyikā Viṣnuśarman 112 15 21 198 ,, 19 22 27 199 ,, 146 6 41 104 ,, 18 17 22	9/1	Wadomling	Danakhatta			
	34	Kādambarī	Bāṇabhaṭṭa	13	21	- 28
.71a Kādambarīkathāsāra Abhinanda 17 18 28 .64 Tantrākhyāyikā Visņušarman 112 15 21 .98 ., ., 19 22 27 .99 ., ., 146 6 41 .04 ., ., .81 17 22	35		"	31	23	18
264 Tantrākhyāyikā Viṣṇuśarman 112 15 21 298 ,, 19 22 27 299 ,, 146 6 41 204 ,, 281 17 22	1716	Kādambarīkathāsankṣepa	Ksemendra	2	18	28
998 ,, 19 22 27 1999 ,, 146 6 41 104 ,, 81 17 22	1714	Kādambarīkathāsāra	Abhinanda	17	18	28
999 ,, 146 6 41 904 ,, 81 17 22	264	Tantrākhyāyikā	Viṣṇuśarman	112	15	21
104	298		••	19	22	27
104						
	299	***		146	6.	41
	304		•	81	17	22
						11

	11. 14			
MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size,	Notes.	SERIAL No.
Birch-bark	Śār.	$9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-18. 2nd act ends on fol. 17.	ci
Old paper	,,	94×63	Fols. 4-16, 18-25 (end).	cii
17	,,	,,	Complete. Many annotations.	ciii
17th century paper	"	Various	Fols. 1-7(?) only. Rough copy of the author. "Bought from Pt. Devakāka, Śrīnagar, 1892" [M. A. S.].	civ+
,,	,,	$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. Dated Laukika (47) 69 (?).	ev†
19th century paper	Dev.	$9^3_4 imes 6^1_2$	"Copied in 1890 from a Jammu MS. with lacune" [M. A. S.].	cvi
Birch-bark	Śār.	$7\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Fols. 1-54, 57-106. v. exxxv.	cvii †
Old paper	,,	$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Same codex as cii. Fols. 26 (beginning)-29 (27 appears twice), 31-63, 65-78 (middle of the 6th act).	eviii
Old paper	Śār.	93×61	Fols. 112-23 and 144. Annotations	cix†
Old paper	Dar.	54 × 64	by Bhatta Haraka.	CIA
,,,	"	9×6	Fols. 82-110, the Nos. 93 and 97 both used twice. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	cx†
19th century paper	,,	$6\tfrac{1}{2}\times 9\tfrac{1}{2}$	Complete. Fols. 23-4 of next MS.	exi
,,	22	,,	Fols. 1-3, 21, 22 (end) missing.	exii
16/17th century paper	,,	$7 imes 5rac{1}{2}$	Some codex as ccxxv, q.v. Fols. 1-112, the last 6 worn. Hertel's "codex z". Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	exiii †
Old paper	ж на \$3	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 54 (beginning)-72, pp. 1-49, 3 of Hertel's text. Hertel's "MS.q." On first page last 5 or 6 lines of the Bhojaprabandha. "Acquired through Pt. Sahaja- bhaṭṭa Feb. 1905" [M. A. S.].	exiv
2.9	; ;	34×84	Fols. 1-14 missing. "Bought through Pt. Sahajabhatta in Srīnagar, 1904" [M. A. S.]. Hertel's "MS. p".	exv
16/17th century paper	,,	$6rac{8}{4} imes 5rac{1}{4}$	Fols. 1-81. Contains first 3 books and 3 fols. of the fourth. v. ccclix. Hertel's "codex R".	exvi+
19th century paper	,,	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	A copy of No. exiii.	exvii

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras,
291	Damayantīkathā	Trivikrama- bhatta	17	23	24
99	Bhojaprabandha	Ballāla	40	20	21
100	,,	,,	45	25	28
107	Mādhavānalakāmakandalā- kathā	_	14	18	25
147	Vāsavadattā	Subandhu	19	25	32
148	,,	771	15	10	19
149	V	99	49	13	19
150			40	17	20
190	,,	,,	40	17	20
236 273	Vetālapañcavinisikā Sankṣiptahariscandrakathā	Somabhattadeva Bhattāsrupaka (?)	75 6	15 16	21 17
173	Simhāsanadvātrimsikā	-	84	19	16
260	Harşacarita	Bāṇabhaṭṭa	135	15	20
296	**************************************	**************************************	2	24	30
191	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	,,	157	15	21
				-	
193	"	2'3	65	18	22
•					
	VIII	PHILOSOPHY .	AND I	ATT A TO T	/ //AŚĀSTRA
80	Nirṇayāmṛta	Alādanātha, son of Siddhalakṣ- maṇa	337)HARN 17	1ASASTRA 16

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	Serial No.
17th century paper	Śār.	10×7	Copy by Rāj. Ratnakantha of an unfinished MS. Same codex as xxxvii.	exviii †
Old paper	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{3}{4}$	Fols. 14-53 (end).	exix
19th century paper	** .	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Dated Laukika (49) 20.	exx
Old paper	,,	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	Last 14 fols. (?). Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Viṣṇujīva, 1892" [M. A. S.].	exxi†
	,,	$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Dated (47) 47 (?). Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	exxii†
Birch-bark	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Fols. 47-61. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Mahānandajīva, 1892" [M. A.S.].	exxiii †
Old paper	. ,,	7∄×6	Complete. Some pages injured. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka. "Bought from Pt. Gopāla Ko- kila's library, 1892" [M. A. S.].	exxiv †
. ,,	,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	exxv†
Birch-bark	,,	7½×7	Much damaged.	exxvi
17th century paper	,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Damaged. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. cxxxv.	cxxvii †
19th century paper	,,	8 × 5½	Complete. Dated (49) 43.	exxviii
17th century paper	,,,	10×7	Fols. 267-401. The 5th ucchvāsa ends on fol. 400. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇtha. "Obtained from Bhadrawāh in 1899" [M. A. S.].	exxix †
**	,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Fragment only, Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. xxxvii.	cxxx†
Old paper	**	6×6	Fols. 1-150, 152-8. "Bought through Pt. Devakāka, Śrīnagar, 1891" [M. A. S.].	exxxi
99 33 34 34 34 34 34	***	10×7	Fols. 18-32, 35-51. Annotations Bhatta Haraka. Begins with 2nd ucchvāsa; also in other hands 49-64, 63-73, and 75-80. Bought at Srīnagar, 1891.	exxxii†
Birch-bark	Śār.	7×5	Nearly complete. First and last few leaves injured. Old leather binding. "Laukika 4300" mentioned in colophon. "Bought from Pt. Dāmodar, 1889" [M. A. S.]. Annotations by Bhatta Haraka.	exxxiii†

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	Lines.	AKṣARAS.
292	Nyāyasāra		8	17	23
272	Bhagavadgītāsāra		8	14	20
246	Bhavānībhujangastotra	Śańkara	2	18	20
199	Yogavāsisthasāra		49	6	21
234	**	Kadīndrācārya- sarasvatī	7	6	24
246	,,	-	18	12	17
293	Sāmkhyasaptatitīkā	Vigrarāja Bhaṭṭa	24	22	21
246	Hastāmalakastotra	Śańkarācārya	3	18	20
				IX.	SCIENCE
26 1 <i>y</i>	Adhimāsodāharaņa	Ratnakantha	5	10	Astronomy 23
286	Kālakalanā		2	24	30
261e	Gaņakaprakāśa	Ekanātha	$2\frac{1}{2}$	9	21
261f	Candragatisarani		c. 12		<u></u> , , , , , ,
76	Dhruvabhramaṇayantrā- dhikāra Yantraratnāvalyām	Padmanābha, son of Nārmada	32	7	19
307	Naksatrapattrikā Kāśmīrikī	Pt. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa	14		
98	Bhāsvatītīkā Bhāsvatīdyota	Śatānanda, son of Śańkara	26	15	23
	 * ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** ** *				
				(b) AR	CHITECTURE
151	Vāstuvidyā	Maya	83	(b) AR 18	CHITECTURE 16

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
17th century paper	Śar.	10×7	Fols. 1–8. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	exxxiv+
Birch-bark	,,	7½×6	Vedānta. Much injured. "This codex, bound in old leather, was procured from Bhadrawāh	cxxxv
			in 1899" [M. A. S.]. It also contains x, xi, xii, xii, xii, xiv, lviii, evii, exxvii, exliii, eliv, ecexxxvi, ecelxvi, ecelxviii.	
19th century paper	>>	$7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Vedānta. This codex (159 fols. in all) contains also lxxxvi, exxxix, exli, ecexxvi,	exxxvi
	Dev.	$3\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$	ccexxix,ccexxxii,ccelviii,ccelxx. Fols. 2-45, 116-18, 145, 148.	exxxvii
Old paper	Śār.	3×7	Fols. 1-3, 6-9. In Kāśmīrī. Bought in 1896.	exxxviii
19th century paper	,,	$7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Vedānta. With annotations. v. exxxvi.	exxxix
17th century paper	,,	10×7	Complete. Sāṅkhya. Written by Rāj. Ratnakaṇṭha. v. xxxvii.	exl+
19th century paper	,,	$7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Vedānta. v. exxxvi.	exli
19th century paper	Śār.	6×7	Fols. 4–8 (end).	exlii
17th century paper	37	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Incomplete. v. exxxv.	exliii †
Birch-bark	,,	6×7	Fols. 4b, 5, 6.	exliv
33	- 27	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Tables of calculations, mutilated.	cxlv
19th century paper	Dev.	$5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Received from Sirdar Sir Attar Singh Bhadaurwalla 1890" [M. A. S.].	exlvi
**	Śār.	63×114	"A calendar for the Laukika year 4969 (A.D. 1893). The author was a brother of Pt. Sahaja- bhatta" [M. A. S.].	exlvii
"	,,	$4\frac{3}{4}\times5\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. "Copied from a Śrīnagar MS. by Pt. Deva Bhatta and Nārāyaṇa Bhatṭa" [M.A.S.]. (Cf. exlvii.)	exlviii
Birch-bark	Sār.	$6 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 1-118, some missing, all defective.	cxlix
19th century paper	Dev.	10×9	"Copy of exlix by Pt. Govind Kaul" [M. A. S.].	c

	TITLE,	AUTHOR.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras.
				(c) MEDICINI
	Vaidyakalpataru	Mallinātha, son of Senganātha	186	15	17
					X. EPIC
	Mahābhārata	Vyāsa	79	27	36
	* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
					•
-	Rāmāyanakathāsāra	Vaamandea	187	177	99
	Sanatsujātīyaṭīkā	Ksemendra	33	17	$\frac{22}{27}$
	Danie ozula or A gárka		99	10	2/
i			1.		
		XI. PURĀ	NA, M	ĀHĀTI	MYA, ETC
	Amaranäthamähätmya	-	9	12	27
	.,,	-	21	19	15.
	Amareśvarakalpa Vāthula- tantranirgata		. 8	15	24
-	Ardhanārīśvaramā° Ādipurāne		. 1	159	15
	Aśvataramā°				
	Aśvavaramā°	- Approximate	_		******
	Ākulagrāmamā°	<u>-</u>			
	Āṅgagrāmamā°	<u> </u>	1	_	-
	Indramunimā°				
,	Indrāśramamā°				
	Īsālayagrāmamā° Bhrngīsa- samhitāyām		6	8	43
	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1		-		MORA M
			_	-	
	Kanyālavaņamā°		-		
	Kapatamunimā°		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 	_	
	Kapateśvaramā° Haracarita- cintāmaṇau	Jayadratha		_	
	Kapālamocanamā°		8	10	26
		-	10	10	22

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	Serial No.
	***************************************			gyent majory a rive and yell stand of the other ser
Old paper	Śār.	$6\frac{3}{4} \times 5$	"Bought from Sarvānanda Kaul in 1895" [M. A. S.].	eli
16/17th century paper	Śār.	14×10	Fols. 60-4, end of Gadāparvan; fols. 64-78, beginning of Sauptikaparvan; fols. 74-84, end of Strīparvan; fols. 1-50 (exc. 11), Āśvamedhikaparvan. For some account of this MS. v. Dr. Stein's article in JRAS., 1900, pp. 187-94.	elii†(
Old paper	,,	7×53	Fols. 1, 2, 19 (?), and 191 ff. missing.	cliii
Birch-bark	,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Mahābhārata Udyogaparvan, ch. 40-5, with Comm. fols. 1-20, 24, 26-37. Part written by Rāj. Ratnakantha. v. exxxv.	eliv+
Old paper	Śār.	$7\frac{1}{2} imes 4\frac{3}{4}$	The end wanting in archetype.	elv
19th century paper	,,	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Complete.	elvi
		-	v. No. elxxxi.	elvii
19th century paper.	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copied in 1895 by Kāśī Rām from Poona MS. 49" [M. A. S.].	elviii
,, (?)	Śār.	$61 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete, a roll.	elix
	_	Managember .	v. No. clxxxi.	elx
		·	99	clxi
			,,	elxii
_	_	_	1974 2	elxiii
-		net considera.	<u> </u>	elxiv
			Fols. 17-18. v. cexl.	clxv
Old paper	Sar.	4½×11	Complete.	elxvi
<u> </u>			Fols. 49-50. v. clxxxv.	elxvii
4 -			Fols. 1-3. v. cexl.	clxviii
			v. clxxxi.	clxix
· _ ·			Fols. 11-14. v. clxxxv.	elxx
·			Fols. 53-5. v. clxxxv.	clxxi
Old paper	Śār.	4×6±	Complete.	clxxii
19th century	,,	5×71		clxxiii
paper	77			

21 Kapālamocanamā° — 5 25 18 22 ,, — — — — — 43 ,, — — — — — — 289 Karandagrāmamā° —	MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	Lines.	AKṢARAS.
13	21	Kapālamocanamā°		5	25	18
269 Karandagrāmamā° —	22	,,	-	6	15	16
242 Kalpitamā° Anantanāgagrā- māṇām — 17 13 32 39 Kaśmā° Brahmavaivarta- purāņe — 68 12 46 40 Kaśmīratīrthasaṅgraha Pt. Dāmodar 33 20 18 269 , Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīrikapuraganānām grā- māṇām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 41 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca saṅgraha , 43 18 10 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca saṅgraha , 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratūrthamā° — — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	43	23		_		
39 Kaśmā° Brahmavaivartapurāņe — 68 12 46 40 Kaśmāratīrthasaṅgraha Pt. Dāmodar 33 20 18 269 ,, Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuragaṇaṇānm grāmāra ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśāṇām maṭhāṇām Ghaṭṭādiṇām ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nāṇāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48,49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	269	Karandagrāmamā°				
40 Kaśmīratīrthasaṅgraha Pt. Dāmodar 33 20 18 269 ,, Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuragaṇāṇāṁ grāmān ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśāṇāṁ maṭhānāṁ Ghaṭṭādīṇāṁ ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nāṇāvidhāṇi — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratuṅgamā° — — — — 48,49 Kedāratīrthamā° — — — —	242		-	17	13	32
269 ,, Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuragaṇānāṁ grāmām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśāṇāṁ mathānam Ghatṭādiṇāṁ ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nāṇāvidhāṇi — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratuṅgamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	39			68	12	46
269 ,, Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuragaṇānāṁ grāmām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśāṇāṁ mathānam Ghatṭādiṇāṁ ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nāṇāvidhāṇi — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratuṅgamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26						
269 ,, Sāhibrām 38 33 28 25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grāmānām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghatṭādīnām ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratuṅgamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26						
25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasangraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grāmānām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām maṭhānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca sangraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratungamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	40	Kaśmīratīrthasangraha	Pt. Dāmodar	33	20	18
25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasangraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grāmānām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām maṭhānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca sangraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratungamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26						
25 Kaśmīradeśatīrthasangraha ,, 54 7 18 41 Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grāmānām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratungamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26			N 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1.0		
41 Kāśmīrikapuraganānām grā-māṇām ca vyākhyā Pt. Kāśī Rām 17 15 18 42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām maṭhānām Ghaṭṭādīnām ca saṅgraha ,, 43 18 10 43 Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni — 108 54 42 269 Kedāratungamā° kedāratīrthamā° — — — — 48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	269	**************************************	Sāhibrām	38	33	28
42 Kāśmīrikapradeśānām mathānām Ghattādinām ca sangraha ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	25	Kaśmīradeśatīrthasaṅgraha	99	54	7	18
269 Kedāratungamā° —	41	Kāśmīrikapuragaņānām grā- māṇām ca vyākhyā	Pt. Kāśī Rām	17	15	18
269 Kedāratungamā°	42	mațhānām Ghațțādînām ca	72	43	18	10
48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	43	Kāśmīrikamāhātmyāni nānāvidhāni		108	54	42
48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26						
48, 49 Kedāratīrthamā° — 4 11 26	269	Kedāratungamā°				
				4	11	06
Kedārapurāņa 17 15 24	215	Kedārapurāņa		17		,

MATERIAL.	TERIAL. SCRIPT. SIZE. NOTES.		SERIAL No.	
Old paper	Śār.	93×6	Complete.	elxxiv
,,	,,	9×6	,,	clxxv
			Fols. 55-6. v. clxxxv.	elxxvi
			v. clxxxi.	elxxvii
19th century paper	Śār.	$4\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$	"Compiled by order of Śrī Mahā- rāja Ranavīrasinha. Bought in 1898" [M. A. S.].	elxxviii
17th century paper	,,,	6×12	Fols. 1-36, 38-69 only. "Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha and bought from Pt. Devakāka, son of Pt. Dayārām, and said to come from same source as other MSS. of Ratnakantha in the collection" [M. A. S.].	clxxix†
:	77	9×6	In author's handwriting. Many blank pages; ? unfinished. "List of tīrthas arranged according to Parganas, with legendary accounts of some sites. Received from author 1890" [M. A. S.].	elxxx
,,,	,,	10×7	Contents are catalogued alphabetically. "Received from Dr. Hultzsch 1898" [M. A. S.].	clxxxi
97	,,,	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS., 1875-6, No. 61, made by Sant Rām" [M. A. S.].	clxxxii
19th century paper	Dev.	8½ × 24	"Topographical and Archæological Notes collected on pre- liminary tour in Kram [*] rāj and Maravarāj, 1891" [M. A. S.].	clxxxiii
**************************************	,,	10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}	"Topographical Notes collected during my tours in Kramarāj, Kasmīr, and at Śrīnagar, 1892. Also transliterated list of Ma- hallas of Śrīnagar" [M. A. S.].	clxxxiv
27	Śār.	14×9	Contents catalogued in alphabetical order. Many blank leaves, but complete. "Written by Pt. Dāmodar and his copyist for his father Sāhibrām, who was collecting materials for his Tīrthasangraha about 1866" [M. A. S.].	elxxxv
1 -			v. No. clxxxi.	clxxxvi
Old paper	Śār.	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Written in two hands.	elxxxvii
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 8\tfrac{1}{2}$	"Copied in 1895 from Poona MS. 54, by Kāśī Rām" [M. A. S.].	clxxxviii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras
50	Koțitīrthamă°		15	12	15
269	Ksīragangāmā°				
212	Ksemarājasamjňakagrāmamā				year.
269	Khilyāyanamā°				Mindreda.
216	Gangodbhedamā° Ādipurāņe	-	7	15	24
	C		2	27	10
54	Gayāpañcasthalīmā°		6	13	18
53	Gayāpaddhati		0	10	16
55	Gayāmā° paurāņika		12	12	15
58	Godāvarīmā°	_	12	12	16
43	The state of the s	_	_		-
269	Gomūtragangā Prayonadvale				
212	Golābhopavana			·	-
269	Ghanthālipuramā°		_		
269	Ghaṇṭīpuramā°	-			processor
212	Carcāpuramā°				and the same of th
43	Citrakūṭācalamā° Ādipurāṇe Haracaritacintāmaṇau		_		•
212	Chatreśāśramamā°		-		and displaces of
43	Jaṭāgaṅgāmã°			_	
64	Jālandharapīṭhadīpikā or Jālandharamā°	Prahlādānand- ācārya Kulāvadhūta	155	12	13
65	Jālandharamā°	Kuiavaunuta	208	12	17
207	,, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇe		77	9	24
20.	** Pranuwidabnisie		4.4	9	24
43	Jyeşthādevīmā° Bhṛṅgīśasam- hitāyām	-	_		
212	Tilaprasthagrāmamā°		_		
44	Tirthasangraha	Sāhibrām	19	12	16
43	Tripuraprādurbhāva				***
68	Dakşinamānasayātrā, Pañca- krośīyātrā, Nityayātrā, and Antargṛḥyayātrā		3	13	17
269	Dandakāranyamā°		14 22 3		-
212	Dronaśramamā°				

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MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Copy of MS. belonging to Pt. Janardhan, Srīnagar, 1892" [M. A. S.].	elxxxix
			v. clxxxi.	exe
	_		Fols. 16-17. v. cexl.	exei
			v. clxxxi.	excii
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy made by Kāśī Rām in 1895 of Poona MS. 56" [M. A. S.]. With notes by Dr. Stein.	exciii
Old paper	Śār.	93×6	Complete. Same codex as clxxiv.	exciv
, ,,	,,	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	End of archetype missing. Bought 1892.	cxev
19th century paper	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. With notes by Dr. Stein.	exevi
Old paper	Śār.	$7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	exevii
	_		Fols. 53-4. v. clxxxv.	exeviii
			v. clxxxi.	exeix
	-		Fol. 19. v. cexl.	ee
<u> </u>		_	v. clxxxi.	eci
		-	••	ccii
_	_		Fols. 6-8. v. cexl.	cciii
	:-	_	Fol. 25. v. clxxxv.	cciv
<u> </u>		<u> </u>	Fols. 22-3. v. ccxl.	eev
	_		Fol. 51. v. clxxxv.	cevi
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	cevii
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	.,,	9×8	,,	ceviii
,,	,,	6×12‡	"Copied A.D. 1894 from a MS. belonging to Pt. Sivadatta" [M. A. S.]. Complete.	ccix
_		-	Fols. 79-80. v. clxxxv.	ccx
	_	-	Fol. 5. v. cexl.	eexi
19th century paper	Dev.	10×6½	"Copied from Poona MS. 61, prob. an abstract of this work" [M. A. S.].	cexii
¥ 6	-	-	Fols. 95-6. v. clxxxv.	ccxiii
17th century paper	Sār.	7×5	Complete in each case. ?in Rāj. Ratnakanṭha's handwriting.	eexiv
Ž: -			v. clxxxi.	cexv
	- 1.6		Fols. 11-13. v. cexl.	cexvi
100 TO 10		offered the state of the	4.1. A Section 1. A Section	

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	LINES.	Akşaras.
212	Dhanyāśrame Śivatīrthamā°		-		American productions account flow of the step, to take
269	Dhīrāśramamā°	-	_		
75	Dhyāneśvaramā°		5	12	15
77	Nandikṣetramā° Śarvāvatāre		16	11	17
212	Navadurgāśramamā°				
269	Nāgāripuramā	produce ages			
43	Nāgārcanavidhi		l :		
269	Nārāyanasthalamā°	_	-		
262	Nīlamatapurāņa	and the same of th	64	18	23
		A CONTRACTOR			
82					
02	"	_	42	25	22
83	,,	_	215	12	19
84	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	_	192	12	19
270	.55	_	181	16	various
			2.1		
V131					
85	Naubandhanatīrthamā° Ādi- purāņe		15	16	16
86	22		16	10	32
43					
212	Pañceśvaramā°				
288	Pāṭaliputramā°	Śankaraśarman			
200	Lacamputrama	Sankarasarman	14	12	32
88	Pingaleśvaramā° Haracarita- cintāmanau	Jayadratha	4	12	15
43					
89	Purätanamandirasangraha	Pt. Govind Kaul	42	22	26
43	Puşkaramā° Bhṛṅgīśasaṁ°		-	_	
269	Puṣpākarīmā°			-	

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
			Fols. 21-2. v. cexl.	cexvii
	.,		v. clxxxi.	cexviii
19th century paper	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Copy of a Jammu MS." [M. A. S.].	cexix
,,	Śār.	6×5	Complete. Bought in 1894.	cexx
1,000,000			Fols. 19-20. v. eexl.	cexxi
			v. elxxxi.	cexxii
			Fols. 8-11. v. clxxxv.	cexxiii
:			v. clxxxi.	eexxiv
16/17th century paper	Śār.	$7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Bound in leather with lxi and cxiii. "Bought from Kanthabhatta in 1905. Many annotations by Bhatta Haraka. This MS. has been known to me since 1891, when I had it copied. This text of the Nīl. is the best known to me, and should serve as a basis for a future edition" [M. A. S.].	cexxv†
19th century paper	**	10×7	Complete (?).	ccxxvi
,,	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8$	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 64" [M. A. S.].	eexxvii
,,	,,	,,	Complete. "Copy made in 1889 of ccxxv" [M. A. S.].	cexxviii
Foolscap	,,	13\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}	Complete. Carefully prepared text with various readings. Written by Pt. Govind Kaul, under Dr. Stein's supervision.	eexxix
17th century paper	Śār.	7 × 5	Fols. 1-38, 49-52 missing. In Rāj. Ratnakantha's handwriting (?).	ccxxx†
19th century paper	,,	$5 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	ccxxxi
		1	Fols. 105-8. v. clxxxv.	cexxxii
	****		Fols. 8-9. v. cexl.	eexxxiii
19th century paper	Dev.	9×5	Complete. "Presented at Patna 1899" [M. A. S.].	cexxxiv
,,	,, .	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	cexxxv
_			Fol. 88. v. clxxxv.	ccxxxvi
19th century paper	Dev.	$8rac{8}{4} imes 6rac{1}{2}$	Composed and written by order of Dr. Stein.	cexxxvii
			Fols. 57-8. v. clxxxv.	ccxxxviii
-			v. clxxxi.	ccxxxix

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras.
212	Phākpuragaņasthatīrthamā- hātmyāni		23	17	19
212	Badarikāśramamā°	- magazayani			
269	Balihāramā°			and the same	
95	Bahurūpakalpa		3	13	17
96	"		3	16	42
43	Brāhmaṇādijātīyakamā°	A		_	
269	Bhaṭṭapurikāmā°		-		
97	Bhadrakālīprādurbhāva Mahābhārate Vanaparvaņi	Vyāsa	6	12	14
269	Bhadragangābrahmasaromā°		_		
269	Bhāvaguṇḍikāmā°				
269	Bhrgutirthanilagangāmā°	RADIN.AND			
269	Maḍavāśramamā°				_
104	Māhādevagirimā° Bhṛṅgī- śasam°		10	24	19
43	Maheśvarakuṇḍamā° Bhṛṅgī- śasaṁ°				
269	Māmaleśvaramā°	<u> </u>			:
212	Māraśālāmā°				-
109	Mārtāṇḍamā° Bhaviṣyatpu- rāṇe		2	16	30
110	Mārtāṇḍamā°	-	. 6	16	16
217	,, Brahmapurāņe Kasmīrakhaņģe		13	15	24
43	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmye Cākāvi- malakamalamā°		-		_
218	Mitrapathādiyavārthaprāśana Ādipurāņe		5	15	24
43	Yogyalankaranamā°				
212	Raņasthānamā°				
269	Ratnasikharagarbhayātrāma- rāvatīmā		_		_
211	Rājñīprādurbhāva Bhṛṅgī- śasam°		11	26	24
43	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1			-	
43	Rājñīmā° Bhṛṅgīśasam°				
269	Rāmapuramā°		1		

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dey. and Sār.	9½ × 6½	A collection of Māhātmyas in various hands. Fols. 14-37, fol. 24 missing.	ccxl
	1 - L		Fol. 18. v. eexl.	cexli
	-		v. clxxxi.	ecxlii
17th century paper	Śār.	7×5	Beginning only. In Rāj. Ratna- kantha's handwriting (?). Same codex as cexxx.	cexliii†
19th century paper	,,	7×11	Ends on 2a.	ccxliv
•		-	Fol. 11. v. clxxxv.	cexly
		<u> </u>	v. elxxxi.	cexlvi
19th century paper	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	ccxlvii
400,000			v. elxxxi.	ccxlviii
participan.		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	,,,	cexlix
and the second			25	ccl
<u>-</u>			***	celi
19th century paper	Śār.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Copy made by Mukund Rām in 1891.	celii
	-	Minimu	Fol. 23. v. clxxxv.	celiii
name app		-	v. clxxxi.	celiv
inii a kija		-	Fols. 3-4. v. ccxl.	celv
19th century paper	Śār.	11×7	Complete.	celvi
Old paper	,,	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$	Fols. 2-7 only.	celvii
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2}\times8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy of Poona MS. 78, the middle of which is lost" [M. A. S.].	cclviii
_	_		Fols. 1-5. v. clxxxv.	celix
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2}\times 8\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 80, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895" [M. A. S.].	cclx
I			Fols. 85-7. v. clxxxv.	1*
			Fols. 20-1. v. ccxl.	cclxi cclxii
		_	v. clxxxi.	celxiii
19th century paper	Śār.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Bought in 1895 from Pt. Rājya Kaul. Copy of unfinished MS.	cclxiv
_	-	_	Unfinished fols. 27-9, v. clxxxv.	cclxv
*		-	Fol. 31. v. clxxxv.	celxvi
			v. clxxxi.	celxvii

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	LINES.	AKŞARAS.
43	Lakṣmīprādurbhāva	Name			-
203	Laksmīprādurbhāvapūjā- phala, etc.	and the same of th	41/2	14	48
269	Lambodarīmā°	name of the second			
212	Baṭapuramā°				*****
155	Varāhakṣetramā°		2	20	48
143	,, Varāhapurāņe		6	12	14
219			11	15	24
213	Ar);		11	10	24
142	Vardhamānasvāmimā°		7	10	17
269	Vāgāśramamā°			Anna Anna	
212	Vānyāśramamā°				
269	Vānarapuramā°	all collections and the second		******	
269	Vāyuvarjanapañcatarangi- nīmā°	watering.			
152	Vijayeśvaramā°	· ·	23	19	21
220	>>		49	15	24
153	Vitastāmā° Ādipurāņe		2	13	34
154			69		ous
	29			7	ous.
155	", Bhṛṅgīśasam°		34	21	42
156	,,		31	20	40
252	", Ādipurāņe		8	15	23
43	Viranāgopapattyādi			man/ 4.	
212	Śatadhārātīrtha			Washington	
213	Śarvāvatāra		27	15	24
					-
212	Śāṇḍilyāśramamā°				
160	Śāradāpuramā° Vitastāmāhāt- myānnişkṛṣṭa		27	13	11

		1		
MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
			Fol. 80. v. clxxxv.	celxviii
Old paper	Śār.	5×9	Written in red ink. Incomplete.	eclxix
			v. elxxxi.	cclxx
			Fol. 18. v. ccxl.	celxxi
19th century paper	Śār.	7×10	Incomplete.	celxxii
,,	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	celxxiii
"	,,	$9\tfrac{1}{2} \times 8\tfrac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 85, by Kāśī Rām" [M. A. S.].	cclxxiv
. 99	,,	$6 imes 7\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Written by Pt. Totakāka and given to me in 1894" [M. A. S.].	cclxxv
			v. clxxxi.	cclxxvi
		-	Fols. 14-15. v. cexl.	celxxvii
	-		v. elxxxi.	cclxxviii
a-1900a			,,	cclxxix
Old paper	Śār,	$8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Annotations by Bhaṭṭa Haraka. "Bought at BījaBrōr in 1893 from Vāsudeva Bhoyū" [M. A. S.].	cclxxx†
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy of Poona MS. 87, which is incomplete, by Kāśī Rām, in 1895" [M. A. S.].	celxxxi
, , ,	Śār.	7×11	Complete.	cclxxxii
Old paper	,,	Various	Incomplete (end missing). An old MS. supplemented secunda manu.	eclxxxiii
19th century paper	,,	7×10	Complete.	celxxxiv
,,	,,	,,		celxxxv
••	Dev.	$10 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. "Copy of Poona MS. 88, by Pt. Govind Kaul" [M. A. S.].	cclxxxvi
-			Fols. 7–8. v. clxxxv.	celxxxvii
			Fols. 4-5. v. cexl.	celxxxviii
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy of Poona MS. 94, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895" [M. A. S.]. Incomplete pages numbered 1-24 and 1-3.	celxxxix
-			Fol. 16. v. eexl.	cexe
Old paper	Śār.	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	Lacks fol. 1. Many annotations.	cexei

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	Lines.	AKŞARAS.
161	Śāradāmā° Bhṛṅgīśasaṁ°		13	12	15
43					
162	Śārikāpariccheda or Śārikāmā		14	9	16
163	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,		23	17	15
204	Śārikāmā° Bhṛṅgīśasaṁ°		20	17	16
269	Śivāguhāmā°				
212	Śvetagangāmā° Bhrigīśasam°				
67	Sandhyāmā° Ādipurāņe	Śrī Śivasvāmin	15	24	19
212	Siddhāśramamā°				Motorow
176	Sureśvarīmā°		16	20	14
177	,, Bhṛīṅgīśasaṁ°		4	21	17
43	,,		-		
269	Sūryāśramamā°				
269	Seranagrāmamā°				parameter
180	Saindhavāranyatīrthamā° Padmapurāne		24	13	16
269	Sthalavātikāmā°	-			
269	Sthānvāśramapiśagirisuśra- manāgamā° (?)	***************************************		*******	Management
183	Svayambhuvasamhitā		9	18	15
43					
184	Svayambhvagnimā°		5	14	15
269	Hayagrīvāhāramā°				
206	Haracaritacintāmaņi	Jayadratha Rājānaka	195	15	21
210	Haramukuṭagaṅgāmā°	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	23	13	23
186	", Bhrngīśasam°		29	14	17
185	72		12	16	32

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
19th century paper	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete, with topographical notes by Dr. Stein. Dated 1894.	cexcii
and desired			Fols. 61-6. v. clxxxv.	cexciii
Old paper	Śār.	$5\frac{3}{4} \times 4$	Fols. 2-15 only.	cexciv
19th century paper	,,	$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Lacks end.	cexev
,,	,,	$7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Bought from Pt. Mahānanda.	eexevi
-		_	v. clxxxi.	eexevii
			Fols. 39-40. v. cexl.	cexeviii
19th century paper	Śār.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete. Written by Pt. Mukund Rām.	cexeix
			Fol. 19. v. cexl.	000
Old paper	Śār.	$7 imes 3\frac{1}{2}$	Fols. 1-16 only.	ecc ecci
,,	,,	$7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 33-6 only.	cccii
			Fols. 73-7. v. clxxxv.	ccciii
nut salang			v. clxxxi.	ccciv
_				ccev
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\tfrac{1}{2}\times 6\tfrac{1}{4}$	Complete. Dated Sam. 1920. Written by Pt. Gangāvişnu	ecevi
			v. clxxxi.	ecevii
		Statement	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	cceviii
19th century paper (?)	Śār.	$6\tfrac{1}{2} \times 4\tfrac{1}{2}$	Fols. 2-10 only.	eccix
·			Fols. 97-100. v. clxxxv.	ccex
19th century paper (?)	Dev.	$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Complete.	ccexi
			v. elxxxi.	ecexii
19th century paper	Dev.	9½×8	"Copy of an old paper MS. belonging to Pt. Śrīdhara, son of Rāmchandra; made by Pt. Mukund Rām in 1892, and collated with a good new paper MS. belonging to Pt. Rājānaka Lasakāka" [M. A. S.].	ccexiii
Old paper	Śār.	$5 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$	Incomplete. Fols. 1-20 prima, 21-3 secunda manu. "Copied from Mukund Rām's MS. 1892" [M. A. S.].	ccexiv
9th century paper	Śār. and Dev.	$9\tfrac{3}{4} \times 6\tfrac{1}{2}$	Fols. 1-14, Dev. 15-29 Śār. Unfinished.	cccxv

-			1	1	
MS. No.	TITLE,	Author.	Folios.	Lines.	AKŞARAS.
221	Haramukuṭagaṅgāmā° Bhṛṅgīśasaṁ°		23	15	24
43	Haridrāgaņeśamā°				
212	Harodyānamā°		_		*********
194	Harşeśvaramā°		13	10	24
195	39		7	11	31
196	W V 99		14	13	15
				XII.	ВНАКТІ
199	Astāvakragītā				********
199	Īśvārapratyabhijňā	Utpaladeva	38	16	19
233	Īsvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivi- marsinī	<u></u>	39	13	20
246	Utpalastotrāvalī	Utpaladeva	36	15	18
24	Kalyāṇamandirastotra		5	13	18
200	Citsphārādvayaprabandha	Sāhib Kaul	24	6	19
				and the state of t	
246	Janmacarita		20	3.0	07
	o annacarra	••	20	19	21
250		59	1	12	24
200	Paramārthasāra	Abhinavaguptā- cārya	-		
246		,,	8	18	18
261a	•		6	10	18
200		Śeṣabhaṭṭāraka		-	

and the Company of th	The state of the s			payment and appropriate he aid.
MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	Serial No.
19th century paper	Dev.	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$	"Copy of a MS. of Pt. Sahaja- bhatta, made by Kāśī Rām in 1895" [M. A. S.].	ecexvii
And the same	-		Fol. 93. v. clxxxv.	cecxviii
			Fol. 8. v. cexl.	ccexix
19th century paper	Śār.	$6 imes 9\frac{1}{4}$	Complete. "Bought from a purohita of Khun*moh 1889" [M. A. S.].	ceexx
. ,,	,,	$5\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$	Complete.	ceexxi
17th century paper	,,	63 imes43	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha (?).	ecexxii†
-	_		Fols. 108-9. Incomplete. v. cccxxiv.	ecexxiii
19th century paper	Śār.	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$	Fols. 2-39 (end) Saiva. Codex contains also ccexxiii, ccexxxv, ccexxxvii, ccexl, ccexlvii, ccclxii.	cccxxiv
Birch-bark	,,	7×8	Much injured. Śaiva.	cccxxv
19th century paper	,,	$7 imes 4\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. Fols. 32-68 of same codex as exxxvi, etc. Saiva.	ecexxvi
Old paper	,,	$6 imes 5 rac{1}{2}$	Fols. 8, 9, 11-13 (end) Jaina. "Bought from Pt. Viṣṇujīva 1892. Legend localised at	ecexxvii
			Avantīpārsvanātha at Ujjain.	
	-		Ascribed to Siddhasenadiva Kavi (Kumudacandrāhārya) and	
			well known among Jains.	
			A legend regarding the origin of the Stotra is in several Pattāvalis" [M. A. S.].	
***		$3\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	Complete. Fols. 1-24 of the	cccxxviii
			codex, which contains also ccexxxi, ccexxxiv, ccexxxviii, ccexiv, ccexivii, cccliii, cccliv, cccliv, cccliv. Saiva, composed when the author was 16. Sanvat 1700.	
19th century paper	,,	$7 imes 4 rac{3}{4}$	Complete. Śaiva. v. exxxvi. In Kāśmīrī.	ccexxix
			First six ślokas only. v. cccl.	cccxxx
			Fols. 22-41. 105 ślokas. Śaiva.	cccxxxi
<u> </u>	^_		Complete. Fols. 69-76 of same codex as exxxvi, etc.	ceexxxii
Birch-bark	Śār.	6×5	Injured.	eccxxxiii
-			Fols. 8-21. 82 ślokas. Śaiva.	cccxxxiv

MS. No.	TITLE.	Author.	Folios.	Lines.	Aĸṣaras.
199	Pratyabhijñāhrdaya	Rāj. Kṣemarāja			
277	Premāmṛtarasāyanastotra	Caitanyacandra	3	17	16
199	Bahurūpagarbhastotra				
200	Brahmavidyā	_	6	Paul M	Militaria
261h	Bhagavadgītāvivaraņa Sarva- tobhadra	Rāj. Rāmakantha	(?)	22	30
199	Mahāmañjarī	Maheśvarānanda		-	Magazine
261 b	Mṛtyujit	_	(?)	10	8
115	Ratnasataka	Rāj. Ratnakantha	13	17	20
285	Rāmamantroddhārayantrādi- vidhāna	_	1	28	32
133	Rūpabhavānīsiddhāvākyāni	Rūpabhavānī- siddhā	32	10	11
200	Lallāsiddhāvākyāni	Lallāsiddhā	32	10	11
249	??	,,	15	6	22
199	Vijñānabhairava		19	16	19
200	Virūpāksapañcāśikā	Virūpākṣa	8	6	19
302	Vișnor nāmnām śatārdha, Mahādevastotra,Sahṛdayalīlā		6	17	26
250	Śivarātrirahasya		11	24	22
239	Saccidānandakandalī	Bhaṭṭācārya	19	6	24
240	Sahajārcanaṣaṣtikā	Sāhib Kaul	11	6	24
200		"	15	6	19
200	Sāhibakaulavākyāni		-		
259	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		15	14	44
200	Sudarśanakaulakṛti, etc.		-	_	

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	SERIAL No.
Appendix of			Fols. 52–78. Complete. Śaiva. v. cecxxiv.	cccxxxv
17th century paper	Śār.	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratna- kaṇṭha. Vaiṣṇava. v. exxxv.	ccexxxvi
-			Fols. 107–8. Complete (?). Śaiva. v. cecxxiv.	ecexxxvii
			Complete. v. ccexxviii.	cccxxxviii
Birch-bark	Śār.	$6\frac{1}{2} \times 7$	Much injured.	cccxxxix
			Fols. 19-28. Complete. v. cccxxiv.	ccexl
Birch-bark	Śār.	6×5	Saiva. Much injured.	ccexli
17th century paper	,,	7×6	Complete. Written by Rāj. Ratnakantha (?).	ccexlii†
Birch-bark	,,,	$7\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Incomplete. v. cxxxv.	ecexliii†
Old (?) paper	,,	$5\frac{1}{4} imes 3\frac{1}{2}$	In Kāśmīrī. Complete.	ceexliv
9 9 °	,,	$3\frac{1}{2} imes 5\frac{1}{4}$	In Kāśmīrī. Complete. Same codex as cccxxviii.	ccexlv
. ,,	,,	3×6	Fols. 3–17 only. In Kāśmīrī, with Sanskrit translation.	ccexlvi
		Na Alexander	Fols. 1–19 (79–97). A yogaśāstra. v. cecxxiv.	ccexlvii
		_	Complete. Yoga. v. cccxxviii.	cecxlviii
17th century paper	Śār.	$6 frac{3}{4} imes5 frac{1}{2}$	Complete in each case. They begin on fol. 1b, 3b, and 6a respectively. In Raj. Ratnakantha's handwriting. v. ccclix.	cccxlix†
Old paper	>1	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	Complete. 100 ślokas in Kāśmīrī. Bought 1898.	cecl
**	,,	3×7	Fols. 32 (beginning)-50. First 139 ślokas only. Bought 1896. v. ceclii.	cccli
***	,,	,,	Fols. 22-32. Ślokas 10-63 (end). "Bought in 1896 from Rājya Kaul" [M. A. S.].	ceclii
		_	Fols. 16–29, 32. 62 ślokas. v. cecxxviii.	eccliii
			Fols. 41-60, 3 unnumbered, and 1-11 seem to be described by this. In Kāśmīrī. v. ccexxviii.	cecliv
Foolscap	Dev.	$11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$	Complete. "Copied by Pt. Govind Kaul in 1898" [M. A.S.].	ccclv
			Seems to describe 11 fols. with various sentences, chiefly in Kāśmīrī on them. v. ccexxviii.	ecclvi

MS. No.	TITLE.	AUTHOR.	Folios.	LINES.	Akṣaras.
179	Sūryastutirahasya	Rāj. Ratnakantha	4	17	20
246	Saundaryalaharīṭīkā	Rāmacandra	37	19	21
300	Stutikusumāňjali	Jagaddhara- bhatta	180	12	18
181	,,	,,	(?)	10	13
182	39	, ,,	17	10	13
199	Spandavṛtti	Śrīkallaṭa			******
241	Spandaśāstra	**	12	6	13
200	Svātmabodha	Sāhib Kaul			-
				XIII.	TANTR
208	Karmakriyākāṇḍa	Somaśambhu	116	16	17
275	Kavīndrakalpadruma	Kavīndrācārya- sarasvatī	5	16	17
230	Gopradānavidhi Śaivānām- rītyā		28	13	14
274	Trailokyamangalastotra Sanatkumāratantre		1	21	24
207	Nityādisangrahābhidhāna- paddhati	Takṣakavarta Rājānaka	149	15	25
246	Prāṇāyāmanirṇaya		3	19	21

MATERIAL.	SCRIPT.	Size.	Notes.	Serial No.
17th century paper	Śār.	7×6	In author's handwriting. Complete.	ccelvii†
19th century paper	,,	$7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$	Complete. v. exxxvi.	ccclviii
16/17th century paper	v' 99	$6rac{8}{4} imes5rac{1}{4}$	"In original leather binding. Purchased through Pt. Sahajabhatta at Śrinagar 1904. Numerous annotations by Rāj. Ratnakantha and Bhatta Haraka" [M. A. S.]. Contains also lxxxvii, lxxxviii, cxvi, cccxlix.	eeelix†
Birch-bark	,,	4×5	Sargas 7-18. Much injured. In old leather binding.	ccclx
, ,	,,	74×6	Sargas 28-31; fols. 103-19. Some injured.	ceelxi
		-	Fols. 39-52. Complete. v. cccxxiv.	ccelxii
19th century paper	Śār.	$5\frac{8}{4} \times 6$	Complete, with annotations. Bought 1896.	ccclxiii
****	**********	Minimage	Fols. 31-42. Complete. v. ccexxviii.	ecclxiv
Old paper	Śār.	94×6	Complete, the first page in a later hand. Bought 1895. Dated (48) 11.	ccelxv
17th century paper	,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Middle lost. v. cxxxv.	ccclxvi+
19th century paper	••	$5\frac{1}{2} \times 5$	Complete. Bought from Mādha- vahuṇḍa in 1896.	ceelxvii
Bireh-bark	,,	$7\frac{1}{2} \times 6$	Injured. v. cxxxv.	ecclxviii†
19th century paper	7 7	$9\frac{1}{2} \times 82$	Complete. "Copied in 1895 by Pt. Sahajabhatta from a Poona MS., which lacked 2 fols. after fol. 16" [M. A. S.].	ecclxix
٠,	••	7×43	Complete. v. cxxxvi.	ceclxx



FRAGMENT FINAL DE LA NILAKANTHADHARANI

EN BRAHMI ET EN TRANSCRIPTION SOGDIENNE

PAR L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN ET R. GAUTHIOT

L'est fragment de dhāraṇī publié ici provient de Touenhouang, d'où il a été rapporté par M. M. A. Stein à son second voyage d'exploration en Asie centrale. Il est écrit sur un morceau de rouleau, en double, d'abord en brāhmī, puis en écriture sogdienne. Le texte en brāhmī a été lu, transcrit, et annoté par M. de la Vallée Poussin, la transcription sogdienne a été étudiée par M. Gauthiot. On a disposé en tête de l'article les notes qui ont paru nécessaires; à la suite on a donné le texte entier en transcription littérale; en dernier lieu figure la reproduction intégrale de l'original.

NOTE SUR LE TEXTE EN BRĀHMĪ

Il n'est pas impossible que la brāhmī et la transcription sogdienne soient de la même main. En tout cas, la correspondance est presque parfaite; et nous confesserons que le sogdien, lu par M. R. Gauthiot, nous a plusieurs fois rendu service.

Par exemple, nous avons lu e dans he, ehy, ehi (ll. 5 et 7). Le sens impose cette lecture, et le sogdien représente à sa façon la voyelle e. La graphie brāhmī laissait des doutes. Le scribe marque e après consonne, tantôt par l'accent

¹ Il se peut que la dhāraṇī du "dieu à la gorge bleue", Śiva-Avalokiteśvara (v. A. Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, ii, p. 37), conservée dans notre manuscrit, soit la dhāraṇī ou mahāvidyā que signale Rājendralāl Mitra, NBL., p. 292, sous la graphie transparente Śīlakanṭhā, et qui se trouve peut-être dans les collections Hodgson d'Europe. Nīlakanṭha est invoqué dans un fragment Macartney, sur palm-leaf, "early Gupta period," Hoernle, JASB. lxvi, p. 220.

(ll. 8 et 26), tantôt par le trait horizontal prolongé à gauche et appuyé d'un point (ll. 2 et 27); mais ce prolongement et ce point sont peu visibles dans ehy ehi (l. 7). Pour le dire en passant, nous remarquons la même variété dans la notation de o: marqué soit par l'accent portant sur un point ou un trait à droite, soit par deux traits à droite et à gauche. Sous ce rapport, yajño (ll. 7 et 31) est assez curieux.

C'est le sogdien qui autorise les lectures valammba, pralambam (l. 3), car les deux mba différent sensiblement; qui impose la lecture vācem (au lieu de vāco, possible) (l. 15); qui permet d'identifier les deux symboles différents de ā dans le tā de makuṭā (l. 3) et de mahāṭāṭṭahāsa (l. 14).

Je ne donne trya dans $mah\bar{a}tryapura$ (l. 7) qu'à titre d'hypothèse (=°tri°); à la l. 23, je ne peux lire que $\dot{s}avya$, moins bon que le $\dot{s}ava$ (?) de la transcription sogdienne; le groupe tt de $cakratt\bar{a}ni$ (l. 30) est au moins douteux.

Les fautes sont assez nombreuses: $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}yana$, $n\bar{\imath}lakantha$, hana (= hana, l. 15), $yaj\bar{n}opav\bar{\imath}ta$; $n\bar{\imath}lakanda$, avec la sonore pour la sourde, et, inversement, $th\bar{a}ran\bar{\imath}$ et $th\bar{a}ranam$ pour $dh\bar{a}ran\bar{\imath}$. On a $at\bar{a}tta^\circ$ pour $att\bar{a}^\circ$ (l. 14). Le mantra final est particulièrement négligé au point de vue des graphies: $kri\bar{\imath}na$, kamnta. Il est possible que e soit pour i dans trenitya (l. 33). On remarquera singha (l. 20) à côté de sinha (l. 13), $kri\bar{\imath}na$ (l. 31) à côté de $kr\bar{\imath}na$ (l. 5).

Je me borne à signaler des erreurs plus profondes, par exemple $aj\bar{\imath}ji$. . . pour $aj\bar{a}jikrsnajat\bar{a}mukut\bar{a}^{\circ}$ (ou ${}^{\circ}ma^{\circ}$); je ne suis pas à même de les redresser toutes.

NOTE SUR LA TRANSCRIPTION SOGDIENNE

Le fragment de *dhāraṇī* publié ici est noté d'une part en sanscrit, langue de l'original, et en écriture brāhmī, d'autre part, en sanscrit toujours (puisqu'une *dhāraṇī* est en principe intraduisible), mais en graphie sogdienne.

M. F. W. K. Müller, sous les yeux de qui le texte a passé, n'a pas eu de peine à le reconnaître; celà est manifeste d'ailleurs pour tout "sogdisant". Le document ne présente donc d'intérêt ni pour le vocabulaire sogdien, ni pour la grammaire; en revanche il apporte un témoignage intéressant en faveur de la lecture et de la transcription de l'alphabet sogdien, qui ont été proposées dans le Journal Asiatique de janvier-février, 1911 (p. 81 et suiv.).

La notation sogdienne des sons sanscrits a été visiblement faite avec un grand souci d'exactitude; les détails que l'on relèvera dans la suite de cette note rendront cette application sensible. Dès maintenant on notera que le copiste (ou auteur) de la double graphie s'est attaché à ce que la notation sogdienne suivît d'aussi près que possible le texte sanskrit et lui fût, pour ainsi dire, juxtalinéaire. Parallèlement à chaque ligne de brāhmī il s'est efforcé de disposer la ligne correspondante de sogdien. Comme d'une part la brāhmī s'écrit horizontalement de gauche à droite et le sogdien, au moins à l'époque où a été écrite notre dhāranī, en colonnes verticales, comme d'autre part la notation en sogdien prend sensiblement plus de place que celle en écriture indienne, la disposition adoptée était assez difficile à observer de façon rigoureuse: en cinq endroits, l. 2 et 2bis, 10 et 10bis, 13 et 13bis, 15 et 15bis, 25 et 25bis, on a deux lignes sogdiennes pour une ligne en brāhmī. Comme ces doubles lignes qui semblent au premier abord rompre le parallèlisme extérieur, ne sont évidemment ni écrasées ni insérées après coup, mais qu'elles occupent la place qui leur revient normalement, il faut admettre que l'auteur sinon de notre manuscrit, au moins de l'original sur lequel il a été copié, a règlé à la fois la répartition du texte sanscrit et de la notation sogdienne, c'est-à-dire que sans doute il a écrit l'une et l'autre. L'hypothèse émise par M. de la Vallée Poussin dans la note qui précède, qu'il n'est pas impossible que la brahmī

et la transcription sogdienne soient de la même main, semble très probable. En effet, on s'explique sans peine comment le scribe après avoir écrit une ligne de brāhmī horizontalement, de gauche à droite, a retourné son rouleau d'un quart de cercle sur la droite, tracé la partie à peu près correspondante en écriture sogdienne sur une ligne et, lorsque celle-ci était par trop en retard sur le sanscrit, sur deux lignes, pour revenir ensuite à la brāhmī. la relation entre l'original en écriture indienne et sa notation dans l'alphabet sémitique qu'est le sogdien, est beaucoup moins simple qu'elle ne le paraît dans la transcription qui figure à la fin de cette note et où le sanscrit en brāhmī et sa notation en sogdien sont tous deux reproduits en lettres latines. Pour se faire une idée exacte de la disposition dans l'original il faut se reporter au spécimen suivant où le sanscrit est noté en devanāgarī qui se dispose comme la brāhmī et le sogdien en estranghélo qui s'écrit comme lui. Il s'agit de la ligne 1 du texte-

सि ख यो गी खरः धु र २ वि यं नि म हा वि यं निः धर २

On voit que du point de vue de nos habitudes graphiques la transcription sogdienne tourne le dos exactement au sanscrit, et aussi que tout l'arrangement de l'original suppose un rédacteur qui était plus ou moins familier à la fois avec le sanscrit et la brāhmī d'une part, avec la langue et l'écriture sogdiennes de l'autre.

On peut même supposer, avec quelque probabilité, que celui qui a rédigé et noté le morceau de Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī dont il est question ici était plutôt sogdien qu'indien. Comme on le verra, notre texte présente à la fin trois gloses en langue sogdienne qui sont de la même écriture que la transcription. D'autre part, la comparaison entre les graphies en brāhmī et en sogdien montre que si la

première n'est pas exempte d'erreurs. la seconde est très soignée et que certaines fautes d'orthographe du sanscrit sont précisement de celles qu'un sogdien devait être porté à commettre. Si l'on examine celles que M. de la Vallée Poussin a relevées dans la Note qui précède, et si l'on laisse de côté des erreurs de quantité comme nilakantha, yajñopavita, des prâkritismes possibles comme krisna à côté de kṛṣṇa, simha à côté de simgha¹ (v. Pischel, Gr. d. Prakrit-Spr., p. 184), nīlakanda pour nīlakantha, il est singulièrement séduisant de voir dans tre nitya (avec e pour i), dans maintra pour mantra (l. 34), dans hana pour hana, nārāyana pour nārāyana, enfin dans thāranī et thāranam pour dhāranī, des "sogdismes"; de même pour mahātryapura pour mahātripura (l. 7), comme me le fait remarquer M. de la Vallée Poussin. C'est une des graves imperfections de l'écriture sogdienne, ainsi qu'on aura l'occasion de le constater dans la suite, que l'impossibilité de distinguer entre i, \bar{i} , et e; c'est un caractère du sogdien de n'avoir que la seule nasale dentale n et de rendre par cette n l'anusvāra m du sanscrit; enfin et surtout, c'est un des traits propres de la graphie sogdienne de noter également les occlusives sourde et sonore par le signe de la sourde. Comme on peut le voir par la transcription qui suit, le mot dhāraņī est régulièrement noté en sogdien avec un t initial: le scribe qui a écrit à la ligne 29 thāraņī samāpta en brāhmī a dû être celui qui avait dans l'idée le t'rny pty'mty 2 sogdien de la ligne 29bis, et le thāraṇam sanscrit semble bien être inséparable du t'rn'n sogdien à la ligne 33.

Au point de vue de la valeur des lettres sogdiennes, et particulièrement des consonnes, la transcription suivante confirme, comme on l'a déjà indiqué, l'interprétation donnée

¹ Celui-ci est d'ailleurs fidèlement reproduit dans la transcription sogdienne, qui a syny- d'une part, synk- de l'autre.

² Le sogdien est transcrit au cours de cet article de la façon exposée au Journal Asiatique de janvier-février, 1911, p. 81 et suiv. (v. surtout planche i). Cf. aussi, JRAS., 1912, p. 349 et suiv.

JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 81 et suiv. Les occlusives sanscrites, sourdes ou sonores, sont également rendues par les signes qui servent à noter en sogdien les occlusives sonores ou sourdes surtout après nasales, sourdes par ailleurs. Il y a d'abord une exception purement apparente: à la ligne 29 on lit "ry' \beta r'wk \delta y \beta r au lieu de la forme rwkytyšβr, "(āryāva)lokiteśvara," avec le signe de la spirante sonore là où le sanscrit a l'occlusive sourde dentale; c'est qu'il ne s'agit plus du mot sanscrit en transcription, mais bien d'un emprunt. Cet "ry'βṛ'wkδ'yšβr ne fait pas partie du texte de la dhāranī, mais d'un des trois passages en langue sogdienne de notre texte, en l'espèce de la traduction, d'ailleurs libre, des mots sanskrits: nīlakantha nāma thāranī samāpta; son -δ- s'explique donc bien comme il a été dit JA., janv.-févr., 1911, pp. 93-4, note. D'autre part on lit β_T pour $bala^\circ$, 1. 9.

D'autre part le β sogdien, spirante bilabiale sonore rend régulièrement le v sanskrit (cf. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 91), le y, spirante gutturale sourde ou sonore l'h (cf. JA., ibid., p. 95), le s' chuintant la palatale s' aussi bien que la cérébrale ș (cf. JA., ibid., p. 94) et l'r, c'est-à-dire l'r munie d'un signe diacritique, l'1 (cf. JA., ibid., p. 86).1 Les exemples de ces équivalences sont trop nombreux et trop réguliers pour qu'il soit nécessaire de les énumérer ici: il suffit de se reporter à la transcription de la dhāranī pour les retrouver immédiatement. Ce qui est plus intéressant ce sont les raffinements que le scribe préoccupé d'indiquer avec la plus grande exactitude possible la prononciation correcte et par conséquent d'assurer l'efficacité des paroles magiques pour le lecteur sogdien, a introduits dans sa transcription. Il s'est bien rendu compte que le γ sogdien, qu'il fût interprété comme spirante sourde a, ou comme sonore y, ne rendait en aucun cas le h sanscrit:

¹ Le signe diacritique manque à l'occasion, ainsi lignes $9 (\gamma r = hala)$, $13 (nyr = n\bar{\imath}la)$. Dans des textes sogdiens d'allure populaire il fait défaut régulièrement, et il semble bien que l'on ait alors prononcé r pour l.

et il a muni le y d'un signe diacritique pour montrer qu'il ne devait pas être articulé à la sogdienne; ainsi aux lignes 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 par exemple. Cette indication, qui n'est d'ailleurs pas systématique, n'est pas sans intérêt. Beaucoup plus stricte est la distinction qui est faite entre les cérébrales et les dentales. Tandis que ces dernières répondent bien au sentiment de notre scribe et, ainsi que la phonétique des dialectes iraniens le fait attendre, aux dentales sogdiennes, les cérébrales sont notées par lui au moyen du t sogdien marqué d'un signe diacritique; ainsi lignes 3 (deux fois), 9, 13, 14 (trois fois), 23, 33 (trois fois). Les seules exceptions se trouvent aux lignes 19, 29, et 30 et portent sur le nom propre nīlakantha que l'on était évidemment tenté d'adapter à la phonétique du sogdien, où il était, sans nul doute, entré dans l'usage; à la ligne 29, il figure d'ailleurs dans une phrase proprement sogdienne.

Enfin le c et le j sanscrits sont également rendus par \check{c} , faute d'une semi-occlusive sonore correspondante (cf. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 94). Quant au groupe - $j\tilde{n}$ -il n'est pas rendu par - $\check{c}ny$ - comme on pourrait l'attendre, mais par -tny- (v. lignes 7 et 31 et cf. JA., loc. cit.); ce groupe, impossible d'ailleurs en sogdien, semble avoir été résolu ligne 22, où l'on a y't'ny'w au lieu de *y'tny'w, c'est-à-dire $*yad^nyo$ au lieu de *yadnyo.

La notation des voyelles présentait naturellement des difficultés particulières dans une écriture sémitique, telle que la sogdienne, qui ne disposait que des deux sonantes y et w et de l'esprit doux '. Le sogdien même n'a pas un jeu de voyelles très considérable, mais il dépasse cependant ses ressources graphiques: à l'intérieur il ne note généralement pas l'ă, ce qui fait qu'un simple consonne peut être lue, a priori, avec ou sans ă suivant; ' sert à marquer l'ā dans les mêmes conditions. A l'initiale, on emploie ' pour ă, " pour ā. Mais il y a des cas où des ' intérieurs sont de simples matres lectionis et doivent être lus ă. L'ă et l'ă sont notés ou non par y et w, selon que le scribe

croit ou ne croit pas que la forme qu'il écrit sera lue correctement sans secours; mais ces mêmes y et w représentent aussi ī et ū souvent, e et o de façon exceptionnelle. Pour marquer ceux-ci, on emploie de préférence les combinaisons de signes 'y et 'w. On trouve par endroits aussi "y et "w pour e et o, très rarement pour ī et ū, qui, en revanche, sont parfois représentés eux aussi par 'y et 'w. A l'initiale y et w sont normalement des consonnes, et il y est tout à fait exceptionnel qu'ils soient pour i ou u. Car, il faut ajouter, en sogdien, aux voyelles pleines déjà citées, la série des voyelles furtives de timbre plus ou moins nettement défini et qui tantôt ne sont pas notées du tout, et tantôt le sont par y, w, ou'. Ces dernières ne jouent presque aucun rôle dans le cas présent : le sanscrit noté en sogdien ne comporte guère de sons pareils; mais il présente lui aussi des ă et des ā, des ĭ et des ī, des ŭ et des ū, des e et des o, et possède en plus des ai et des au. C'est là évidemment une difficulté nouvelle devant laquelle les scribes sogdiens étaient désarmés.

En fait, la transcription des voyelles est très imparfaite, et les règles d'orthographe du sogdien, telles qu'elles viennent d'être indiquées de façon sommaire, ont été suivies tant bien que mal. L'ă sanscrit n'est généralement pas noté; mais on a 'pour a dans le voisinage des sonantes dont la valeur était douteuse en elle-même : ainsi le 'dans $y'tny'w = yaj\tilde{n}o$ (l. 7, 3), syty'ntw = sidhyamtu (l. 28) indique que le y précédent note une consonne; de façon analogue -a est transcrit dans les finales sanscrites en consonne + ya, tandis qu'il ne l'est jamais par ailleurs et l'on a pwty' = budhya (l. 12) contre pwt'y = bodhaya(l. 13) et s't'y = $s\bar{a}dhaya$ (l. 15 et 15bis), $k'msy' = k\bar{a}masya$ (l. 17), nyty' = nitya (l. 33). Sans doute est-ce par erreur que l'on lit pr'yr'ty' au lieu de *pr'yr't'y pour scr. prahlādaya à la ligne 17. La présence d'un ă est encore indiquée par la mater lectionis', dans les finales

en -nam, qui, sans celà, seraient devenues en notation sogdienne -nn, \dot{m} étant régulièrement rendu par n: on a ainsi tršn'n = daršanam, myn'n = menam (l. 17), et $t'rn'n = th\bar{a}ranam$ (l. 33). Enfin, la coupe des mots n'étant pas toujours correcte au point de vue grammatical, mais conforme à des habitudes graphiques locales, certains -a- intérieurs se trouvent placés en position initiale et sont alors, correctement au point de vue de l'écriture sogdienne, notés par '; c'est le cas pour le -'n final de prrmp'n = pralambam qui se trouve figurer au début de la ligne 4 par suite de la coupe du mot; c'est aussi celui du premier ă de vāmaskandha parce que le mot est divisé en B'm 'sk'nt (l. 24). D'autres a enfin sont notés par ' sans que la raison en soit apparente; ainsi dans $\beta ym'r' = vimal\bar{a}$ (1. 2bis), $\beta'm'styt = v\bar{a}masthita$ (1. 13bis), $m\gamma'$ t' tt' $\gamma's = mah\bar{a}t\bar{a}ttah\bar{a}sa$ (l. 14), $pk\beta'ntn = bhaga$ vantam (l. 15^{bis}), $pr'\gamma r'ty' = prahl\bar{a}daya$ (l. 17), munt $t' \ t' = mundatate (1.33).$

Il faut mettre sans doute à part le cas du ' de $\beta y'nty =$ viyamnti(1.2) et de $\beta rr'mp = valammba(1.3)$, nm'sk'nt= namas kamnta (l. 32), où il est possible que l'on ait une notation approximative de la longue -am-. Quant à ', c'est bien la graphie normale de la longue \bar{a} à l'intérieur, comme "à l'initiale. Ce signe n'apparaît pour un -āintérieur que par suite d'une fausse coupe de mot (comme plus haut 'au lieu de rien) dans kr'yšn'' čyn'y = krsnājināya (l. 25) et par accident dans $m\gamma'$ γ'' γ'' $\gamma'' = mah\bar{a}h\bar{a}l\bar{a}hala$ (l. 9), et à la finale de $nyr'\check{c}'w$ $t'' = nirjjaut\bar{a}$ (l. 10). Une orthographe toute spéciale est celle de nārāyana, qui est transcrit n'ry'n, c'est-à-dire *nārayāna les deux fois où il se rencontre (lignes 8 et 32).

Comme l'i est généralement noté, il n'est pas distingué de l'ī: l'un et l'autre sont écrits y. L'ī manque bien dans By'nty = viyamnti; mais on aperçoit de suite que c'est là un cas spécial; le groupe -iy- prête à l'erreur, et l'omission de l'i de viyamnti a sa contre-partie dans

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l'insertion d'un i entre l'h et le y issu de i en sandhi dans " $y \gamma' y y' y \gamma y' y = ehy ehi$, soit, son pour son, et avec une fausse coupe de mot, ē ht ye ht (ligne 7). A la ligne 13 on a, sans doute avec suppression des effets du sandhi, " $y \gamma yy$ " " $y \gamma yy$, qui est pour ehy ehi. Le double yfinal pour -i se retrouve à la ligne 16 dans $tt'\gamma yy = dad\bar{a}hi$. Ces notations nous écartent tout à fait de l'orthographe sogdienne proprement dite; ce sont des traits propres aux transcriptions et tout à fait parallèles à la notation yy'y du second -hi de la ligne 7, aux formes tww rww = dhurude la ligne 1, $\gamma vvv \quad rvvv = hulu$ des lignes 10^{bis} et 11, $\gamma w r w w = h u l u$ de la ligne 11, $\gamma w w t' y = {}^{\circ} \gamma u d h \bar{a} \gamma a$ (1.23), et, en quelque mesure aussi, du $mwwrt'y = m\bar{u}rtte$ de la ligne 2bis. Le redoublement du yod ou du waw pour noter la voyelle brève ou même longue est anomal. Ce qui est attendu c'est $\xi'y \ \xi y = jiji$ (l. 3) avec 'y pour $\bar{\imath}$; mais on a de façon exceptionnelle dans cette dhāranī'y pour i dans "yy'y = ehi (l. 7; cf. l. 13 d'une part et ll. 14-15 de l'autre). Mais, en somme, il n'y a pas de moyen sûr de distinguer i, \bar{i} , e, et ai, u, \bar{u} , o, et au dans la transcription dont il est question ici: le 'w initial de 'wy = uya signifie u, mais il serait loisible a priori de le lire tout aussi bien \bar{u} , o, ou au; le au de nirjjautā est noté par 'w (l. 9) exactement comme le second o de lokitavilokita, tandis que le premier est rendu simplement par w: rwkyt Byr'wkyt (1. 16).

Il faut noter, en finissant, que l'r voyelle est transcrite le plus souvent par r'y, c'est à dire par r plus une voyelle longue de timbre i; ry, qui est ambigu et peut se lire ri ou $r\bar{\imath}$ ne se trouve guère que deux fois, dans kryt = krta(l. 7) et dans $\gamma r y t' y = h r daya$ à l'avant-dernière ligne. L'anunāsika est distingué de l'anusvāra et transcrit par m au lieu de n, ainsi dans $\gamma wm = h\bar{u}m$ et dans ' $wm = u\bar{u}m$ (in fine), d'où il a passé abusivement, à ce qu'il semble, dans $tr'wm = drum \text{ (ibid.).}^1$

¹ Cf. aussi ligne 15^{bis}, Byty'm = vidyām.

Des particularités orthographiques qui viennent d'être relevées, il faut séparer les faits suivants qui révèlent des divergences plus ou moins sérieuses et profondes entre le texte sacré sanscrit et sa transcription en écriture sogdienne. D'abord il y a des fautes dans la forme: à la ligne 3 on lit \(\beta rr'mp, \) c'est-à-dire *varlammba ou *vralammba au lieu de valammba, avec une altération suggérée évidemment par l'initiale du prymp'n = pralambam suivant; des voyelles furtives, notées 'ont été introduites dans la transcription de dharendreśvara, qui a été coupé en tr'y 'ntr'yš\(\beta \)r soit *\(dhar\bar{e}\) "ndre\(svara\), dans celles de yajñyo: y't'ny'w (l. 22), nirjjautā: nyr'č'w t" (l. 10) pour résoudre des groupes de consonnes insolites et pour ainsi dire imprononçables en sogdien. Conformément encore à la phonétique sogdienne les doubles consonnes ne sont généralement pas marquées : il n'y a d'exception, semble-t-il, que pour mahātāttahāsa noté my' t' tt' y's (l. 14); il y s'agit, ce qui n'est sans doute pas indifférent, de cérébrales, c'est-à-dire de consonnes pareilles à celles qui sont répétées indûment dans čtt'y mkwtt" = $jate\ makut\bar{a}$ (l. 3). Le cas est tout autre pour le mot čkkr = cakra (ll. 23 et 30); le sogdien, en effet, écrit régulièrement le mot avec kk, conformément à la prononciation réelle, telle que les grammairiens de l'Inde nous la font connaître (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr., pp. 113-14).

Notons, pour finir, qu'à la ligne 15^{bis} smr = smara n'est pas répété, qu'aux lignes 23-4 on lit au lieu du sanscrit $sankhasavyanibodhanāya, šnk š'<math>\beta tny \ pwtn'y$, dont l'origine reste obscure; de même, à la ligne 35, $\beta ym'$ pour $vip\bar{a}^\circ$. Le t' pour ser. -te à le ligne 33 est lui une pure faute.

Outre la transcription qui vient d'être examinée, le fragment de dhāraṇī ci-joint contient trois petites notes en sogdien. La ligne isolée du début (l. 0) et les 28 qui suivent ne sont que du sanscrit en lettres sogdiennes; les lignes 29 et 29^{bis} au contraire ne présentent pas la transcription de la ligne 29 mais sa traduction: à côté de nălakanțha năma thărană samāpta, "la dhāranā du nom de Nilakantha est achevée," on a 1 LPw 8sty "ry'βţ'wk8'yšβr nyţknt n'm t'rny pty'mty, "la dhāranā du nom de Nilakantha Āryāvalokiteśvara aux mille mains est achevée," traduction que M. F. W. K. Müller a donnée dès qu'il a pu examiner le document dont il est traité ici. Nous nous contenterons donc de renvoyer du JRAS., 1912, p. 363, pour la lecture et l'interprétation de 1 LPw.

La transcription sogdienne reprend avec la ligne 30 et se continue normalement jusqu'à la fin. Là seulement il y a une anomalie: la partie qui répond au hrdaya mamtra qui clôt le texte (la dernière ligne de brāhmī n'en fait pas partie, en effet) ne figure pas à gauche (resp. au-dessous) de la ligne sanscrite, mais à droite (resp. au-dessus), et est précédée d'une ligne en sogdien wyspw znk'n mntzp'rty' zp'rt \(\beta wt\), "les impuretés de toute sorte sont (deviennent) pures." Enfin, à la fin de la ligne 34 en brāhmī figure, serrée en trois petites lignes, une glose sogdienne: wyspw"γδ'k δβr'yn'k δrzy'wr ptsrwm yčy; ce qui veut dire que "ceci est le hrdaya mantra qui accorde tous les souhaits", ainsi que M. F. W. K. Müller l'a indiqué. Le sens de la note est d'ailleurs clair et les fragments sogdiens chrétiens et manichéens jusqu'ici publiés par M. F. W. K. Müller fournissent le sens de la plupart des mots. On n'ajoutera donc qu'une remarque en passant sur ôrzy'wr qui traduit en l'espèce hrdaya et doit avoir le sens de "cœur". C'est un composé dont le second terme est žy'wr, "cœur," qui nous est connu par le fragment de Berlin B 38, publié par M. F. W. K. Müller dans les Sitzungsberichte de l'Académie de Berlin (1907, p. 266); le premier élément n'est autre que δrz , "cœur," métathèse de zrδ (à lire *zar°δ), représentant correct en sogdien de l'iranien *zrd-, gath. zarad-, pers. Cette forme se rencontre par ailleurs en sogdien bouddhique (p. ex. Manuscrits de la mission Pelliot, Inventaire no. 3516,

l. 99); d'autre part les signes pour z et pour \check{z} n'étant pas distingués ne sont normalement pas écrits l'un à côté de l'autre quand ils sont en contact; l'assimilation de z et de \check{z} , qui se faisait peut-être dans la prononciation, était régulièrement réalisée dans l'écriture en sogdien bouddhique; comme on écrit ici $\delta rzy'wr$ pour $\delta rz-\check{z}y'wr$, on écrit ailleurs $\beta rzw'n'y$, "qui a une longue vie," pour $\beta rz-\check{z}w'n'y$, c'est-à-dire $\beta arz-\check{z}iw\bar{a}n$ - (p. ex. Manuscrits de la mission Pelliot, Inventaire no. 3516, l. 107 et 503).

Il est à noter que les gloses que l'on vient de lire sont dans une langue moins archaïque que le sogdien bouddhique proprement dit: elles sont écrites dans une forme qui rappelle immédiatement les dialectes plus populaires et plus récemment employés en littérature des documents chrétiens et manichéens. D'autre part le ductus de l'écriture sogdienne, d'ailleurs soignée et très claire, n'a rien non plus d'archaïque et semble dater de l'époque des T'ang. Enfin la brāhmī paraît être de date assez basse; si l'on compare les formes que présentant le य et le ह à celles que Bühler a relevées sur le tableau iv de son Indische Palaeographie, on est frappé de leur ressemblance avec le च et le ह de documents aussi récents que les inscriptions de Lakkhamandal et d'Aphssad. Mais si le document est tardif, la valeur des lettres est, sauf en ce qui touche la notation de l'1, conforme à la tradition la plus ancienne (v. JA., janv.-févr., 1911, p. 82 et suiv. et p. 86 en particulier). Et l'on est amené à conclure, en fin de compte que le fragment ci-joint de la Nīlakanthadhāranī et sa transcription fournissent un argument de plus en faveur de l'existence de la forte et longue tradition littéraire sogdienne que l'on a essayé d'établir dans ce Journal même (1912, p. 342 et suiv.).

Un autre fait, d'ordre historique celui-là, ressort de l'existence de cette dhāraṇī si soigneusement notée et transcrite; c'est la popularité, en Asie centrale, à la date récente signalée à l'instant (entre le 7° et le 9° siècles de

notre ère sans doute) du texte qui nous occupe. On a dû attacher à ce moment un prix particulier à cette Nīla-kanthadhāraṇī, dont un fragment nous été conservé à Touen-houang et rapporté par M. M. A. Stein, pour l'éditer avec tant de précaution; et il est à supposer qu'elle est entrée à la même époque dans les autres littératures bouddhiques qui relèvent de l'Asie centrale.

TRANSCRIPTION

- 0. $vy[ty'm?] t'y hyy t'y hyy m'??\beta'n k'm'nkm'n$
- siddhayogīśvara : dhuru 2 viyamnti mahāviyamnti dhara 2
 βyy 'nkm'n βyr¹ syt ywkyšβr \ tww rww tww rww
- dharendreśvara : cala vimalāmalamūrtte : āryāvalokite βy'nty mγ'βy'nty tr tr tr'y 'ntr'yšβr ∥ cr βym'r' mr mwwrt'y "ry'βr'wkyt'yšβr'
- śvarājījikṛṣṇajaṭe makutāvalammba vā pralambam :
 mahā
 č'y čy kr'yšn čṭṭ'y mkwṭṭ'' βrṛ'mp β' prṛmp
- 4. siddhavidyādhara: bala 2 mahābala: mala 2 mahāmala; ' $n \parallel m\gamma'$ syt $\beta yty'tr \beta \gamma \beta \gamma m\gamma' \beta \gamma \parallel m\gamma' m\gamma' m\gamma' m\gamma' \parallel$
- cala 2 mahācala kṛṣṇavarṇa kṛṣṇapakṣa: nirghātana: he ἔτ ἔτ nγ' ἔτ kr'yšn βrn kr'yšn pkš N nyrk'tn
- 6. padmahasta : cara 2 niśācareśvara : kṛṣṇasarpakṛtaya $\gamma'y~ptm~\gamma st~\parallel~\check{cr}~ir~iy\check{s}'\check{cr}'y\check{s}\beta r~\parallel~kr'y\check{s}n$
- 7. jñopavīta : ehy ehi mahāvarāhamukha : mahātryapura $srp\ kryt\ y'tny'w\ p\beta yt$ "y $\gamma'y\ y'y\ \gamma y'y\ m\gamma'$
- dahaneśvara : nārāyanarūpabalavegadharī : he nīlaka βr'γ mwk' mγ' trypwr tγn'yšβr ∥ n'ry'n rwp

¹ Le début est abimé et le sanskrit y fait défaut ; ce qu'on distingue sur la photographie répond à peu près à : vidyām dehi dehi mā-(?) -vām kāmāngamām vihāngamām vira.

- 9. nda he mahāhālāhalaviṣa : nirjjautā lokasya rāga $\beta r \beta y k t r y y \gamma y r k n t y \gamma y m y y " r" \gamma r$
- 10. vişavināśana : dveṣaviṣavināśana : mohaviṣavi
 βyš || nyr'č'w t" rwksy' r'k βyš βyn'šn || tβyš βyš βyn'šn || nwy βyš βyn'šn || γww rww
- 11. nāśana : hulu 2 mālā huru : hara 2 mahāpadmanābha yww rww $\| m'r'$ ywrww yr yr my' ptm n'p $\|$
- 12. sara 2 siri 2 suru 2 budhya 2 bodhaya 2 bodhayāmi ti : sr sr syry syry swrw swrw 1 pwty' pwty'
- 13. nīlakaṇḍa ehy ehi : vāmasthitasimhamukha : hasa 2 pwt'y pwt'y pwty'myty nyr knt \""y γyy ""y γyy \"β'm'styt synγmwk \" γs γs
- 14. muñca 2 mahāṭāṭṭahāsa : ehy ehi mahāsiddhayo mwnč mwnč \(\mathbb{u}\) my' t' tt' y's "y yy y'y
- 15. giśvara : haṇa 2 vācem sādhaya 2 vidyām smara 2 bhagava
 γy mγ' syt ywkyšβr \ γn γn β'čyn s't'y
 s't'y βyty'm smr pkβ'ntn
- 16. ntam : lokitavilokita : tathāgatam : dadāhi me darv
kyt βyr wkyt \mathbb{\mathbb{u}}' tt'ktn \mathbb{\mathbb{u}} tt'\gamma yy m'y
- 17. rśanam: kāmasya darśanam: prahlādaya me nam svāhā: $tršn'n \parallel k'msy' tršn'n \parallel pr'\gamma r'ty' myn'n$
- 18. siddhāya svāhā : mahāsiddhāya svāhā : siddhayogī $s\beta'\gamma'$ || syt'y $s\beta'\gamma'$ $m\gamma'$ syt'y $s\beta'\gamma'$ ||
- śvarāya svāhā : nĭlakanṭhāya svāhā : varāhamukhā syt ywkyšβr'y sβ'γ' || nyṛnt'y sβ'γ' ||
- 20. ya svāhā : mahāsimghamukhāya svāhā : siddhavidyādha $\beta r'\gamma \ mwk'y \ s\beta'\gamma' \ \| \ m\gamma' \ synkmwk'y \ s\beta'\gamma' \ \|$

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- 21. rāya svāhā : padmahastāya svāhā : mahākṛṣṇasarpa $syt\beta yty'$ tr'y $s\beta'\gamma'$ || ptm $\gamma st'y$ $s\beta'\gamma'$ ||
- yajňopavítāya svāhā: mahālakuṭadharāya svāhā: myˈkr'yšn srp y't'nyˈw pβyt'y sβ'γ' ll my'
- 23. cakrāyudhāya svāhā : śamkhaśavyanibodhanāya svāhā : $rkwttr'y s\beta'\gamma'$ || $\acute{c}kkr ywwt'y s\beta'\gamma'$ || $\acute{s}nk$
- vāmaskandhavesasthitakṛṣṇājināya svāhā: vyāghra š'βtny pwtn'y sβ'γ' \(β'm 's'knt β'yšstyt \)
- carmanivāsanāya svāhā : lokiteśvarāya svāhā kr'yšn " čyn'y sβ'γ' || βy'krčrmny β'sn'y sβ'γ' || rwkytyšβr'y sβ'γ' ||
- 26. sarvasiddheśvarāya svāhā : namo bhagavate āryāva $sr\beta\ syt'y\ s\beta r'y\ s\beta'\gamma'\ \|\ nm'w\ pk\beta t'y$
- lokiteśvarāya : bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya : mahā "ry' βṛ'wkyt'y šβr'y pwtystβ'y mγ'stβ'y
- kārunikāya : sidhyamtu mantrapadaya svāhā : mγk'rw nyk'y syty'ntw mntr pt'y sβ'γ'
- nĭlakantha nāma thāranĭ samāpta : II ο II
 1 LPw δsty "ry'βrwkδ'yšβr nyrknt n'm t'rny pty'mty I: I
- 30. namo : nilā : kaṇḍā : śaṅkhā : cakra ttāni : di nm'w nyṛ'knt' šnk' čkkr tr'ny 1:1
- 31. [?] vasanāya : kriṣṇo sadya divā yajňo : vetyā : $ty\beta$ sn'y kr'yšn'w sty' $ty\beta$ ' y'tny'w
- kaccharmo ya : namas kamnta tri uya : nārāyanarŭpa ~
 β'yty' « kĕrm'wy' » nm 'sk'nt try 'wy n'ry'n
- 33. thāraṇam II tre nitya muṇḍaṭaṭe II praviśa 2 vipāloki rwptt t'rn'n II tr'y nyty' mwnṭ ṭ' ṭ' prβyś

ιυμεριυ "γδ'k

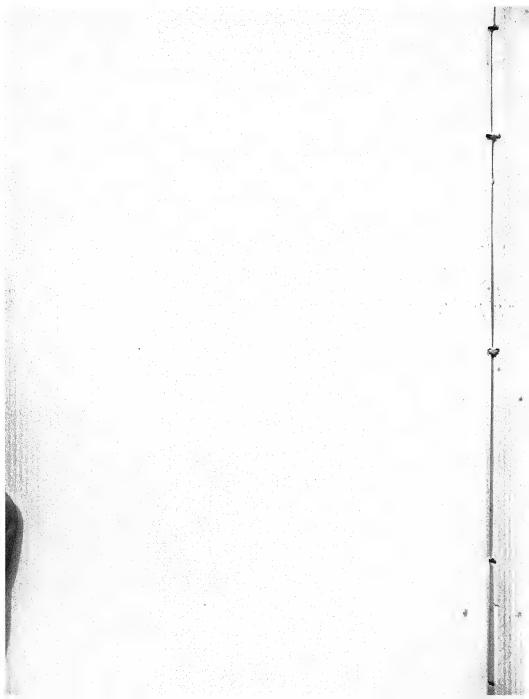
34. teśvara:kurma hūm:∥hṛdaya maintra:δβr'yn'k δrzy'wr ptsrwm γĕy!:1

prβyš || βym' r'wkytyšβr kwrm γwm | : | γryt'y mntr wyspw znk'n mntzp'rty' zp'rt βwt | : | 'wm tr'wm sm'nt sβ'γ' | : |

35. ūm drum samanta svāhā:

• namo bhagavatyai āryaprajñāpāra ¹

¹ D'une autre main.



THE USE OF THE ROMAN CHARACTER FOR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

BY R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

"And here we must enter our protest, we fear an unavailing one, against the supineness which suffers those invaluable monuments, the unwritten languages of the earth, to perish with a rapidity yearly increasing, without one rational and well-directed effort to save them in the only mode in which it can be done effectually, viz., by reducing them to writing according to their exact native promuciation through the medium of a thoroughly well-considered and digested phonetic alphabet. About sixty well chosen, easily written, and unequivocal characters, completely exemplified in their use by passages from good writers in the principal European and Eastern languages, would satisfy every want, without going into impracticable niceties; and we earnestly recommend the construction and promulgation of a manual of this kind for the use of travellers, voyagers, and colonists, as a matter of pressing urgency, to the consideration of philologists, ethnologists, and geographers, in their respective societies assembled."—Edinburgh Review, 1848, p. 226.

THE Roman character may be used for Oriental languages in two ways: first, to represent in writing the sounds of a spoken language; and secondly, to represent the characters of a written language by another set of characters. The first process is usually called phonetic writing, the second transliteration. The second process includes the first. As this may not be clear at first sight I will endeavour to explain what transliteration is.

In the languages which can be transliterated written characters are simply phonetic symbols. They have no meaning except with reference to the sounds which they represent. Chinese is largely written by means of symbols representing not sounds but ideas. Chinese, therefore, cannot be transliterated. All we can do is to choose some spoken word which represents the idea of the written character, and visualize that word by means of phonetic symbols. But most Oriental languages are written

phonetically: that is, the characters represent not ideas but sounds.

The second process may be called direct transliteration. In this the proper sound of each character is first decided on; a symbol is chosen to represent that sound; and the character is thereafter always represented by that symbol, without regard to the actual pronunciation of the word. For instance, on might be transliterated suk. If in any language there were a separate character, and only one, for each sound, and if the sound of that character never varied, transliteration would be a simple matter. It would only be necessary to see that the script into which the transliteration is made also has a separate symbol for each sound, and there would be no difference between transliteration and phonetic writing. As a matter of fact such a language does not exist, either because all the languages we know use alphabets more or less imperfectly adapted to their sound-system, or because the alphabet has failed to keep pace with the sound-changes in the language. Sanskrit is nearly such a language: its transliteration is therefore comparatively easy. Burmese is an instance of

the other extreme. It began by importing, with clumsy adaptation, an alphabet belonging to another sound-system; it has since undergone great changes in pronunciation, and these changes have not been uniform, but are the result of a multiplicity of tendencies. Its transliteration, therefore, is so hopeless a task that, as we have seen, the Government of Burma has not attempted it, and has substituted phonetic writing. Between these extremes there are many degrees. But transliteration of a modern language always presents difficulties which do not exist in mere phonetic writing.¹ It is, moreover, only necessary for certain limited purposes.

The third process may be called indirect transliteration. This has to be resorted to, to take an extreme case, for a text which is written with a modified form of a known alphabet, but in an unknown language. Each character is first identified with the corresponding character in some language of which the pronunciation is known; and the sound given to it in that language is then assigned to it and represented by phonetic writing. For instance, in his article on "The Fourth Text of the Myazedi Inscriptions", published in the Journal of this Society for April, 1911, Mr. Blagden has taken a text in an unknown language, identified each character used in it with a Sanskrit character, and represented, more or less, the Sanskrit sound of that character in a phonetic script. The same process may be used, and is used, for an ancient text in a known language of which the former pronunciation is uncertain, such as Burmese or Talaing. For instance, in transliterating the text of the Myazedi inscription Mr. Blagden has used ca, not sa, to represent the sound of the character

¹ I hope to show elsewhere that the supposed obstacles to the use of phonetic spelling, as against transliteration, for educational and popular purposes have little or no existence in fact, or are easily surmounted; but the matter does not come within the scope of this article, nor is it of any particular interest to the ethnographists and others who are now being addressed.

o. That is because this character is clearly another form of the Sanskrit character \(\frac{1}{4}\), the pronunciation of which, at the time of the Sanskrit grammarians, is believed to have been ca.\(^1\) The word on would be transliterated by Mr. Blagden cak, and pronounced 'cak',\(^2\) the sound a becoming 'a' in Sanskrit when followed by a final consonant. If such a text contains a character which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit, this method of transliteration cannot, so far as that character is concerned, be used. The character itself may be copied, or some non-phonetic symbol, such as a number, may be employed; but the process is then, of course, not transliteration.

The object of these introductory remarks is to show that all transliteration involves a system of phonetic writing, a fact not always recognized; and to clear the ground of some vexed questions which have been unnecessarily confounded with that of the choice of a phonetic script, and have thus obscured the issues in many previous discussions. I propose now to leave all these questions aside, and to discuss only the choice of a phonetic script.

It is not necessary to devise a new system of phonetic writing for each language. The same system can be used for all languages, whether written or unwritten, so far as they have sounds in common. If a language has sounds peculiar to itself special symbols must, of course, be invented to represent those sounds. This, however, happens to a much smaller extent than is usually supposed. There are comparatively few spoken sounds in the world which do not exist in one or other of the principal European languages. It is obviously convenient that

¹ The c represents a single palatal sound, approaching that in the English *church*, and perhaps identical with the Magyar sound for which the International Phonetic Association also use the symbol c.

² Something like the English chuck.

one general system should be followed which, subject to these slight additions, is applicable to all languages.

I now suggest to you that the following qualifications are needed for any general system of phonetic writing.

- 1. It should be based on the Roman alphabet. This hardly needs demonstration.
- 2. It should be on the principle of "one sound, one symbol". That is to say, a different symbol must be employed for every distinct sound, so that there can never be any doubt as to what sound is meant. Moreover, a single sound should be represented by a single symbol, not by a combination of letters. For instance, the word thaw contains only two sounds, and should therefore be represented by only two letters, not by four.
- 3. It must be acceptable to civilized peoples generally, and should not therefore follow conventions merely because they are found in some particular European language. For instance, the letter *i* must not be used to represent the sound *ai* in *aisle*.
- 4. It should if possible be devised so that it can be used for any language, not merely for a particular group of languages. A new language may in exceptional cases have sounds peculiar to itself. In that case it may be necessary in recording it to make use of diacrital marks or new symbols. But this will rarely happen, and where it does it will be all the more necessary to use symbols already known for sounds already known.
- 5. The script should be such that it can be read easily and rapidly when once mastered, without unduly straining the eyes.
- 6. The system should be an elastic one. There should be a simple script for general purposes which is capable of being converted, by the mere addition of diacritical marks, into an accurate one for scientific purposes. In the script intended for general purposes diacritical marks should be avoided as much as possible, not only for the sake

of simplicity, but because they should be held in reserve for use when greater accuracy is needed. It follows from both this and the last principle that, where ordinary characters are inadequate for general purposes, special characters and not ordinary characters with diacritical marks should, as a rule, be used.

- 7. Economy in printing has to be considered. As to this it must be remembered that an ordinary type with a special diacritical mark attached to it is just as expensive as a special type. Both have to be specially cut.
- 8. In choosing a system for recording Oriental languages it would, of course, be a great advantage if one can be found which is already widely used in Europe for other purposes, and which is approved by leading phoneticians. It is useless suggesting a system unless it is likely to be generally adopted, at least in essentials.
- 9. It would also be a great advantage to have some body of phonetic experts to whom a reference could be made in case of doubt as to the best way to represent unfamiliar sounds, and who could give an authoritative decision on the point raised. It must be remembered that linguists are not always phonetic experts.

Now let us see how far the systems now used by Orientalists fulfil these requirements. In 1894, at a congress of Orientalists held at Geneva, the transliteration of Oriental languages was discussed. The congress decided to confine itself to Arabic and Sanskrit, languages which are, of course, of first-rate importance, but which represent only two out of many Asiatic families, and which happen to have an unusually simple system of vowel-sounds. On an attempt being made to apply the phonetic script prescribed by the congress to Mongolian languages, which are comparatively rich in vowel-sounds, it was found quite inadequate. This is patent to anyone who will study Dr. Grierson's great work, the Linguistic Survey of India. The survey relates mainly to Aryan

languages, but includes some others, and for these Dr. Grierson has been obliged to invent new symbols. As far as possible he has applied his system to all the languages dealt with, but in some cases the contributor has used a system of his own and has failed to explain adequately what sounds are intended by the symbols used by him. These symbols have perforce been allowed to stand, with a result which is so far unsatisfactory.

The Geneva system, therefore, does not meet the fourth or the sixth of our requirements. Still less does it fulfil the eighth, as it is not used for any other purposes at all; or the ninth, as there is no machinery for referring new or doubtful sounds to a body of phonetic experts.

Many other systems of writing are in use for Oriental languages. In fact, nearly every person who records a new language uses his own system for it, with the result that in many cases his readers cannot tell what sounds are meant. The ordinary man has not sufficient knowledge of the sounds of his own language to be able to give useful examples in it.

There are some schemes, however, which call for special notice. One is that explained by the Rev. Father Schmidt in Anthropos for 1907. As might be expected in so distinguished a philologist, it is scientifically constructed and fulfils the first four of our requirements. But it altogether fails to satisfy the other five. Father Schmidt is strongly opposed to special characters, and uses the ordinary Roman alphabet with an elaborate system of diacritical marks, which must be difficult to read even after long practice. I need only mention here his symbol for the vowel-sound in not. This consists of the letter a with two lines and a dot underneath it. The symbol for the first vowel-sound in air is a with three dots under it. And if the diacritical marks are dispensed with we have, including the vowel-sound in far, three very different sounds all represented by the same symbol.

The system of the Rev. Mr. Knowles is specially devised for certain Indian languages, the Tibeto-Mongolian group being excluded. If Father Schmidt dislikes special characters, Mr. Knowles goes to the other extreme. For those languages alone he uses no less than thirty-two, in addition to the ordinary Roman characters. Of these, however, seven are for the peculiar Indian cerebrals, for which it is usual to employ diacritical marks, while others are needed only for transliteration, not for a phonetic representation of the spoken language. There is much to be said for the system, but it hardly meets the fourth of our requirements, and certainly fails to meet the last two.

A system of quite a different class is that of the Royal Geographical Society, which may be called national as distinguished from international, and does not, of course, hold the third of the qualifications needed. It is a rough scheme intended to prevent geographical names from being grossly mispronounced by English readers of maps, and on the whole serves its purpose very well, though it might easily be improved. Its main principles are that the vowels are pronounced as in Italian unless followed by a double consonant, when they are given the values of the English short vowels; that the consonants are pronounced as in English; and that the fricatives, such as appear in shoe, treasure, church, thin, khan, and ghazi, are represented conventionally as in English by h following another letter. This is nearly the system prescribed by the Government of Burma for Burmese, the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated letters (in the true sense) being ignored. This system is, of course, unsuitable for scientific purposes, but the Society has done much towards getting English people to use the Roman vowelsymbols with their Continental values. No one now thinks of writing the name of the Fiji Isles "Feejee", or (I should hope) of reading the name as "Faijai" when he sees it in print.

What is usually called the Hunterian system, because it was used by Sir William Hunter for his Imperial Gazetteer, is also, in the main, a combination of Italian vowels and English consonants. Though it deals only with a very simple vowel-system, and cannot therefore be applied to such languages as Burmese, it uses a discritical mark for the Italian a, and employs the plain letter a for the vowel-sound in but: an arrangement which commends itself neither to phoneticians nor to the public. It fails to satisfy the second, third, fourth, sixth, eighth, and ninth of our requirements.

The phonetic representation of Chinese, whether for scientific or for popular purposes, is even less satisfactory, the difficulties being considerably greater. The Wade system is commonly followed, though it is admitted on all sides to be unsatisfactory. It employs the fantastic combination erh to represent a single sound common in certain dialects of English, and, while using a diacritical mark for the first vowel in Ssuch'uan, also doubles the s "to fix the attention on the peculiar vowel "". It does not satisfy a single one of our requirements except the first and fifth, for it cannot be said to be economical when it uses special types with so poor a result. The truth is that it is impossible for anyone, however distinguished he may be as a Chinese scholar, to devise a satisfactory system for Chinese without a knowledge of phonetics.

Probably few people realize how very poor the Roman alphabet is in vowel-symbols. There are, of course, five symbols, which we call a, e, i, o, and u. Against these the English language has at least twelve distinct pure vowel-sounds, besides three used only in diphthongs; French has sixteen, including four nasals; German eighteen, including the same nasals; Swedish fourteen; and so on. Among Mongolian languages that most widely spoken in the British Empire, Burmese, has about a dozen vowel-sounds.

The Canton dialect of Chinese has about the same. The Naga and some other Tibeto-Burman languages have some vowel-sounds which do not appear in either of these.

Some of these sounds are no doubt but slight, though significant, variations from the sounds 1 a, e, i, o, u which the symbols we call a, e, i, o, u are usually taken to represent. Where this is the case there is something to be said for the use of diacritical marks with the existing symbols. But other sounds are altogether distinct from any of these. Such are the pure vowel-sounds in the English pat, paw, sir, and but, and the French pu, all of which occur in Mongolian languages. None of these can properly be treated as mere modifications of the sounds 1 a, e, i, o, u. They are cardinal points, just as the sounds α , e, i, o, u are. Some of them have their own modifications. For instance, the vowel-sound in pot may fairly be treated as a modification of that in paw, and the first sound in amiss as a modification of that in sir. If diacritical marks are used for the cardinal vowels you have to use further marks for these modifications, and more again for nasalization and length. The inconvenience of piling diacritical marks one on the top of another is obvious. The only remedy is to have special symbols.

Until lately special symbols have been very little used. They are employed, however, in Anglo-Saxon and modern Icelandic to distinguish the th in this from the th in thin, and the same symbols can of course be used to distinguish both from the totally different sound of th in the Hindustani tha. At first sight they appear strange, stranger than ordinary types with diacritical marks; but this is really not a serious objection. It does not require much intelligence to learn their meaning, and once they are learnt they are much easier to use and to recognize than ordinary letters with diacritical marks are.

¹ As in Italian.

It will perhaps hardly be believed that there is a system in existence which fulfils all the requirements above mentioned. Such a system, however, there is. It has existed for twenty-five years, and has stood the test of experience, though it has never until very recently been applied to Oriental languages. It is in order to introduce this system to the readers of the Journal that this paper is written. It is the system of the International Phonetic Association.

The Association was founded in 1886 by a group of French professors, who had successfully used a phonetic script in teaching the pronunciation of English. system has been accepted in essentials by most of the leading phoneticians of Europe. Its Honorary President is our own Dr. Sweet. Reader in Phonetics at Oxford; its President, Professor Viëtor of Marburg; its Vice-Presidents, Professor Jespersen of Copenhagen Dr. Edwards, one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Its Secretary in England is Mr. Daniel Jones, Lecturer on Phonetics at University College, London. Its aims and principles are explained in a pamphlet issued in French in 1898. A new pamphlet is about to be published in English, and will contain texts of Oriental languages in the Association's character. The script is used in at least four pronouncing dictionaries, and in several hundred textbooks and grammars. The special types are stocked by the Oxford, Cambridge, and London University Presses, by Messrs. Turnbull & Spears of Edinburgh, and by no less than four firms at Leipzig and one at Copenhagen.

Though formerly better known on the Continent, the science of phonetics has been made a compulsory subject in all training colleges in Scotland, and is advancing rapidly in England. In both countries the Association's system is very widely used.¹ Nearly all the universities

¹ See The Means of Training in Phonetics available for Modern Language Teachers, by L. H. Althaus, 1911.

and colleges in which phonetics are taught use that system, while most of the rest use a script invented by Sweet, which differs in some details, but can be read with ease by anyone who has learnt the Association's method.

I strongly advocate the use of the system for recording for scientific purposes languages not hitherto put into writing. But it has other and important uses. In the first place no better script can be devised for the use of tribes which have as yet invented no system of writing. The Roman alphabet has, in fact, been used with success among the Chins of Burma, who have no written language. The symbols which seem strange to us are, of course, no stranger to them than our ordinary alphabet; and it is easier to teach them a few extra symbols than, let us say, to make them remember when the letter a is pronounced 'a' as in father, 'ei' as in ache, 'è' as in many, 'æ' as in pat, 'o' as in all, 'o' as in what, or 'o' as in amiss; or when the sound 'a' is spelt with the letter r, or with the letter a, or with an a and an h, or with an a and an r, or with an a and two r's, or with an a, an r, and an e.

Even when the language has a written character of its own the script is of the greatest use, not only for dictionaries, but for teaching the language. Modern languages are being more and more taught with the aid of a phonetic script, without which it is almost impossible for the ordinary learner to acquire the correct pronunciation. It is gradually being recognized that accuracy of pronunciation is as much a test of good scholarship as a copious vocabulary or freedom from grammatical error. And the script can be used, not merely for teaching Europeans to speak an Oriental language, but for teaching English and other European languages to the native, especially if he has already used it for his own tongue. Again, there is no reason why a script based on the Roman character should not entirely supplant those of Oriental languages, as advocated just - ACE - - -

a year ago by the Rev. Mr. Knowles before the East India Association, and by me, in the case of Burmese, in a recent correspondence in the Rangoon Gazette. The case for a Roman script in Burma is peculiarly strong, the alphabet being an Indian importation utterly unsuited from the first to the language to which it was applied, and still less suitable now owing to changes in pronunciation.

Yet, if I am not misinformed, the teaching of the Roman character to the Chins mentioned above has been discontinued—probably for want of an authorized system—and instruction in written Burmese substituted. This means that the Chins will no longer be able to write to each other in their own language. Owing to the fact that the sound of so many characters is dependent on the adjacent letter, a new combination of letters is meaningless in Burmese, and the script cannot be applied to Chin. I need hardly say that the difficulty of learning to read Burmese in the Indian character is enormously greater than if a Roman script is used, even if the tribesman has not already learnt that script for his own language.

Lastly, the science of phonetics, as distinguished from the use of a phonetic script in teaching a particular language, is coming to the front. I will ask leave to make a digression on a subject of considerable practical importance—the course of studies for the Indian Civil Service. That course is intended to fit probationers for

¹ Before the script of the International Phonetic is used for this purpose it should be simplified and harmonized for the particular language (or group of languages) to which it is to be applied. The Association provides one universal set of symbols for scientific purposes, the chief of which is an accurate record of the sounds of each language, whether that language has or has not already been reduced to writing, and of each dialect. These symbols, however, will present a motley appearance, and will often contain diacritical marks which can be dispensed with under other conditions. For popular or educational purposes they should be modified, so as to be easier to read and write and to give the printed page a more pleasing appearance. This has already been done for some European languages, though in the case of English at least a further move might be made in these directions.

the work they have to do in India, and it can hardly be gainsaid that their first need is a knowledge of the principal spoken language of their province. A literary knowledge of the native language is useful and valuable, but when it is pursued, as it is sometimes pursued, to the exclusion of colloquial knowledge, so that a man who has passed difficult examinations is unable to carry on an ordinary conversation with a native, I think it will be agreed that there is something wrong with the system of examinations. Moreover, there is a large and growing body of opinion, especially among practical educationalists, in favour of imparting a knowledge of the spoken or living language first, and building up upon it a knowledge of the literary or dead language. To my mind there can be no question that this is the right order of things. The habit which we have acquired of beginning with the literary language has its origin in the fact that at one time only dead languages were thought worth teaching at all. This again led to more or less scientific methods being devised for teaching those languages, whereas scientific methods for teaching a spoken language did not exist until quite recently. They do exist now, however, and a thorough grounding in phonetics, together with the use of a phonetic script, are essential parts of the training. In the case of Indian Civil Service probationers it is not practicable to defer the acquisition of the literary or classical language entirely until a thorough knowledge of the colloquial has been attained; because, while the colloquial vocabulary and idioms are most easily learnt in India, the literary language is, for climatic and other reasons, best studied at home. Nevertheless, I venture to think that the foundation of a sound colloquial knowledge should be laid before the literary language is attacked, and that probationers should go out to India well equipped for learning to speak not only the principal language of their province but any other language which may be needed

for their work. They cannot be said to be so equipped unless they have had a training in phonetics.

The science of phonetics is so little known that it may be necessary to explain what it is. Dr. Sweet, in his *Practical Study of Languages*, says on p. 4—

"The main axiom of living philology is that all study of language must be based on phonetics.

"Phonetics is the science of speech-sounds, or, from a practical point of view, the art of pronunciation. Phonetics is to the science of language generally what mathematics is to astronomy and the physical sciences. Without it, we can neither observe nor record the simplest phenomena of language."

He goes on to show the fallacy of supposing that pronunciation can be learnt by mere imitation. "This is as if fencing could be learnt by looking at other people fencing. The movements of the tongue in speaking are even quicker and more complicated than those of the foil in fencing, and are, besides, mostly concealed from sight.

"Even in the case of children learning the sounds of their own language the process is a slow and tedious one, and the nearer the approach to maturity the greater the difficulty of acquiring new sounds. Indeed, the untrained adult seems to be often absolutely incapable of imitating an unfamiliar sound or even an unfamiliar combination of sounds. . . Even those who devote their lives to the study of languages generally fail to acquire a good pronunciation by imitation perhaps after living ten or twenty years in the country and learning to write the language with perfect ease and accuracy."

He points out that there is an organic side of phonetics, in which the actions of the organs of speech are described, and an acoustic side, in which sounds are described and classified. "It is evident that both the organic and the acoustic sense must be cultivated: we must learn both to recognize each sound by ear and to recognize the organic positions by which it is produced, this recognition being

effected by means of the accompanying muscular sensations."

In India we are put to shame by our own children, who, if they are brought up in the country, learn to speak the native languages with perfect accuracy. That we are most of us quite unable to do so is due simply to defective education—to a neglect of one of the most important faculties that nature has given us.

My suggestion is, therefore, that the science of phonetics should be made a basis for the study of modern Indian languages. I do not suggest it as the only basis; I think a comparative study of the structure of languages, with special reference to those to be acquired, would also be well repaid. But a grounding of phonetics is more necessary than anything else, and for it a phonetic script of some kind is indispensable. If such a grounding is given it is obvious that the Association's script is the one likely to be used.

To sum up, the Association's script fulfils all the requirements which it is called upon to fulfil. That is, it is based on the Roman alphabet; it follows the principle of "one sound, one symbol"; it is acceptable to civilized peoples generally; it can be used for any language; it can be read easily and rapidly when once mastered; it is elastic, and, considering the results, economical; it is widely used already; and there is a body of phonetic experts, the Council of the Association, ready to give assistance in applying and enlarging it.

It will be useful to ethnologists for recording new languages; to natives who have no written language, or an unsatisfactory script, for communicating with each other; to dictionary-makers for giving exact pronunciation; to transliterators for phonetic transcriptions of ancient texts; to teachers of languages, Asiatic or European, for instructing their pupils in the art of correct pronunciation; to teachers of the science of phonetics;

and to philologists as a record of linguistic changes. As there now seems to be a reasonable probability of its coming into general use for all these purposes, I venture to suggest that the Royal Asiatic Society should not be behindhand in adopting it for its records, and in joining with the leaders of the Association in order to perfect and enlarge it with special reference to Asiatic languages.

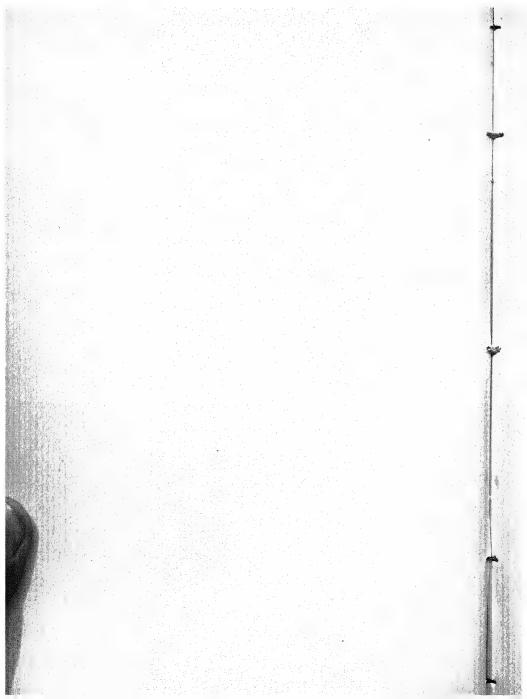
The Association's system has been recently used by me in a paper on the Tamans of Upper Burma for the Royal Anthropological Institute. The name of the Tamans for themselves and the numerals are given below as a sample of the uses to which the script may be put—

Taman	хлрtä (хлрtэ)		
1	tə		
2	nek		
3	sùm (sum)		
4	pəli		
5	məŋɔ		
6	kwa		
7	sənè (sən ϵ)		
8	pəsè (pəs ϵ)		
9	təxä (təxə)		
10	∫i		

KEY

		IXE	Σ	
A as	vowel-s	sound	in E. but.	
ä	,,	,,	E. sir.	
Э	35	,,	E. saw.	
e	,,	23	F. été.	
ù	,,	22	E. put.	
ə as			und in E. ar	nong.
a as	vowel-s	sound	in F. patte.	
è	,,	>>	E. men.	
i	25	55	F. si.	
x as	ch in G	. ach.		
ŋ as	ng in I	E. sing		
f as	sh in E	she		

The English referred to is standard southern English.



IXX

THE SECRET OF KANISHKA

By J. KENNEDY

THE interest which attaches to Kanishka is manifold. Primarily it is Buddhist. Kanishka convoked the fourth great Buddhist Council, the Council held in Kashmir, which gave consistency and official sanction to the doctrines of Northern Buddhism and led to its adoption by the Yue-che, who in their turn became ardent propagators of the faith, diffusing its light among the nomads of Central Asia and introducing it to the knowledge of the cultured Chinese. The Buddhists in the north-western corner of the Panjab preserved the memory of their royal patron; they adorned his memory with miracle and legend; they placed him by the side of Aśoka, the first great foster-father of their religion; and vague reminiscences of Kanishka lingered in this region to the time of the learned Alberuni and of Kalhana, author of the metrical Chronicles of Kashmir.

With the extinction of Buddhism in India both Aśoka and Kanishka passed into oblivion. A series of accidents has restored them to the light of day. Aśoka's inscriptions occupy a first place among Indian historical documents. Kanishka and his successors left, indeed, no official inscriptions; but they are mentioned as reigning kings in many private ones, while the abundance and variety of their coins at once attract attention.

And when the students of epigraphy and numismatics have done with Kanishka, the interest passes to the historians. Greeks, Śakas, Indo-Parthians, and the Tochāri (whom the Indians called Tushāras or Tukhāras, and the

¹ Or possibly at Jālandhar, which view has been favoured by Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 121.

Chinese Yue-che), all invaded Northern India during the centuries immediately preceding or following the Christian era. The labours of many savants have taught us much regarding them; but the enigma of Kanishka still remains unsolved. No less than eleven theories have been broached regarding his date, none of which have met with general acceptance. The dates assigned to him have ranged from 58 B.C. to 278 A.D. Now the question of his date is one of first-rate importance, for the position we assign to Kanishka and his line will determine our view of the whole history of the times. Until it is determined we cannot understand the succession of events, or rightly interpret the historical notices of the Chinese and the chance allusions of classical writers.

To add to the complexity the problem of Kanishka is connected with another problem. The so-called Vikrama era is in universal use in Northern India at the present day; so far as we can tell, its use has always been very general—practically universal—and rival eras have been rare; it commences in 58 B.C.; we know that it has nothing to do with any king Vikrama or Vikramāditya, nor is it an astronomical era. How, then, did it originate? Dr. Fleet has always maintained that it originated with Kanishka, and this was at one time Cunningham's opinion.²

So far we have regarded Kanishka only as an Indian king. But he looms largely on a much wider historical background, though not, indeed, as reigning north of the Hindu Kush—a notion which has misled many eminent scholars. It will be part of my business to show that he never reigned outside India. But he is an important figure in the history of the silk trade between China and

¹ For a list of these theories see V. A. Smith, "The Kushān Period of Indian History," JRAS., 1903, pp. 1 ff.; and R. D. Banerji, "The Scythian Period of Indian History," IA., 1903, pp. 27-8.

² Fleet, JRAS., 1907, pp. 169 ff.

Syria which sprang up in the first century B.C.; he is the central link of a chain which extends from the Chinese province of Kan-su to the Nabatæan States at the head of the Persian Gulf. The secret of Kanishka is to be found in his coinage. I propose to show that the history of the silk trade explains every peculiarity of that coinage, and compels us to assign to him a very definite limit of time, the latter half of the century preceding the Christian era. But this is not the only clue to his date. The legends on Kanishka's coins are Greek; Greek must therefore have been understood by those that used them. Thus they have a close connexion with the history of the decadence of Hellenism in the Far East. Now it can be shown on general grounds that the use of Greek as the language of daily life ceased in the regions east of the Euphrates (except in Northern Mesopotamia) in some places before, and everywhere soon after, the end of the first century A.D.; and there is neither evidence nor reason to suppose that it lingered after that time in an enclave of the Panjab. What evidence we have tells the other way. We have, therefore, a time-limit after which we cannot date Kanishka and his dynasty. There is yet a third and a more direct way of approaching the problem. We can definitely assign the other line of Kushan kings in Northern India, Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises,¹ to the latter half of the first century A.D. The dynasty of Kanishka covers a space in round figures of one hundred years. We must therefore date Kanishka either a hundred years before 50 A.D. or after 100 A.D. (strictly speaking, after 120 A.D.). The disappearance of Greek in the second century of our era forbids the latter hypothesis. Thus all three lines of investigation converge in one and the same conclusion.

¹ The strict transliteration of the Greek form of the name of this king would be Ooēmo: the Kharoshthī form is Vima. I use for easy recognition a form which has been made familiar by previous writers.

The argument now to be presented has therefore a threefold strand. I shall first try to show (1) that Kozoulo Kadphises conquered Kabul a little after 50 A.D.; and (2) that a Kushan kingdom existed in India prior to that The second part of my paper deals with the history of the silk trade from China in the first century B.C., showing that it went by way of Khotan, North-Western India, and Kābul to the head of the Persian Gulf and thence to Syria, and that all the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage can be thus explained. The third part is devoted to a brief history of the disappearance of Hellenism in the Far East. I hope hereafter to treat at length of the history of the silk trade, and also of Hellenism beyond the Euphrates. Logically these studies should precede the present one; but Kanishka is an integral figure in both; and for various reasons I have put him in the forefront, merely giving so much of my ulterior studies as will suffice to explain his position. And now my argument proceeds to show that Kanishka lived in 58 B.C.; that he must have lived then; and that he cannot have lived at any other time.

Ι

Kanishka as an Indian King

When, in the year 128 B.C., Chang-k'ien, the first Chinese official to visit Western Asia, after encountering many hardships and escaping from captivity at the hands of the Hiung-nu, arrived in Bactria, he found the Tochāri, or as the Chinese called them the Yue-che, settled in a body on the north bank of the Oxus. Their numbers were considerable; they could turn out over 100,000 horse-archers, and the Chinese estimated the total population at 400,000. They were masters of Bactria, or rather of so much of it as was not in possession of the Parthians. Like their former neighbours the Wu-sun, they had five princely

families called by the Turkish title of jab-gou, transliterated hi-heou by the Chinese. Not very long after the Tochari had settled in their new location, perhaps about the commencement of the first century B.C.,2 these five jab-gou divided the country between them (partagerent ce royaume), and established five independent principalities in the mountains of the Karakorum and the Hindu Kush. The first has been identified with Wakhan, the second with Chitral, the third lay immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or was Gandhāra itself.4 the fourth was at Parwan on the Panjshir, an affluent of the Kabul River, and the fifth was close to but distinct from Kābul. mass, however, of the Tochari remained on the north bank of the Oxus, where they had originally settled. At some subsequent period, perhaps on the establishment of the Kushan kingdom of Bactria, they split into two, one party keeping to their former seat, the other crossing to the south of the river.5

The third of these five principalities was the principality of the Kushans, and it was the only one in immediate touch

^{1 &}quot;Le titre de hi-heou (yap-heou) est un ancien titre turc qui était déjà en usage chez les Hiung-nou au deuxième siècle avant notre ère; Hirth y a reconnu le mot turc jab-gou qui est transcrit ye-hou à l'époque des T'ang" (Chavannes, Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou, p. 43, n. 3). M. Chavannes' translation of chapter exviii of the history of the Later Han (Heou Han Chou) was originally published in the T'oung-pao, sér. II, vol. viii, No. 2, pp. 153 ff. My quotations from and references to this invaluable translation are from the reprint in pamphlet form published by "E. J. Brill, Leide, 1907".

² The creation of these five principalities was apparently not known to Sze-ma-t'sien, who was born 163 B.C. and whose history comes down to 97 B.C.; at least they are not mentioned in Kingsmill's translation (or epitome) of the 123rd chapter of the Shi-ki, JRAS., January, 1882, p. 160.

³ By Marquart (*Erāshahr*, pp. 242-8), who "a institué sur ces données une discussion lumineuse qui a fixé d'une manière définitive la situation de ces cinq royaumes" (Chavannes, op. cit., n. 1, p. 44, where the whole subject is treated in full detail).

^{4 &}quot;Le Kouei-chouang serait immédiatement au Nord de Gandhāra; d'après O. Francke ce serait le Gandhāra lui-meme" (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 45. note).

⁵ Cf. Ptolemy, Geog. vii, 11, § 6, and his map of Bactriana.

with India. Like the Parthians the Kushans were merely a family or sept; they came accompanied by their kinsmen and followers, and their numbers were always small. In this respect, as well as in every other, in race, in speech, in government, and civilization, they differed toto cœlo from the Śakas, who flooded Seistān and Indo-Seythia with their own clans and the Scythic tribes they brought with them.

Despite this disparity of numbers, these princely Kushans established two great kingdoms—one purely Indian, while the other embraced both North-West India and Bactria. The first was founded by Kanishka, the second by Kozoulo Kadphises, or, as the Chinese called him, *K'ieou-tsieou-k'io.*¹ I shall first set forth the history of each, and then discuss the question of priority so far as the records I am following throw light upon the matter. I begin with Kanishka.

1. Kanishka calls himself a Kushan, and his coins represent him as a powerfully built barbarian king, clad in the loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan. The Tochāri belonged to the great Turki family, and Kanishka's features are characteristic of his race; he has the pointed cranium, the salient cheekbones, the large, long, and heavy nose, the thick beard; but, according to Ujfalvy, his features have already something Indian—a tendency which is more obvious in another Kushan, Huvishka.² For his coin legends Kanishka uses

^{1 &}quot;L'identité de K'ieou-tsieou-k'io et de Kozoulo Kadphisés, proposée d'abord par Cunningham, me parait avoir été mise hors de doute par les recherches de P. Boyer" (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 45, n. 2).

² Ujfalvy, Les Aryens, etc., p. 72. Ujfalvy's analysis of these heads is interesting. He says of Wema Kadphises, whom, following Cunningham, he puts before Kanishka: "Il est franchement brachycéphale et même hypsicéphale. A côté d'une barbe abondante mais raide, nous rencontrons un facies grossier, un nez long, gros et carré, et le bas de la figure qui avance; les yeux paraissent légèrement bridés et les pommettes sont saillantes. Mais c'est surtout le nez qui est caractéristique par la place énorme qu'il occupe par rapport au reste du visage. Kanerkés (80 ans après J.C.) et Houerkés (120 ans après J.C.) présentent toujours le même type; cependant les traits sont affinés, le corps s'est aminci, ce

Greek, and he borrows titles from all the peoples with whom the Tochāri had come into contact: the "son of heaven" from the Chinese, "king of kings" from the Parthians, "sovereign lord and king" from the Hindus.¹ The extent of his kingdom is incidentally shown by the private inscriptions of his subjects. The "epigraphic records . . . give us contemporaneous notices of him, with dates, not only from Mathurā and from Sārnāth (close to Benares) towards the east, but also from Suē-Vihār near Bahāwalpūr on the north of Sind, from Māṇikiāla near Rāwalpiṇḍi in the Panjāb, and from Zeda in the Yusufzai country, beyond the Indus." These inscriptions range from the year 3 to the year 11, or if we include the Māṇikiāla inscription,³ to the year 18, of an unspecified era.⁴ He built the celebrated stūpa at Peshāwar, and

n'est plus la grossière stature taillée à coup de hache de Kadphisés II." Then follows a description of a particular coin representing Huvishka: "néanmoins, la figure de ce roi présente déjà un certain air hindou." In the life of Seng-houei (260 a.d.) translated by Chavannes we have the portrait of a Sogdian, whom I take to be a Yue-che: "c'était un homme mince et long, noir et maigre; dans ses yeux, le blanc dominait et l'iris était jaune." Clearly an Indian figure, only somewhat darker. But Seng-houei's family had been settled for several generations in India, and his father had migrated as a merchant to Tonkin. The Yue-che who settled in India appear to have become rapidly Hinduized, differing from the Hindus in look much as the Goanese do at the present day.

¹ Devaputra, Shaonano Shao, Mahārāja Rājātirāja, BACIΛΕΥC BACIΛΕWN.

 2 Fleet, JRAS., 1907, p. 171: but I understand that he would now omit the Māṇikiāla inscription from the category of "contemporaneous" notices.

³ But see the preceding note.

⁴ R. D. Banerji ("The Scythian Period of Indian History," IA., 1908, p. 59) translates the inscription from Ara, now in the Lahore Museum, thus: "In the year forty-one, 41, on the fifth day of the month of Caitra, in the reign of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kanişka, the son of Vasiṣpa." Vogel says: "I do not attempt to explain the difficulty offered by the Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Ara, which is dated in the year 41 and in the reign of one Kanişka, the son of Vasiṣpa" (JRAS., 1910, p. 1314). On p. 1313 he says: "The latest known record dated in the reign of Kanişka is found on the sculptured slab in the British Museum edited by Professor Lüders: it bears the year 10. I am aware

established the town of Kanishkapura in Kashmir, while several monasteries of that country claimed him for their founder. He must therefore have been ruler, not only of his ancestral home Gandhāra and of Kashmir, with which his name is so intimately connected, but also of all North-Western India as far as Sind in the south and Benares in the east. His coins, notable for their abundance and their legends, are even more widely distributed. They are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipūr and Gōrakhpūr; they are also often found in countries outside of India altogether; and stray coins of Kanishka have been dug up in Scandinavia and Wales.

After Kanishka came Vāsishka, whose identity was first established by Dr. Fleet.¹ Of him we know little, for only two inscriptions—one from the neighbourhood of Mathurā dated in the year 24, the other from Sāñchi in the year 28 of the same unspecified era—can be ascribed with certainty to his reign.² Moreover, none of his coins, if he issued any, have been identified. But Kalhaṇa, in his metrical chronicles of Kashmir, selects him for especial mention: "That wise king, Juṣka, who built Juṣkapura with its Vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura." ³

The last of the Kushans proper of this line was Huvishka. At least a dozen inscriptions, Buddhist and Jain, mention him, but with two exceptions all come from

that the Manikyālā inscription of the year 18 contains the name of Kaniska, but if we adopt the latest reading of this difficult document by Professor Lüders, it would not bear out that it belongs to the reign of that king." It is not clear how he thus came to cite the year 10 as the latest date for Kanishka: the Suē-Vihār inscription (IA., x, 326; xi, 128) and the Zeda inscription (JA., 1890, pt. i, p. 140) are dated in his reign and in the year 11. For Professor Lüders' rendering of the Mānikiāla inscription, v. JRAS., 1909, pp. 645 ff.

¹ Fleet, "A hitherto unrecognised Kushan King": JRAS., 1903, p. 325.

² Ibid., and Vogel, "Vāsiṣka, the Kuṣana": JRAS., 1910, p. 1313.

³ Rājataranginī, bk. i, 169; tr. Stein. Kalhana (verse 168) has the name Kanishka in that same form: for Huvishka he has Hushka, and for Vāsishka, Jushka.

Mathurā, and they range from the year 33 to the year 60 of the same unspecified era. Of the two exceptional inscriptions, one is from Ālikā: the other is an inscription on a votive vase from a stūpa at or near Wardak, some forty or fifty miles south-west of Kābul. The significance of this find I shall discuss hereafter. Like his predecessors, Huvishka is said to have founded a town named after himself, and also mathas and vihāras in Kashmir.

We have, therefore, three powerful Kushan sovereigns, foreigners, ruling over the Panjab and a great part of Northern India for some sixty years; possibly in the case of Huvishka temporarily even over part of Kābul. Then there comes a break. The Sakas push up the Indus valley, and we have a Scythic king Moga at Taxila, with a record dated in the year 78, and Scythic satraps at Mathurā,¹ for one of whom we have a date in the year 72. Finally, from the year 80 to the year 98 we have a partial revival of the Kushan kingdom by Bazdeo or Vāsudeva, who, despite his Hindu name, calls himself a Kushan on his coins, and imitates the Kushan coinage. The inscriptions which mention him are from Mathura, but his gold coins are found all over the north-west and as far as Ali Masjid. His rule extended apparently over the Eastern Panjab and no farther. With him the Kanishka line comes to an end.

The memory of this ephemeral dynasty of foreigners, which lasted for barely one hundred years, and flourished for some sixty only, must have speedily passed into oblivion had it not been for the fame of Kanishka himself and his patronage of Buddhism. Buddhists and Jains abounded in the north-west of India even in the days of Alexander. Kashmir and the country bordering on the Himālayan foothills were the home of Tantric rites; and

¹ Fleet, "Moga, Maues, and Vonones": JRAS., 1907, p. 1013. Dr. Fleet's conclusions are borne out, I think, by general considerations drawn from the history of the Sakas.

the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism must have developed itself in those regions at an early date, if, indeed, it was not in many respects anterior to Buddha. Kanishka convoked the Council which gave it official authority and a sacred canon, and his name was intimately connected with the glories of the Council. Although a foreigner, he was gratefully remembered in Gandhāra and Kashmir as long as Buddhism survived; and legends, mostly marvellous, gathered round his name.¹ The elements of history which they contain are not inconsistent with the testimony of the inscriptions and the coins. They represent Kanishka as a barbarian king, powerful and cruel, who conquered India and became master of Jambudvīpa: they celebrate his successful invasion of Magadha, his conversion to Buddhism, and his convocation of the Council of Kashmir. The Parthians felt the vigour of his onslaught and the weight of his arms; in old age he led his army against the North, which alone remained unsubdued, and he died in an attempt to cross the Ts'ong-ling Mountains, the range between Gandhāra and Khotan.2 The Chinese pilgrim Ou'kong in the eighth century A.D. and Alberuni in the eleventh say that the Turushka 3 kings of Gandhara claimed him (perhaps wrongly) as the founder of their

¹ The legends regarding Kanishka are chiefly to be found in Hiuen Tsiang and in S. Lévi, "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., 1896, pt. ii, pp. 444 ff., and JA., 1897, pt. i, pp. 5 ff. The notices which M. Lévi has collected are for the most part earlier than Hiuen Tsiang. The earliest mention of Kanishka given by M. Lévi is in a Chinese translation of 383 A.D.

² I know of no evidence whatever to show that Kanishka ever ruled outside the borders of India; indeed, the legends expressly say that he was master of the south and east, but not of the north. It is vain, therefore, to seek for him a place in the history of Bactria, an error which has misled even so eminent a scholar and critic as M. Boyer.

³ It is scarcely necessary to say that Kanishka, being a Kushan, was a Tushāra, but not a Turk. The Tochāri were of the great Turki race, but perfectly distinct from their enemies the Hiung-nu, a remnant of whom lived in the Altai Mountains, and, revolting from their masters the Sien-pi, first became famous as Turks in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era.

dynasty, and he and his successors were remembered gratefully, if vaguely, in the annals of Kashmir.

2. The rule of Kanishka and his colleagues was shortlived; it was confined to Northern India; and except for its Buddhist proclivities, it was devoid of any permanent influence on the history of the country or the constituent elements of the population. But there was another Kushan kingdom, an empire which extended from the Pamirs to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, and which lasted for centuries until it was overthrown by the White Huns. The fame of the Kushan land reached the ears of the Romans and the Armenians, and in the seventh century A.D. the petty kings of Fergana and Sogdiana still continued to boast of their Kushan lineage. The founder of this kingdom calls himself on his coins Kozoulo Kadphises, a name which the Chinese have transliterated by K'ieou-tsieou-k'io. Of him and his son and successor, Wema Kadphises, the annals of the Later Han (25-220 A.D.) give a nearly contemporary history.

Fan Ye, the author of these annals (died 445 A.D.). after a few lines regarding the Yue-che (who had been fully described by previous writers), and after giving a list of their principalities, in order to correct a mistake of his predecessor, Pan-ku (died 92 A.D.), proceeds thus: "More than a hundred years after the establishment of these principalities the hi-heou of the Kouei-chouang (Kushans), K'ieou-tsieou-k'io by name, attacked and overcame the other four hi-heou; he made himself a king; the name of his kingdom was Kouei-chouang (Kushan). He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia), and took possession of the kingdom of Kao-fou (Kābul); moreover, he triumphed over Pouta (the location of which is not known) and Ki-pin (Kashmir), and became complete master of (posséda entièrement) these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died when over 80 years of age. His son Yen-kao-tchen (Wema

¹ Ngan-si = Arsak; v. Chavannes, op. cit., p. 31, n. 1.

Kadphises) succeeded him as king. He in his turn conquered Tien-tchou (India), and appointed a regent to govern it. From this time the Yue-che became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kouei-chouang (Kushan) after their king,¹ but the Han call them Ta Yue-che, preserving their ancient appellation." ¹ I shall quote three more passages from this history which throw further light on these events.

Describing Kao-fou or Kābul, Fan Ye says that Pan-ku, the historian of the Elder Han, was wrong in enumerating Kābul among the five Yue-che principalities. He implies that Pan-ku, knowing the Yue-che to be masters of Kābul in his day, had erroneously attributed its conquest to the period of which he was treating, viz. the first century B.C. Fan Ye proceeds thus: "The people of Kābul were not always subject to the same masters; whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-tchou (India), Ki-pin (Kashmir), or Ngan-si (Parthia) became powerful, it brought Kābul into subjection (il s'emparait d'eux). When it grew weak it lost Kābul. But Kābul never depended on the Yue-che. The history of the (Elder) Han is therefore in error when it makes Kābul one of the five hi-heou. Later (plus tard) Kābul fell under the rule of Parthia; and it was not until the Yue-che triumphed over the Parthians that they came for the first time into possession of Kābul."3

The two remaining passages relate the conquest of India. Fan Ye begins with a general description of the country,

The Armenians gave the name of Kushan to the country north of the Paropamisus and Elburz ranges as far almost as the Caspian (Moses of Khorene, trad. Française par P. C. de Vaillant de Florival, bk. ii, c. 2, 67, pp. 141, 308). Margiana was included in it (Am. Marcellinus, xxiii, 6). Am. Marcellinus calls the kings Bactrians, and says that many nations were subject to them, of whom the Tochāri were the bravest and most powerful: "Gentes iisdem Bactrianis obediunt plures quas exsuperant Tochari."

² Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 45-6. ³ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 46.

which I shall abbreviate. "Tien-chou or Shen-tou, for both names are used, lies on the banks of a great river; the country is low-lying, hot, and damp. The manners of the people resemble those of the Hiung-nu." Here we evidently have the Indus Valley and Indo-Scythia—the India which was first known to the Chinese, and which alone is described by Pan-ku in his history of the Elder Han. Fan Ye next goes on to say that "if you start from the kingdom of Kābul and direct your steps south-west, you arrive at the western sea; if you go eastwards, you come to Pan-ki" (possibly Burmah or Annam, says Chavannes); "all these countries are included in Shen-tou." To understand this statement we must remember that not only was Kābul part of India,1 but that the people of Arachosia were called White Indians according to Isidore.² Fan Ye then goes on: "Shen-tou has several hundred towns (besides the capital), a governor over each; there are also several dozen kingdoms (besides the principal kingdom); and in each kingdom a king. Although there are slight differences between these kingdoms, all bear the name of Shen-tou. At this time (apparently, says Chavannes, at the time of Pan Yong, c. 125 A.D., of whom more hereafter) all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-che; the Yue-che had killed the king, and installed a regent to administer the government." 3 We shall see presently that this refers to the conquest of the Panjāb and the country as far as the Jamnā.

The last passage I shall quote evidently refers to the kingdom of Magadha, although the Indian equivalents of the various names the Chinese give it and its capital have not yet been discovered. "Tong-li," says Fan Ye, "was over 3,000 li south-east of Tien-chou or Shen-tou, the country

¹ The Indians who fought in the army of Darius at Arbela were from Afghanistan; they are described as being either coterminous with the Bactrians or mountaineers.

² Mans. Parth.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

we have already described; it was a great kingdom, its produce and its climate were like that of *T'ien-chou*. There were several dozens of towns of the first rank; the chief of each had the title of king. The Yue-che had attacked this kingdom and reduced it to subjection (*Les Ta Yue-tche attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent*)." ¹

So much for our text; now for the commentary.

1. In the first place Fan Ye enables us to assign Kieoutsieou-kio or Kozoulo Kadphises and his son to the first century A.D. "I have confined myself," says the historian of the Later Han, "to the events which happened in the period Kien-won (25-55 A.D.) or which were posterior to that period." As to his materials, he says that he took them from the report drawn up by Pan Yong towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Ngan (107-26 A.D.).2 The century with which Fan Ye is dealing, 25-125 A.D., comprises the career both of Kozoulo Kadphises and of his son Wema Kadphises. Moreover, we have seen that Fan Ye corrects his predecessor Pan-ku for introducing into the history of the Elder Han (206 B.C. to 9 A.D.) events which occurred afterwards. The conquest of Kābul is the event Fan Ye had in mind. Now Pan-ku died in 92 A.D.; consequently Kozoulo Kadphises' conquest of Kābul must be dated after 25 A.D. and before 92 A.D. These arguments propounded by MM. Francke and Chavannes 3 are confirmed

¹ Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 48-9.

² Fan Ye says (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 22): "Les notices que Pankou a écrites sur la configuration et les mœurs (d'Occident) se trouvent détaillées et complétés dans le livre (des Han Antérieurs); maintenant j'ai choisi ce que dans les événements de la période Kien-won (25-55 A.D.) ou postérieurs à cette période, était différent de ce qui a été déjà dit auparavant, et j'en ai composé le chapitre sur les pays d'Occident: tous ces faits ont été relatés de Pan Yong à la fin du règne de l'empereur Ngan (107-25 A.D.)." Afterwards Fan Ye tells us that some of his remarks about India were taken verbatim from Pan Yong. I may explain that Pan Yong was the son of the great Chinese general Pan-Tch'ao, who restored Chinese authority throughout the West, and himself had served in the Western regions.

³ Chavannes, op. cit., p. 45, n. 1.

by Indian numismatics. Professor Rapson says: "Two points at least seem clear: (1) the head on the Kusana copper coins bearing the name Kozola Kadaphes is directly imitated from the head of Augustus; (2) the gold coinage of the Kusanas follows a weight-standard identical with the Roman." 1

2. But I think it is possible to date the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises with much greater precision. Fan Ye tells us that Kozoulo Kadphises began his career by reducing the four other Tochari principalities, and thereupon revived the dignity of king, which had apparently fallen into abeyance among the Tochāri.2 Being now secure of the devotion of his tribe, he turned his arms against the Parthians, who up to this time had held the greater part of the open country of Bactria. During the first half century A.D. the Parthians, who had not long before been at the summit of their power, were very open to attack; they were distracted by the quarrels and murders of the royal family, revolts were frequent, anarchy was general, and from 40 to 45 A.D. Gotarzes and Vardanes I carried on a civil war, in which Scythians were engaged as mercenaries or allies. The time was favourable to Kozoulo's enterprise, and he made himself master of Bactria and Margiana and the country as far as the Hyrcanians and Dahæ: so we must suppose, since these lands were always reckoned in the Kushan dominions. The conquest of Kābul was the last of Kozoulo's exploits; "it was only," says Fan Ye, "when the Yue-che had

¹ Grundriss: "Indian Coins," by E. J. Rapson, p. 4. V. Smith to the same effect, JRAS., 1903, pp. 4-5; but see my remarks on the subject of the aurei in Part II.

² None of Kozoulo Kadphises' rivals appear to have claimed the dignity, and the bulk of the Tochāri tribe which pastured its flocks by the Oxus banks submitted to Kozoulo Kadphises without any opposition. The last member of the old royal house whom we hear of is a queen; with her perhaps the royalty became insignificant or extinct. But our knowledge of Seythian history in Turkestan in the first century B.c. is almost nil.

triumphed over Ngan-si (Parthia) that for the first time they took possession of Kābul." But from whom did Kozoulo Kadphises take it? From the Parthians, says Fan Ye. But the Arsacids never held Kābul.¹ Fan Ye's Parthians must therefore be the Indo-Parthians, and as the only Indo-Parthian who ever ruled in Kābul was Gondophernes,² and the date of Gondophernes is known, we have here a clear note of time.3 We know, moreover, from the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription that in the year 103 of "the continuous era",4 that is in 46 A.D., Gondophernes was master of the lower Indus valley, and commanded the communications between Kābul and Kashmir. conquest of these countries by Kozoulo Kadphises must therefore be posterior to 46 A.D. On the other hand, it must have taken place either during Gondophernes' lifetime or shortly after his death. We know from the Periplus that soon after this event the power of the Indo-Parthians had greatly declined, a decline which must

¹ The map given in Wroth's Catalogue of the Parthian coins (Greek) in the British Museum shows the extent of the Parthian dominions both in Bactria and west of Kābul. St. Thomas was the apostle of the Parthians, but his visit to Gondophernes the Indo-Parthian was the subject of the legend. Thus the word Parthian was used in a much wider sense than Arsacid.

² For Gondophernes and Kābul, v. Cunningham, ASI., vol. ii, p. 59, and "Coins of the Sakas", Class B, p. 20 (*Num. Chron.*, ser. III, vol. x, pp. 105 ff.).

I assume (1) that the attribution of Gondophernes to the first half-century of the Christian era is certain; (2) that the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription is to be calculated from 58 g.c.; (3) that M. Boyer has proved beyond reasonable doubt that the Western Kṣatrapas, presumably Nahapāna, instituted the Ṣaka era. Reams have been written regarding all three subjects, but I think that the above commands the general consensus of scholars. The reasons in support of each proposition are strong, and I have never seen anything of weight to the contrary. For M. Boyer's article v. JA., 1897, ii, pp. 120 ff. For the identity of the Mambanos of the Periplus and Nahapāna, v. M. Boyer, op. cit., pp. 134-8, and Fleet, JRAS., 1907, p. 1043.

⁴ The words "the continuous era" are in accordance with M. Senart's reading and translation of the text; JA., 1890, pt. i, p. 123.

be attributed in part to the campaigns of the Kushan monarch. We have therefore both an anterior and a posterior limit of time for the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises, and we shall perhaps not greatly err if we attribute it to the year (circa) 60 A.D.

3. Kozoulo Kadphises must have been elderly when he conquered Kābul; he died when he was over 80, and he was succeeded by his son Wema Kadphises. Our notices of Wema Kadphises 1 are very brief, but we learn that he conquered Tien-chou (India) and appointed a viceroy to govern it. The Chinese applied the term Tien-chou in a very vague fashion; indeed, we are told that there were five Tien-chou. With Pan-ku and Fan Ye it usually means the Indus Valley; but in this case it is clearly distinguished and means the Eastern Panjāb from the Jhelam River to the Jamna. Ptolemy, writing a few years after Pan Yong and using native sources, calls it the kingdom of the Kaspeiraioi or Kashmiris; he makes it to extend from the Bidaspa and Euthymedia (Euthydemia) to Mathurā and the Jamnā.² At the time when Pan Yong made his report — say 120 A.D. — the country was governed by a Kushan deputy; at some subsequent period it became independent, and would appear to have been both powerful and famous. There

² Ptolemy, Geog., vii, §§ 47-50; cf. McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 124 ff.

¹ Wema Kadphises was a very powerful prince according to Fan Ye. He is probably the Yue-che prince referred to in Fan Ye's biography of Pan-Tch'ao (32-102 A.D.), translated by M. Chavannes from the seventyseventh chapter of the History of the Later Han (T'oung-pao, ser. II, vol. vii, No. 2; reprint by Brill, Leiden, 1906). Before 88 A.D. the Yue-che were friendly to the Chinese, and had given them important aid in the attack on Turfan; they sent presents in 88 A.D. to the Court of China, and asked for a Chinese princess in marriage. Pan-Tch'ao stopped the embassy, and two years later (in 90 A.D.) the Yue-che prince sent his viceroy Sie with 70,000 men across the Pamirs to attack Pan-Tch'ao. Pan-Tch'ao devastated the country, and Sie, unable to support his army, was glad to make a safe retreat. Peace was restored, but in 114-16 the Yue-che again sent an army across the Pamirs to support a claimant to the throne of Kashgar.

are four "sons of heaven", says a Chinese translator in the year 392 A.D.: there is the Chinese emperor, "son of heaven" of the Tsin (i.e., says M. Lévi, of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A.D.); in the south there is the "son of heaven" of Tien-chou (India), famous for its elephants; in the west the "son of heaven" of the Romans; and in the north-west the "son of heaven" of the Yue-che, rich in horses.1 As the title "son of heaven", borrowed from the Chinese, was assumed only by the Yue-che among the foreign invaders of India, we have here sufficient evidence to show that the Tochari viceroys not only made themselves independent, but established a powerful and famous kingdom—a kingdom which lasted until the Guptas overthrew it in the fourth century A.D. The kingdom of Magadha acknowledged its supremacy; its court must have maintained some kind of barbaric splendour, and as long as it existed the Yue-che continued their missionary efforts; it was only after its downfall that Chinese pilgrims visited India. But its coinage, which follows that of Vasudeva in an ignorant fashion, and also shows traces of Sassanian influence, proves the barbarism of the foreigners; nor did the Tochari in India leave any permanent mark of their rule on the populations they governed. One thing, however, is clear: from the middle of the first century of our era to the middle of the fourth century, the whole of Northern India was under the rule of foreigners. What the Mahākshatrapas of Surāshtra do not hold, the Tochāri hold; and Magadha, the only

[&]quot;Dans le Jambudvīpa il y a . . . 4 fils du ciel. A l'est il y a le Fils du Ciel des Tsin; la population y est très prospère. Au sud il y a le Fils du Ciel du royaume T'ien-tchou (Inde); la terre produit beaucoup d'éléphants renommés. A l'ouest il y a le Fils du Ciel de Ta-Tsin (l'empire Romain); la terre produit de l'or, de l'argent, des pierres précieuses en abondance. Au nord-ouest il y a le Fils du Ciel des Yue-tchi; la terre produit beaucoup de bons chevaux" (S. Lévi, "Note sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., neuv. sér., vol. ix, pt. i, p. 24, note, 1897). The Turcoman horses were famous in antiquity; Alexander took them for remounts for his cavalry, and in India they are famous still.

semi-independent kingdom of importance, acknowledges its dependence on its Tochāri suzerains.

I have traced at length the history of the kingdom of Kanishka, as well as of the great Kushan kingdom founded by Kozoulo Kadphises, and related by the historian of the Later Han (25-220 A.D.). Were the two kingdoms independent of each other? Was Kanishka the first Yue-che viceroy of the Panjāb who made himself a king? If so, it must have been after the date of Pan Yong's report, i.e. after 120 A.D.; and as his coins and those of his successors bear only Greek legends, Greek must have been spoken in the Panjab throughout the second century of our era. Or are we to put Kanishka and his line before the conquest of Kābul and Kashmir by Kozoulo Kadphises? The line of Kanishka lasted for 100 years, and as we have dated the conquests of Kozoulo Kadphises in the middle of the first century A.D. we must carry Kanishka back to the middle of the preceding century. On general grounds the answer is not doubtful, but apart from these general considerations we have quite sufficient evidence to give the priority to Kanishka.

1. A passage of a Buddhist work, the Samyuktāgama, quoted in a Chinese compilation of the fifth—sixth century A.D., mentions four nations as reigning simultaneously: the Yavanas in the north (i.e. in Kābul), the Śakas in the south (Indo-Scythia), the Pahlavas in the west (Asia and Arachosia), and the Tushāras in the east.¹ There must therefore have been a Tushāra or Kushan kingdom in the Panjāb and at Mathurā when Greek princes reigned in Kābul. But we have seen that Kozoulo Kadphises took Kābul, not from the Greeks, but from the Indo-Parthians, and in this enterprise Hermæus, the last

¹ S. Lévi, "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes," JA., 1897, pt. i, p. 10, note : "Chez les bouddhistes, un passage du Samyuktāgama, cité dans une compilation chinoise du v-vie siècle—prédit la domination simultanée des Ye-po-no (Yavanas) au nord, des Che-kia (Sakas) au sud, des Po-la-p'o (Pahlavas) à l'ouest, des Teon-cha-lo (Tuṣāras) à l'est."

of the Greek princelings of Kābul, whose name he associates with his own, was his friend and ally. Clearly, then, a Kushan kingdom existed in India before the time of Kozoulo Kadphises, that is to say, before the middle of the first century of our era.

And here I shall make a short digression. Fan Ye has told us that Tien-chou, Ki-pin, and Ngan-si had successively attempted to conquer Kābul, but that in the end Ngan-si (Parthia) held it. Ngan-si, as we have seen, means Gondophernes; does Ki-pin (Kashmir) mean Huvishka? It is true that Fan Ye says the Yue-che never held Kābul. Permanently they never held it. But the Wardak vase would certainly suggest that it was, in part at least, temporarily occupied by Huvishka. Pan-ku may not, therefore, have been altogether wrong in making Kābul subject to the Yue-che, while Fan Ye, who ignores Kanishka and his successors altogether, would be ignorant of the fact. Huvishka's occupation was certainly very brief; it must have occurred just before the commencement of the Christian era; and it would appear to have ushered in the downfall of the Greeks.

2. Pan-ku, describing Ki-pin (Kashmir) in the first century B.C., says that it had a gold and silver currency, which circulated not only in Ki-pin but in Woo-yih-shan-li (Asia and Western Arachosia). The Kushans alone of all the Indian monarchs of the time struck a gold coinage; therefore there must have been Kushan kings in Kashmir in the first century B.C. It is of course true that the Kushans issued no silver coins, and for obvious reasons. Their gold coinage was meant for purposes of foreign trade; the silver coinage already in circulation met all local wants. We must suppose that the silver coins of the

¹ A. Wylie, "Notes on the Western Regions, etc.": Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. x, pp. 35, 39, 1880. According to Pan-ku, Woo-yih-shan-li bordered on Ki-pin; the currency in both countries was the same; the Ki-pin currency therefore obtained throughout the whole region from Kashmir to Herat.

Greek and Indo-Scythic princes which had circulated in the Panjāb before Kushan times continued to circulate under the Kushans, precisely as the coins of Menander and Apollodotus circulated in the bazars of Barygaza at a later date. Indeed, they must have done so, since the local medium of exchange was necessarily silver. If, then, local chiefs in Kushan times struck silver coins, they would naturally copy the local type of silver coinage. If, for instance, Rājūvula imitated the coinage of Strato II, it follows that the coins of Strato II were common in the bazars of Mathurā, but it does not necessarily follow that Rājūvula succeeded Strato II immediately in point of time.

The evidence I have adduced is in my opinion sufficient by itself to warrant the attribution of Kanishka and his Kushans to the first century B.C. But if so, two inferences necessarily follow—

1. Either Kanishka is Pan-ku's Yin-mŭh-foo, or Yin-mŭh-foo was Kanishka's viceroy in Kashmir. The story of Yin-mŭh-foo is well known, and I shall not repeat it.⁸ I need only point out that the years of Yin-mŭh-foo agree

¹ In the same way the gold daries of the Achemenids continued to circulate in Asia Minor for a hundred years after Alexander (Reinach, L'histoire par les Monnaies, 1902, p. 59).

² Cunningham has suggested that the gold daries of the Achemenids were still in circulation; but this is not only a pure guess, it is contradicted by the scarcity of gold before Kanishka's time, as we shall presently see. The real difficulty lies in Pan-ku's description of the coins in circulation. He says that both in Ki-pin and Woo-yih-shan-li the coins represented a horseman on one side and a man's head on the other. The horseman type shows at once that Pan-ku is talking of the silver Saka or Indo-Parthian coinage, but the man's head does not apparently occur except on the copper coins of the nameless king. Possibly a bust is meant. A similar difficulty occurs in Pan-ku's description of the Parthian coinage, which, he says, has the king's head on the obverse and a woman's on the reverse. This is true only of the brief reign of Phraataces and Musa (2 B.C. - 4 A.D.) and on some rare bronze coins of Gotarzes (40-51 A.D.). Pan-ku must in each case have seen or heard of only some exceptional specimens, but he could not be mistaken as to the metals used in the currency.

³ For the story of Yin-muh-foo see Wylie's translation of Pan-ku (Journ. Anthrop. Inst., 1880, p. 36).

with those of Kanishka. Yin-muh-foo sent an embassy to the emperor Yuen-te (48–32 B.C.), and he had had a considerable history before he sent that embassy. Another embassy came from Ki-pin to China in the reign of the emperor Ching-te (32–7 B.C.), but apparently by this time Yin-muh-foo was dead. The date of that embassy is not given, but if it came, let us say, from Huvishka, about the beginning of his reign, it would suit the exigencies of the case excellently well. The riddle, however, is one which only a Sinologist can solve.

2. It further follows that the so-called Vikrama era originated with Kanishka. The years of Kanishka and his successors are dated in an unspecified era. We have seen that the Tushāras ruled in Northern India from, say, 58 B.C. to about 340 A.D., when Samudragupta put an end to them. The interval between Vāsudeva and the first of Wema Kadphises' viceroys was very short, and these viceroys would naturally continue the reckoning they found in vogue. But this is not, I think, a sufficient explanation. The fact is that 58 B.C. marks the date of the Buddhist Council of Kashmir. Most eras of long

We have an inscription of the year 122 which mentions a Kushan king whose name is lost (Cunningham, ASI., v, p. 61). Dr. Fleet has furnished me with the following list of inscriptions with dates higher than the year 100:- "Kharōshthī inscriptions. Year 103 (Takht-i-Bahāi inscription of Gondophernes): Cunningham, ASI., v, p. 59; Senart in JA., 1890, pt. i, p. 123 (also Fleet, JRAS., 1905, p. 229). Year 111: R. D. Banerji, IA., 1908, p. 64. Year 113: ibid., p. 66. Year 122: Cunningham, ASI., v, p. 61, pl. xvi; certainly seems to mention a 'great king, the Gushana . . . 'whose name is lost. (a) Year 318: Senart, JA., 1899, pt. i, p. 528; see also Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 251. (b) Year 384: Bühler, IA., 20, 394. But the year is wrongly given there as 274. Senart, I think, showed somewhere that it is 384. See also Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 251. (c) Year 399: Vogel in Marshall's Report for 1903-4, p. 255. The year is unmistakably 399, not 179 (or 197) as read there. From Mathura we have the curious Brāhmī Jain (not Kharōshthī) inscription of the year 299, which omits to give the king's name (IA., 1908, p. 34). This is the only known record in the third century of the era. It is a peculiar record in many respects." For other lists of dated inscriptions see V. Smith, JRAS., 1903, pp. 8 ff.; R. D. Banerji, IA., 1908, pp. 35, 67.

duration are either astronomical or religious in their inception; in both cases they are required either by the astronomers or the priests for practical purposes. It is rare to meet with any regnal era which survived the dynasty that started it; the Seleucidan is the only one which occurs to me, and it was kept alive only among certain classes and under exceptional circumstances. Now the era started by Kanishka was not only a regnal but a religious one; it marks the date of Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism and the convocation of the Council, two events which followed the one immediately upon the other. "Exactly 400 years," says Hiuen Tsiang, "after the death of the Buddha Kanishka became sovereign of all Jambudvipa, but he did not believe in Karma, and he treated Buddhism with contumely"; 1 and thereupon he relates the miracle of Kanishka's conversion. When Hiuen Tsiang comes to describe the Buddhist Council, he dates it in the same way. "Our pilgrim (Yuan-Chuang) next proceeds to relate the circumstances connected with the great council summoned by Kanishka. The king of Gandhara, Yuan-chuang tells us, in the four hundredth year after the decease of Buddha, was a great and powerful sovereign whose sway extended to many peoples. In his leisure hours he studied the Buddhist scriptures, having a monk every day in the palace to give him instruction. But as the Brethren taught him different and contradictory interpretations, owing to conflicting tenets of sectarians, the king fell into a state of hopeless uncertainty," and applied to the Venerable Pārśva, by whose advice, as Hiuen Tsiang goes

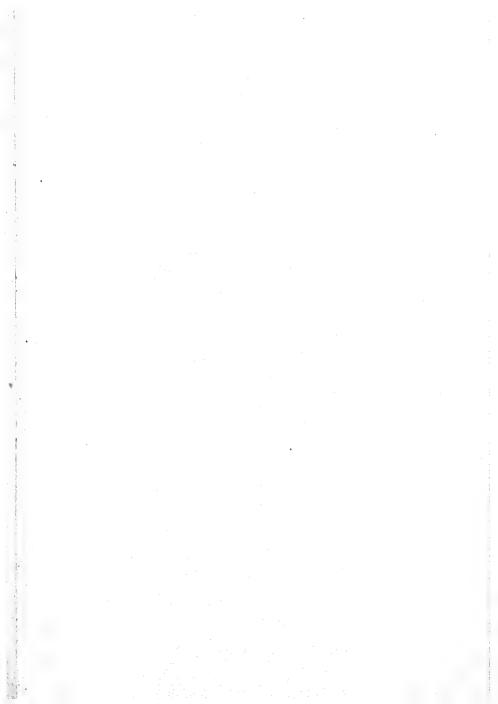
¹ T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (OTF.), vol. i, p. 203. The word "exactly" is not found in the translations by Julien and Beal; and Dr. Fleet, placing the death of Buddha in 483 B.c. and the beginning of the reign of Kanishka in 58 B.c., has taken the 400 as a statement in round numbers for 425 (compare JRAS., 1906, p. 991). On my view of the matter, the 400 may mean really 400, whether there is or is not anything in the original text to justify the "exactly", or it may mean a number much closer to 400 than 425 is.

on to say, he convoked the Council.1 Now it is evident that before he convoked the Council he must have conquered Jambudvipa, a feat which required a considerable time; and next that as a foreigner and a Mleccha his rule was illegitimate. It was the convocation and patronage of the Council which made him and his line legitimate kings.² He naturally dated his regnal years from it. On the other hand, the Buddhists would continue to use the era, once it was started, without reference to the reigning monarch. Hence its wide diffusion, its perpetuation, and its namelessness. But these are precisely the characteristics of the numerous inscriptions of early date which are ascribed to this era. In the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription it is merely called "the continuous era"; it was never connected in the popular mind even at that early period with any particular king; it was at once nameless and general. Although started by a king, it was, strictly speaking, not a regnal but a religious era: the era of the Buddhists. And thus, by the irony of fate, the Hindus of to-day preserve the memory and celebrate the birth of an heretical and hostile sect.

² See Kalhana's remark, RT., bk. i, p. 170 (Stein's trans.).

(To be continued.)

¹ T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, vol. i, pp. 270-1. The Kashmiri arhat who discovered Pāṇini in his new incarnation 500 years after Buddha's death (Watters, op. cit., i, p. 222) does not necessarily contradict this, although he explains that having once been a bat, and allowed himself benevolently to be burnt to death, he had in a subsequent incarnation attended the great Council. An arhat's longevity is a matter of taste. But it is evident that Hiuen Tsiang dated the conversion of Kanishka, the convocation of the Council, and the reign of Kanishka all in the same year.



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IIXX

SOME TALAING INSCRIPTIONS ON GLAZED TILES

By C. O. BLAGDEN

N the Indian Antiquary for December, 1893 (vol. xxii), on pp. 343-5, in a paper entitled "Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa (the Talaing country of Burma)" there is a discussion by Major (now Sir) R. C. Temple on two inscriptions figured on plates ix and ixa of the series illustrating the paper. These plates represent two glazed terra-cotta tiles found in Lower Burma, each one bearing in rather high relief two female figures elaborately robed and adorned with bracelets, necklets, ear-rings, pagodaspire-shaped head-coverings, etc. The attitudes of the figures differ slightly in the two plates. Above them, in each case, is an inscription in the native character which Sir R. C. Temple has read kwan phrau mā pa mat lwat, with the alternative suggestion of phra instead of phrau. He has tried to make sense of this legend in Talaing, Burmese, and Shan, with a further hint that it may possibly be Siamese. As a Talaing inscription he interprets it to mean something which, as being "against epigraphic experience", he is "loth to accept", namely, a vague reference to a "wife who is a friend for ever", a statement which in fact has no particular point. In the other alternative languages he makes it out to be a formal dedication (lwat) of the tiles by a nobleman with a Siamese title and a Pāli name, one kwan phra Mahāpamat to wit. At the same time he adds the caution that the legend does not appear to be correct Siamese.

In my opinion his reading is wrong in three particulars. Comparing plates ix and ix a I read the legend on the former kwan brau mā samat kwat, while the latter has

the variant spelling $kw\bar{a}n$, and being broken at the right-hand top corner has lost the t of lwut. The language is Talaing, and I take the phrase to mean "young maiden daughters of Māra". That is to say, the words are descriptive of the female figures depicted on the tiles; and these represent symbolically the passions personified as daughters of the Tempter, with special reference (probably and almost certainly) to Buddha's temptation under the Bodhi tree. The spelling is to some extent archaic, of course, but its anomalies can be accounted for. I explain the words as follows:—

kwan, kwān (and also a third variant kwon), for "child", occur in the Kalyāṇi inscription (last quarter of the fifteenth century). The old spelling (circa 1100 A.D.) was kon, and that is also the spelling of to-day. It is curious that the fifteenth century spelling introduced the w, but it did so in quite a number of words, in some of which it has survived to modern times; of course, the modern $kw\bar{a}n$, "village," is not in point here.

brau, "female," does not differ from the modern form; taken together with the preceding word it means "daughter".

mā (also the same as the modern form), "Māra"; not, as Sir R. C. Temple has suggested, a sign of the nominative case.

samat (again identical with the modern form), "young," "small" (it is also sometimes used as a substantive with brau added, to mean "maiden", "girl").

lwut I take to be the modern wut, "maiden," "virgin." I concede that there is a possibility of doubt here, for I have not yet come across a passage which definitely fixes the meaning of the word. The Shwezigon inscription has a passage in which it says of the kon lwut of certain kings or princes that they shall be endowed with fragrance like the fragrance of jasmine flowers and with splendour like the splendour of Alambusā the spouse (?) of Indra,

and shall come to Pagan from seven cities (or countries?), adorned with jewels of various kinds and shaded by white umbrellas. The Shwesandaw I inscription also speaks of a certain kon lwūt in somewhat similar terms. The suggested meaning is therefore appropriate to the context, and that is the most I am able to say for it at present, for I have not met with the expression elsewhere as yet.

The subject of these plates seems to have been a favourite one for treatment on glazed terra-cotta tiles. By the courtesy of the authorities of the Ethnographical Department, British Museum, I have been enabled to see a tile in their possession, which is substantially identical with the original of Sir R. C. Temple's plate ixa. The inscription is the same, and is broken off at the same point. The word samat in it looks like sapat, as the m has no visible cross-bar. But having regard to the sense and to the clearly marked m on plate ix, there can be no doubt as to samat being intended. This British Museum tile is not at present exhibited, owing to lack of space. Another tile of the same general type is to be seen in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (South Kensington), in Room 16, Case 8, No. 173-5. Like the others it represents two well-dressed young women, and over their heads is an inscription in round characters reading kwan brau [mā], "daughters of Māra." present only the first two words remain, the upper righthand corner of the tile having been broken off at the lefthand curve of the m, the outer ridge of which can just be The Exeter Museum has a considerable loan collection of glazed tiles excavated from the ruins of an ancient Buddhist shrine in dense jungle somewhere in the old Talaing kingdom of Pegu (Lower Burma) by Mr. W. N. Porter, to whom they belong. This collection includes (besides tiles with demon- and animal-headed figures) five tiles of the type now under consideration, of which four bear inscriptions. The inscriptions appear to read as follows:—

- (1) kwan brau mā ma pa rup brau tadey (or? bā dey) gā
- (2) kwon brau mā ma pa rup brau jumnok
- (3) kwan brau mā ma pa rup tmi kwan bā
- (4) kwon brau mā jamnok

In each case we are again dealing with "daughters of Māra". The words $ma\ pa\ rup$ mean "taking a (particular) shape", literally "who make shape" (Sanskrit $r\bar{u}pa$). The ma here is the relative particle, pa the verb "to do, to make". The tiles bearing this phrase therefore represent these female demons as having adopted various forms.

Some of the legends offer certain difficulties of reading or interpretation, and I referred them to my friend Mr. Halliday, the leading authority on modern Talaing. He was kind enough to give me the benefit of his views on the subject, as illustrated by the Talaing work Lik pathama bodhi, which gives the version of Buddha's experiences under the Bodhi tree in the form current among Talaings. I quote his summary of the particular incident with which we are at present concerned: "When Māra returned from his defeat at the Bo tree, his three daughters Tanhā, Rāga, and Irati thought their charms might win where their father's forces had failed. He tried to dissuade them, but they would go. When they reached the Bo tree, Buddha hailed them as three old women and asked what they had come for. Immediately they became old dames with bent backs, leaning on sticks. Even their father did not know them. On their making themselves known, he first reproached them for not heeding his

¹ I must express my thanks to the Curator of the Exeter Museum for his kindness in supplying me with plasticine casts of the inscriptions on these tiles and causing the latter to be photographed for me; and to the owner of the tiles for permission to publish such of the photographs as I might select for purposes of illustration. The accompanying plate shows the four inscribed tiles in this collection.

warning and then advised them to go back and make offerings to Buddha. On [their] doing so, he [i.e. Buddha] addressed them as maidens of heavenly form. Instantly their aged looks disappeared, their sin was forgiven, and they were as the female heavenly ministrants."

It is to be noted that whereas the traditional number of Māra's daughters is three, not more than two are represented on any of the tiles. I cannot explain this peculiarity, unless it is simply due to the mechanical reason that, given the shapes and dimensions of the tiles 1 (which were doubtless determined by purely material considerations), there was not convenient space for three figures on them. As regards the legends, Mr. Halliday has been good enough to offer me translations and some suggestions, and his brief summary of the incident throws some light upon them. No. 1 would appear to mean "Māra's daughters assuming the form of beautiful women". The phrase tadey gā (if that be the true reading) is something of a difficulty. The suggested translation assumes that tadey is a variant of pdai, "in," and that $q\bar{a}$ is connected with gow or gow $g\bar{a}$, "beauty." (If we read $b\bar{a}$ dey, the meaning will be "Māra's daughters assuming the form of two beautiful women": $b\bar{a} =$ "two".) I have come across tirdey in a passage of the Shwezigon inscription with, apparently, the meaning "in" or "in the middle of". But I do not feel quite sure about the interpretation. No. 2 means, according to Mr. Halliday, "Māra's daughters assuming the form of old women." Possibly that is what is meant. Yet having regard to the appearance of the figures on the tiles, it seems at least equally possible that jumnok (a derivative of jnok, "big") here means no more than "adult", "grown up". Neither in face nor figure do these particular damsels suggest old age. No. 3 probably means "Māra's daughters in a new form, two of them",

¹ They are all (roughly) 11/2 feet in length and 1 foot in breadth.

taking tmi as the modern tami, "new." 1 Mr. Halliday suggests that the numeral figure 3 which is on the tile below the end of the legend indicates that the scribe remembered that the traditional story speaks of three daughters of Māra. Alternatively he suggests that the numeral figure might be part of the legend, which in that case might mean "Māra's daughters in a new form, with two or three children". The alternative seems to me unacceptable, as there is a full stop (1) after $b\bar{a}$, and if a reference to children had been intended one would expect to see them figured on the tile. I think the 3 merely numbers the tile, with reference to its eventual position in some series. No. 4 means "Māra's elder daughters", or (I would suggest) "grown-up daughters", in contrast, I suppose, to the "young maiden" type. While expressing my obligations to Mr. Halliday for his assistance in the interpretation of these legends, I ought to add that he has not had the advantage of seeing photographs of the tiles themselves.

Besides tiles bearing a single figure or animal-headed figures, etc., the Horniman Museum (Forest Hill) possesses seven tiles of the type now being discussed. There is a pretty close resemblance between them, subject to differences in the attitudes and other minor details of the figures. Four out of the seven bear inscriptions, but unfortunately they are all very nearly illegible. In the process of firing the glaze has run into the incised letters and almost filled them up, leaving only very shallow depressions. In spite of kind assistance given me by the Curator, which enabled me to examine them closely and repeatedly, I am unable to give complete readings of

¹ On the face of it, I should have been disposed to interpret this legend to mean "Mara's daughters in the new form of two children". But they are represented on the tile as women, not children. Perhaps we may say "girls" instead of "children" here. The word tmi no doubt refers to their transformed shape.

any of the inscriptions. The following is all that I feel pretty sure of:—

1.	$[kwan] brau m\bar{a} [\ldots \ldots]$
2.	$kwa[n] brau[\ldots]$
3.	$kwan\ brau\ m\bar{a}\ [\ \dots\]\ brau\ [\ \dots\]$
The	ere may perhaps be traces of a second line here.)
4.	In two lines—
	(1) $[\ldots] brau [\ldots]$
	$(2) [\ldots ma] pa rup brau [\ldots]$

The occurrence of the word brau throughout is sufficient to prove the Talaing origin of these tiles. They are attributed by the Museum authorities to Pegu and the period of Dhammaceti, the author of the Kalyāṇi inscription, and I see no reason to differ from that view, which is confirmed by the peculiarity of spelling in the word kwan. But, of course, an established model like this may have been copied time after time.

Lastly, the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, possesses four tiles of our type, besides four with animal-headed demon figures. They are stated to have been found in a heap of ruins in the jungle about four miles (? German or English) from Pegu near the "Tjaipong" pagoda, and were acquired from Dr. Jagor. The four tiles with female figures are inscribed, but their inscriptions are in much the same state as those of the last-mentioned collection. On the first of the series (counting from left to right, as exhibited) I can read $kwan\ brau\ m\bar{a}\ldots brau\ldots$ and on the fourth $[kwa]n\ brau\ m\bar{a}\ldots$, but on the other two only a letter or two can be made out.

All this evidence appears to me to fix the general meaning of these tiles quite definitely and to exclude all possibility of either of Sir R. C. Temple's interpretations being right. I fear the nobleman with the Siamese title and the Pāli name must be relegated to the limbo of disproved hypotheses. Also it is evident that the tiles are

all articles of genuinely Talaing manufacture. M. Huber in BEFEO., tome xi, No. 1, 1911, has shown that the making of glazed tiles for the purpose of decorating pagodas is an ancient Talaing industry. It was carried to Pagan in the eleventh century, and the so-called Ananda pagoda in that ancient Burmese capital is adorned with a large number of such tiles bearing Talaing legends and evidently made by Talaing craftsmen, who were doubtless imported for the purpose because they knew the technique of the craft and the Burmese of those days did not. M. Huber seems to think that the use of the Talaing language instead of Burmese indicates that the latter was still in an unformed state unsuitable for epigraphic purposes. Having regard to its use in the Myazedi inscriptions a few years later, I do not think such a view at all tenable, but there seems little doubt that the Talaings were at this period the more highly civilized people of the two.

M. Huber in his interesting article gives a few illustrations and readings of the Ananda pagoda tile legends. On these I would offer the following remarks:—

For $m\bar{a}r$ $b\bar{a}l$ read $m\bar{a}rabal$. Talaing syntax, both ancient and modern, would not permit the order $m\bar{a}r$ bal for "Māra's host"; it would have to be bal $m\bar{a}r$. Therefore we must take it to be $m\bar{a}rabal$, i.e. a loanword from Sanskrit or Pāli, compounded according to Indian rules, which are contrary to Talaing syntax. I note that the b has a very peculiar shape. For $bat\bar{a}y$, "hare," read (possibly) $pat\bar{a}y$ on account of the shape of the initial letter, which differs from the other b's given in these illustrations. But the modern form has b. For ut, "camel," read ot (certainly); though modern Talaing has the former, there can be no two opinions as to the letter represented in the plate. It is curious that a camel should be figured among the mounts for Māra's soldiers. The animal does not, of course, exist in Indo-China, and we

have here a case of direct Indian influence, I suppose. I would also venture to add a caveat against M. Huber's somewhat premature parallel between the Talaing relative particle ma and the ma-prefix of Old Cham and Old Javanese. In Old Talaing ma is a distinct, separable word, as also in Bahnar; besides, the force of the two ma's is not the same. It is not safe, as yet, to identify them. M. Huber's series of Māra's soldiers with animal heads serves to explain the animal-headed demons in Sir R. C. Temple's plates and on the tiles of the museums,1 for the legends on the Ananda pagoda tiles distinctly say that these animal-headed demons are members of Māra's host. And I think there can be no doubt that M. Huber is right in suggesting that all these figures are put there to remind the people of the legendary episodes of the days that Buddha spent under the Tree of Enlightenment.

They thus help to confirm the explanation I have attempted to give above of the tiles with female figures. The latter, it may be noted, are of two distinct racial types, one typically Indo-Chinese, with broad round faces, flat noses, and thick lips, the other with long prominent and pointed noses, rather long faces, getting narrower towards the chin, and somewhat less developed lips.2 Whether the latter is intended to represent a demon type or merely a foreign (Indian) one, I am not prepared to say. Perhaps, from the Indo-Chinese point of view, it is not very material. By some of the artists the daughters of Māra may have been naturally conceived as foreign personages, whom it would be appropriate to portray under alien forms. In the same way the puppets of the Javanese shadow-play, which represent Rāmāyaṇa characters and the like, are endowed with impossibly long

² See the plate illustrating the four Exeter tiles: Nos. 2 and 4 represent the Indo-Chinese type, Nos. 1 and 3 the other one.

¹ The British Museum and the Indian Section (South Kensington) each have two tiles with animal-headed figures. The former also has one with a demon carrying a club.

noses and other prominent features, contrasting strongly with the native racial type. On the other hand some craftsmen may have desired to indicate the assumption by Māra's daughters of the appearance of comely young women, in conformity with Indo-Chinese ideas of beauty. It is, however, difficult to satisfy oneself that a consistent principle runs through their treatment of the subject. If the suggested interpretation of the Exeter tile No. 1 is right, the ladies thereon depicted should be intended to be beautiful, but I must confess my ignorance of any standard of good looks under which they could reasonably claim that qualification.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SEALS FROM HARAPPA

Harappa is a village, having a station on the North-Western Railway, in the Montgomery District, Panjāb: it is situated in lat. 30° 38′, long. 72° 52′, on the south bank of the Rāvī, some fifteen miles towards the westby-south from Montgomery. The place is now of no importance: but extensive ruins and mounds, one of which rises to the height of sixty feet, indicate that the case was otherwise in ancient times; and it has yielded thousands of coins of the "Indo-Scythians" and their successors.1 Amongst other objects of interest from this place, there are the three seals, full-size facsimiles of which are given in the accompanying Plate. The original seals are now in the British Museum, in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities in charge of Mr. Read. In all three cases, the substance of these seals seems to be a claystone, hardened by heat or some other means. In the originals, the devices and characters are sunk: the illustrations represent impressions from the originals, with the devices and characters reversed, as compared with the way in which they lie in the originals, and standing out in relief. animal on A has been held to be a bull, but not an Indian bull, because it has no hump: another opinion, however, is that it may be a male deer of some kind. The animal on C has a tail of such a nature as to suggest that this creature cannot be a deer. On A the hind legs were not fully formed; and it is possible that a similar tail has been omitted there.

A.—This seal was presented by Major (General) Clark. It was found in or before 1872-73, in circumstances which

¹ See Cunningham, Reports, vol. 5 (1875), p. 105 ff.

are not known. It has been figured by Cunningham in his Reports, vol. 5 (1875), plate 33, fig. 1, and in his Inscriptions of Asoka, Corp. Inscr. Indic., vol. 1 (1877), plate 38: and another illustration of it, to accompany a note by Mr. Dames, has been given in Ind. Ant., vol. 15 (1886), p. 1, fig. 1. It is about \(\frac{1}{4}'' \) thick: and on the back of it there is an arched protuberance, of about the same height, at right angles to the direction of the inscription, through which there is a small hole, in the direction of the inscription, evidently for inserting a string with a view to carrying it. It is illustrated now from a plaster of Paris impression for which I am indebted to Mr. Read. The first and last letters of the inscription were not formed as fully and deeply as the others: also, owing to the shadow thrown by the rim of the impression, part of the last letter is indistinct: the full form of this letter is ().

B.—This seal has been presented by Mr. J. Harvey, of Ballycastle, co. Antrim, Ireland, formerly of the Indian Educational Service. In December, 1885, when he was inspecting the school at Harappa, a local agriculturist came in, bringing various things, one of which was this seal; and it was obtained by purchase from him: but the circumstances in which it was found are not known. This seal was first brought to notice by Mr. Dames, in his note published in the Ind. Ant., vol. 15 (1886), p. 1, where it was unfortunately figured upside-down and without being reversed. I illustrate it from an impression which Mr. Read kindly caused to be made for me. At the ends the original is about 1" thick. From each end the back slopes up to a height of about 7 at the middle: and it is there perforated by a small hole, from front to back, for inserting a string. The edges of the seal are not quite as sharp in the original as they are in the illustration.

C.—This seal, which is now brought to notice for the first time, has been presented by Mr. Dames. It was dug

JOURNAL ROY, As. Soc. 1912.

Seals from Harappa.

A (10) Q'E

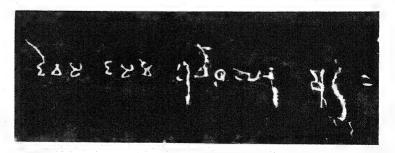


В.



Full size.

Sarnath inscription of Asvaghosha.





up by Mr. T. A. O'Connor, District Superintendent of Police, apparently in or shortly before August, 1886; and Mr. Dames obtained it from him. It is not quite $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. As in the case of A, on the back of it there is an arched protuberance, about $\frac{3}{16}$ " high, at right angles to the direction of the inscription, perforated by a small hole, in the direction of the inscription, for inserting a string. It has been damaged at the lower corner on the right. The illustration has been made by photographing the seal itself; with the result that the devices and letters do not show their relief in the manner in which this detail can be seen in figures A and B.

The inscriptions on these three seals have remained, so far, undeciphered. Cunningham, indeed, in his treatment of A, though holding originally that the characters are "certainly not Indian letters", proposed in his second notice to treat them as "archaic Indian letters of as early an age as Buddha himself", and to interpret them as giving the word L-a-chh-m-i-ya. And on such an assumption it would not be difficult to find on C the word Ka-lo-mo-lo-gū-ta. But it is hardly possible to take the inscriptions really in this way. The present facsimiles are published in the hope that recent discoveries in various directions may give a clue to the true nature of the characters and the meaning of them.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTE ON THE SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA

Towards the end of last year I drew the attention of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Officiating Director-General of Archæology, to the existence of certain letters on the Asoka Pillar at Sārnāth and in a line continuous with the inscription of Aśvaghosha, which he had edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. viii, pp. 171-2. Dr. Vogel kindly

¹ Reports, vol. 5, p. 108.

gave me an impression, part of which is here reproduced: see the Plate at p. 700 above. His reading of the previous words is:—

rpārigeyhe rajña Aśvaghoshasya chatariśe savachhare hematapakhe prathame divase dasame.

And following in a continuous line are aksharas which I read—

sutithaye 4 200, 9.

Intentional injury would seem to have been the cause of both the complete obliteration of the opening letters of the Aśvaghosha epigraph and the blurring of the letters which are the subject of this note. Examination of the stone further shows that the second akshara is really ti, though in the facsimile it looks like vi; and the third akshara is tha, as the dot within the circle is deep-cut. For the rest, my reading is frankly conjectural and invites correction.

To interpret these newly observed letters I assume that (1) they are a part of the Asvaghosha document, and (2) the date 209 belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era. The record would thus read: "in the fortieth year of Rajan Aśvaghosha, in the first fortnight of the Hemanta season, on the tenth day, on the auspicious tithi, the fourth; in the year 209." It is found that the fourth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of the Mālava year 209 current coincides with the tenth day of the first fortnight of Hemanta in the year 74 current of the Saka era. this calculation I am indebted to Mr. Chhote Lal (Executive Engineer P.W.D., Benares), who as "Bārhaspatya" is well known by his contributions to Indian astronomy. question whether this coincidence throws any light on the method of recording seasonal dates in early times is one with which I am not competent to deal. But returning to my assumption of the Malava era 209 current, the equivalent 151 A.D. would be the date of the Sarnath inscription, and 111 a.d. would be the date of Aśvaghosha's accession as Rāja. His name is found again on a broken slab at Sārnāth (E.I., loc. cit.); but, unfortunately, the record is too fragmentary to admit of reconstruction.

ARTHUR VENIS.

GOVERNMENT SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES. September 26, 1911.

REMARKS ON PROFESSOR VENIS' NOTE

The proposal made by Professor Venis for fixing the date of the Rāja Aśvaghōsha is based on the result, given to him by Mr. Chhote Lal, that in A.D. 151 the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month Margasirsha was the tenth day of the season Hēmanta. We cannot do anything towards exactly testing this result, because, not only are we not told the bases on which it rests and the tables or process by which it has been worked out, but also the most essential item, the English date (month and day), has not been given. On this point I can only say that I cannot find any means by which such a result may be arrived at. As to the proposed reading, I have to say here (1) that, if a tithi were intended, we ought to have an equivalent of the locative tithau; but tithaye can only be the dative: (2) that, from the same point of view, it is very strange that the lunar month and its fortnight should not have been mentioned: (3) that it is equally strange that the year should have been stated as the final item, after the tithi. However, the matter has to be dealt with on other considerations.

The stated result assumes the use in the second century A.D. of a solar calendar alongside of the lunar calendar. Now, the Hindūs have had from very ancient times the system of lunisolar cycles, made by the combination of solar years, regulated by the course of the sun, and lunar years, regulated by the course of the moon, but treated in such a manner, by the periodical intercalation

(and in later times the occasional omission) of lunar months as to keep the beginning of the lunar year near the beginning of the solar year, or, as perhaps may be more properly said, to keep the lunar months as closely as is possible in agreement with the natural seasons. there is a wide difference between (1) the astronomical use of a solar year for such a purpose as that, and (2) the practical use of a solar calendar with the details of solar months and seasons. The Hindus now have such a double calendar, solar and lunar; one item of their solar calendar is that the season Hemanta begins when the sun enters the zodiacal sign Vrischika (answering in a general way to Scorpio): this occurs in the amanta or synodic lunar month Kārttika, next before Mārgaśīrsha: and so it may happen at any time that the civil day of the fourth tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha is the tenth civil day of the season Hemanta. But the use of this solar calendar is traced only from the tenth century, in two Chola dates, one of which, belonging to A.D. 943, mentions the solar month Makara, and the other, belonging to either A.D. 919 or 946, mentions the solar month Karkataka.1 We have no reason for expecting to trace it back to any appreciably earlier time. And it certainly cannot have existed in the second century; because the signs of the zodiac, by which it is regulated, were not then known in India.

On the other hand, everything that we learn about the earlier Indian calendar makes it abundantly clear that, before the time when the Greek astronomy was introduced into India, the only calendar year in practical use for all

¹ For the date in A.D. 919 or 946, see Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 7, appendix, No. 691: for the date in A.D. 943, see *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 261, A; it has been noticed by me in this Journal, 1911. 691, (4). The month Makara begins at the Hindū winter solstice, when the sun enters the sign Makara (Capricornus): the month Karkataka begins at the Hindū summer solstice, when the sun enters the sign Karka (Cancer).

general purposes, including datings such as that in this Sārnāth record of Aśvaghōsha, was the lunar year of twelve or thirteen synodic months, which was treated in two ways. Astronomically, and for the sacrificial calendar, it was a Māghādi year, a year beginning with Māgha sukla 1, the first day of the bright fortnight of Magha; it was bound to and regulated by a solar year beginning at the winter solstice, the arrangement being that the solstice was always to occur in the amanta Magha; and apparently it might measure 354 or 355 days, or 383 or 384 days, according to circumstances, subject to a total of 1830 days in five years.1 But in practical general use it was treated on the hard and fast lines of making it consist always of 354 days when it comprised only twelve lunar months, and of 384 days when a month was intercalated.² Further, the seasons were treated, unscientifically, as lunar seasons, governed by the moon and coinciding with two or four lunar months; and in such a way that Hemanta consisted of Margasirsha and Pausha when the seasons were counted as six, and of those two months with also Māgha and Phālguna when the seasons were counted as only three in number. Also, the years were not necessarily Māghādi: for chronological purposes use was made of regnal years, beginning with the day and its successive anniversaries of the accession or the anointment of any particular king. Not only do we learn such details from the books, but also we trace the use of this lunar calendar with lunar seasons down to almost the latest of the records included in Professor Luders' List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about A.D. 400, in which this Sarnath inscription

¹ We learn these and various other details from the Jyōtisha-Vēdāiga.

² This was done by making the bright fortnights of Phālguna, Vaiśākha, Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, Kārttika, and Pausha, consist of only 14 days; all the other fortnights having 15 days each: see the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, ed. R. Shamasastry, p. 60, the last three lines. For other information about the calendar see p. 108.

stands as No. 922.¹ And in that calendar the fourth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha could only be the fourth day of the season Hēmanta, and the tenth day of the season Hēmanta could only be the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha. In no circumstances could the tenth day of Hēmanta be the fourth day of Mārgaśīrsha.

It seems probable that the words on the Sārnāth pillar which somehow or other were overlooked previously and have been brought to notice by Professor Venis, really are part of the record of Aśvaghōsha.2 But, on the analogy of all the similar records in the List of Brahmi Inscriptions. we may be sure that the date ends with the word $dasam\bar{e}$; that the text says:—"In the fortieth year of the $R\bar{a}ia$ Aśvaghōsha, in the first fortnight of Hēmanta, on the tenth day;" and that, interpreted in other terms, it means "on the civil day of the tenth tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Margasirsha." It would be very satisfactory if we could determine an exact date A.D. for Aśvaghōsha; and in view of a certain feature in the record, namely, the mention of the first fortnight instead of the first month of the season, I should not have any objection to raise if good reason could be shown for placing him in A.D. 111-51 or at any time thereabouts. But that cannot be done by the means proposed by Professor Venis.

It is, no doubt, easier to criticize Professor Venis' proposal for reading and applying the words which he has brought to notice, than it is to say what those words really are. But it may be remarked that, as has been suggested to me by Professor Lüders, the first four syllables, which

¹ Epi. Ind., vol. 10, appendix.

² Dr. Vogel has asked me to explain that these additional words were not included in the estampages from which he dealt with this record in *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 8, p. 171, and that he had not been able to supervise in person the preparation of the estampages or to compare them afterwards with the original.

Professor Venis would read as *sutithaye*, might very well be read *sukhathaya*, and be taken as meaning *sukh-ārthāya*, "for the sake of happiness": or, again, in accordance with suggestions by Dr. Vogel, they might be read *suvithaye*, and be taken as meaning *su-vīthayē*, "for a good road". How the remaining letters should be read, I do not venture to say.

J. F. FLEET.

ANCIENT TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA

Inscriptions from Mysore and many other parts of Western India and from some neighbouring localities, ranging from the seventh or eighth century A.D. onwards, mention various ancient territorial divisions having numerical appellations, such as the—

Rațțapādi 750,000	Kavadidvīpa 125,000
Gangavādi 96,000	Nolambavādi 32,000
Banavāsi 12,000	Toragale 6000
Karahāṭa 4000	Kūṇḍi 3000
Tardavādi 1000	Konkana 900
Rāmapurī 700	Pānumgal 500
Belvola 300	Ankottaka 84
Kisukāḍ 70	Bage 50
Vōdasirāsatka 48	Sarthātailāṭakīya 42
Karividi 30	Vavvulatalla 12

Most of these territorial divisions, with many others, have been noticed and identified in my Notes on Indian History and Geography in the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1900 to 1903. We are concerned here, not with any identifications, but with the meaning itself of these numerical appellations.

Commenting on the third and fourth of the names given above, the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) says: 1—
"These numerical designations, almost invariably attached

¹ Vol. 10, p. 291, note; vol. 12, p. 131, note.

to the names of ancient divisions in Mysore, apparently refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their $n\bar{a}ds$ " [$n\bar{a}d$, $n\bar{a}du$, 'a district, subdivision']. Mr. Rice has said in his Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions (1909), p. 174, that the numbers denote "revenue value", and that "the figures apparently indicated nishkas". And Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has said in his Ancient India (1911), p. 78, note, that the numbers seem to indicate "either the revenue paid or the value of the produce", or "sometimes the quantity of seed required".

As regards these statements, which are quite wrong and misleading, excuses may be made for the writer in the Imperial Gazetteer and the author of Ancient India. But the same cannot be said on behalf of the remaining writer; because he claims to know the inscriptions themselves, and the inscriptions from all parts have furnished ample proof, for some forty years past, by the attachment of the word grāma, 'village,' to many of these appellations, that these names always mark the numbers of the cities, towns, and villages assigned to each territorial division: the larger numbers are, no doubt, conventional or traditional, and must be at any rate greatly exaggerated; but the smaller numbers are probably in many cases actual ones.

An interesting confirmation of what I say and always have said on this point has been lately furnished by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, the officer in charge of Archæology in Mysore, in para. 79 of his Annual Report for the year ending 30 June, 1911. He has there brought to notice a new inscription of A.D. 902, from Bandalike, which speaks of the Mahāsāmanta Lōkaṭeyarasa, son of Bankeyarasa,

¹ See some figures given in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2 (1896), p. 298, note 2.

² I explained in 1873, in *Ind. Ant.*, 2. 297, that the term "Belvola 300" means "the Belvola district consisting of 300 villages." I had met in 1870 with the expression *Huvvalli-dvādaśa-grāma*, "the Hubli 12 villages" (JBBRAS, 9. 247, line 9); and that had given the clue.

"of the lineage of Kaludēvayya," as governing "the 31,102 villages ($b\bar{a}da$) comprising the Banavāsi 12,000, the Palasige 12,000, the Mānyakhēda 6000, the Kolanu 30, the Lōkāpura 12 and the Toregare 60." ²

Plainer evidence than this, as to the meaning of all the similar designations, could hardly be wished for: but, as I have indicated, it only confirms what has been certain for some forty years past. This statement in detail, however, further helps to explain two other epigraphic statements which have been hitherto obscure: namely, the mention of "30,000 villages of which Vanavāsī is the foremost" in a record of A.D. 860 (EI, 6. 35, verse 21); and the mention of apparently "the Banavāsi 32,000 province" in a record of A.D. 919 (IA, 1903. 225). These statements were puzzling, because the Banavāsi province is mentioned in so many other records always as a 12,000 province. But we can see now how they may be accounted for.

An interesting reminiscence of one of these numerical names has survived to the present day in the title Mūrusāvirad-ayya, "the Ayya of the 3000", which belongs to the Ayya or Jangam priest (Lingāyat) of the Mūrusāvirada-maṭha at Hubļi in the Dhārwār District: 3 evidently his predecessors were the pontiffs of some great

¹ Lōkateyarasa, whose name is found in also the Sanskrit form Lōkāditya, was a prince of the Mukula or Chellakētana family, regarding which see my note in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903. 221–7. The name of the ancestor Kaludēvayya is a new item, now brought to notice by Mr. Narasimhachar.

² These details add up to 30,102: but the record gives the total as 31,102. Either the writer made a wrong addition, or else he carelessly omitted to mention a one-thousand district; perhaps the Tardavādi 1000. The text, as given to me by Mr. Narasimhachar in answer to a reference on this point, runs:—

Banavāsi-pannirchchhāsiramum Palasige-pannirchchhāsiramum Mānya khēdam-arusāsiramum Kolanu-mūvattum Lōkāpuram-panneradum Toregarey-aruvattum intu mūvatt-or-chchhāsirada nūr=eradu bādamam Lōkateyarasar āļe.

³ See Ind. Ant., vol. 29 (1900), p. 280, and note 38.

Saiva establishment in the Kundi 3000 province, and one of them migrated to Hubli (which was not in that province) and settled there. Another survival of an ancient appellation is probably found in the name of the Yēlusāvirasime, "the 7000 country", which is a part of Coorg.1 The names of the Chālisgaum tāluka of the Khāndēsh District and the Chōrāsi tāluka of Surat distinctly seem to commemorate original groups of 40 and 84 villages. And the name of Nālatwād, a large village in the Muddebihāl tāluka of the Bijāpūr District, is plainly a corruption of nālvattu-vāda (bāda), 'forty-town', and seems to mark the place as having been at some time the chief town of a circle of 40 villages.

This new inscription from Bandalike is also of interest in showing that Manyakheta was the chief town of a 6000 province. This city, which is the present Malkhed or Malkhēd in the Nizam's Dominions, was the capital of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D.

J. F. FLEET.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM EAST BENGAL ALLEGED TO BE SPURIOUS

In the last Report of the Archæological Survey of India, that for the year 1907-8 (p. 255), is published a notice, with a transcript, of a copper-plate grant found in the south-west corner of the Faridpur District in East Bengal. The notice was written by the late Dr. T. Bloch, and he pronounced the grant to be spurious; but it is not spurious, and I may be permitted to draw attention to it with a few remarks.

Three copper-plate grants were found in that district during the years 1891 and 1892, and were given to me by Dr. Hoernle to be deciphered in 1908. At that time this fourth plate was discovered and was brought to our

¹ Rice, Mysore (1897), vol. 1, p. 574.

notice by Dr. Bloch. He said it would be published in the Arch. Report for 1907–8, and I proceeded with the decipherment of the three earlier grants, but a photograph of that grant was sent me by the kindness of a friend. Those three grants were published by me in July, 1910, in the Indian Antiquary (vol. xxxix, p. 193). The fourth plate was published by Babu R. D. Banerji in 1910 in the Journal of the Beng. As. Soc. (vol. vi, p. 429), under the title "The Koṭwālipāṛā spurious grant of Samācāra Deva" I then took up the matter of this grant, and published a paper dealing fully with it in that Society's Journal last year (vol. vii, p. 475), under the title "The Ghāgrāhāṭi (Koṭwālipāṛā) grant and three other copper-plate grants". While that paper was in the press the Arch. Report came out with Dr. Bloch's notice of the grant.

Both Dr. Bloch and Babu R. D. Banerji have pronounced this fourth grant to be spurious, but they had not the advantage of seeing the three other grants, whereas I had the advantage of reading all four before pronouncing any opinion on any one of them. These grants are of a somewhat new kind. They are not royal deeds, but are grants of lands by private persons to brahmans. I only wish now to draw attention to the genuineness of this fourth grant, and anyone who may be interested in this question will find it dealt with fully in my article in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

F. E. PARGITER.

CULIKAPAISACIKA PRAKRIT

Dr. Grierson, in a paper entitled "Paiśācī, Piśācas, and modern Piśāca", deals with the three kinds of Paiśācī Prakrit, of which two are named Cūlikāpaiśācika; and, discussing the question, "Who were the Piśācas?" comes to the conclusion that they were originally an actual

people, probably of Aryan origin, who inhabited the north-west of India and the neighbouring parts of the Himalaya, and were closely connected with the Khaśas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas. His method of treating that question seems to me sound, and there can be no reasonable doubt that their character as demons or goblins was a later perversion of their real nature. There remains the question, what is the meaning of the word $C\bar{u}lik\bar{a}$ in the name $C\bar{u}lik\bar{a}pais\bar{a}cika$, and I would offer a few remarks on this.

There was a tribe named the Cülikas or Culikas as the following texts show: "Tusāras, Yavanas, and Śakas with Culikas occupied the right flank of the army" (MBh. vi, 75, 3297). Cūlikas founded some sort of kingdom in India during the dark times of the Kali age, according to the reading in the Calcutta and Ānandāśrama editions of the Matsya Purana (50, 76). Certain MSS. of that Purāņa that I have consulted give the name as Dhūlika, Puliha, Calika, Valinka, and Bālhika. The Vāyu has the same passage (99, 268), but reads Tūlikas instead, while various MSS. of it that I have consulted give the name as Culika, Vūlika, Vūnika (or perhaps Vūtika), and Vrūlika. There can be little doubt from all these readings that Cūlika is the best supported form of the name, and many of the variations are easy misreadings or corruptions of it. Both the Puranas couple the Yavanas with them in this passage as having also founded a kingdom in India during that time.

The Mārkandeya Purāna mentions the Culikas or Cūlikas as a border tribe; placing the Culikas along with the Lampākas, Kirātas, Kāśmīras, and other less known tribes in the region bordering India on the north (57, 40); and the Cūlikas, along with the Aparāntikas, Haihayas, Pañcadakas (read probably Pañcanadas), Tārakṣuras (read perhaps Turuṣkakas), and other tribes who cannot be identified, in the very west of India (58, 37). These Culikas and Cūlikas are no doubt one and the same,

for accuracy cannot be expected in Indian versions of the names of border tribes, and a position in the north-west would satisfy both these passages, because ancient writers had not an exact knowledge of geography.

The Matsya and Vāyu Purānas have a passage corresponding to the former of these passages in the Markandeya, and the Vavu has a further passage corresponding to Mārkandeya 57, 41, which mentions Śūlikas as another tribe in the same northern region. Corresponding to the Culikas of the Mārkandeya, the Vāyu reads Pīdikas in the Calcutta edition and two MSS, of the Anandaśrama edition, and Cūdikas in two other MSS. of that edition (45, 119), while the Matsya reads Sainikas (114, 43). Culika and Cūdika may be mere variations of the same name, as nearly as the geographical compilers could get it; but, whether that be so or not, the Vayu reads (in all the editions and MSS. mentioned) Cūlikas instead of Śūlikas in the second corresponding passage, so that the Vayu certainly places the Cülikas as a tribe in the northern region.

All these references to the Cūlikas¹ would be satisfied, if we place them (say) along the Gomal River and pass on the extreme west of the Panjab, for in such a position they might be reckoned as falling within the northern region or within the very western region, and would be in close proximity to the tribes with whom they are specially associated. Such a position also brings them into the neighbourhood of the Piśācas, as Dr. Grierson has located the latter.

If this be reasonable it may help to explain the name $C\bar{u}lik\bar{a}pais\bar{a}cika$, which might then mean the Paisācī language as spoken by the Cūlikas. The precise formation of the word is uncertain. Cūlikā can hardly denote the

¹ The R. Culakā mentioned in MBh. vi, 9, 328, is different, and should probably be connected with the Cola people, as it is placed in South India.

Cūlika women; nor can it well mean the country of the Cūlikas, because I can think of no country which has a feminine name. It might mean the Cūlikā town, or the whole word might perhaps be derived from $C\bar{u}lik\bar{a}$ $Paiś\bar{a}c\bar{\imath}$, these two words being run into one with the affix ka added, before which the $\bar{\imath}$ would be shortened.

F. E. PARGITER.

TENGALAI AND VADAGALAI

A note has been received from A. Govindacharya Svāmin discussing various references to the Tengalais and Vadagalais made by Dr. Grierson in his Introduction to the Svāmin's translation of the Artha-pañcaka on pp. 565 ff. of the Journal for 1910. The note is too long to publish in its entirety, but the following is an abstract of the more important points raised by him, so far as they have not appeared in other papers by its author which have been issued of late. The longer note may on a future occasion be useful.

p. 566. Differences between the so-called Northern (Vadagalai) and Southern (Tengalai) Śri-Vaisnavas. The names "Northern" and "Southern" must be confined to the tract of country comprising the Dravida, between the Tirupati Hills in North Arcot and Cape Comorin. Conjevaram ($K\bar{a}\tilde{n}c\bar{i}$ -puram) was the northern seat of Samskrit learning. Prior to Rāmânuja, in the days of the Āzhvārs and the Ācāryas who preceded him, the neighbourhoods of Śrīrangam (Trichinopoly) and of Tiru-nelveli (Tinnevelley) were localities where Drāvida (Tamil) Scriptures were largely studied. If a line were drawn across the Peninsula along the parallel of latitude crossing Conjevaram, all the tract north of it up to the Tirupati Hills would be the Northern division, and all to the south of it the Southern. It is a purely local denomination which did not come into vogue till two generations or so

after Rāmânuja; and except that they have Vēdāntâcārya and Ramya-jāmātr-muni¹ as their respective pontiffs, the two divisions, in ethnic, philosophic, ethic, religious, and social affairs, constitute one Śrī-Vaisnava body.

p. 566. Co-operative grace, and Irresistible grace. The Sainskrit terms for these are, respectively, sa-hetuka-kṛpā and nir-hetuka-kṛpā, i.e. grace sought, and grace unsought. The sa-hetuka-kṛpā implies that the asking for grace by the soul is the reason that compels grace. The nir-hetuka-kṛpā leaves God's grace unaffected by any savour of barter or bargain, such as is involved in the contention that grace is contingent on first being initiated by the soul's asking, and that without this demand grace would remain inoperative.

p. 566. The views expressed regarding Śrī. She is not a mere "form or phase of the Supreme", as stated by Dr. Grierson. As shown in the paper on The Pāncarātras or Bhagavat-śāstra, in the number of this Journal for October, 1911, She is a distinct personality. This is true for both schools, according to whom She belongs to the category of the Eternals (nityas, see JRAS., 1910, 573). The authority for both schools is Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I, viii, 17:—

Nityaıvaışā jagan-mātā Viṣṇoś Srīr an-apâyinī | Yathā sarva-gato Viṣṇus tathaıvéyam, dvijottama ||

"Maitreya, the Mother of the universe, is eternal, and never separable from Viṣṇu. As Viṣṇu is omnipresent, so also is She."

Śrī, for both schools, fulfils the function of mediation.

For the doctrinal differences between the two schools regarding Śrī, see JRAS., 1910, p. 1104. To these it may be added that the Vaḍagalais ascribe Causation (i.e. the being the cause) of the universe also, to Her, and ascribe further the characteristic of "in-dwelling" or "inruling" (antar-yāmitva); whereas the Tengalais refer

Or Maņavāļa Mahāmuni.

both these attributes to God alone. According to the latter the function of Śrī is that of $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$, i.e. Mediator or Saviour alone.

p. 567. Lokâcārya was not "the first great teacher of the Tengalai school". In his day there was no distinction of such schools. If any schism arose in virtue of differences of interpretation, it is in all probability to be attributed to the time of Vedântâcārya (or Vedântadeśika, 1268 A.C.), who lived a generation after Lokâcārya. In Vedântâcārya's works such differences in interpretation of the teachings that prevailed before his day are clearly discernible.

p. 567. As to Rāmânanda, there is proof that he belonged to the Tengalai school, if such a school could be predicated as existent in his time. His date is uncertain. In the list of his apostolic predecessors given by Dr. Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, pp. 265-6, 1893, the name of Vedântâcārya does not occur, although there are two Lokâcāryas, the second of whom is the author of the *Artha-pañcaka*, the first being Nambillai.

p. 567. The statement that the Vadagalais stop at bhakti is not correct. Prapatti and ācāryābhimāna, as well as bhakti, are common to both schools. The word prapatti is rendered better by "resort to" or "refuge in" God, rather than by its radical sense of mere "approaching"; and the corresponding attitude on the part of the soul is passive according to the Tengalai school, and active according to the Vadagalais. Both these characteristics pertain to prapatti,—not the former to prapatti and the latter to bhakti. Who the Northern commentators are

Mahatām api keṣāmcid ativādāḥ pṛthag-vidhāḥ |
Tat-tad-artha-prakāśādi- tatparatvād abādhitāḥ |

[Stotra-Bhāsya 53.]

¹ To the credit of Vedântâcārya, however, it must be said that he looked upon the opinions of those from whom he differed as simply due to specialization of certain aspects of truth:—

that equate bhakti with prapatti must first be ascertained, but the equation is wrong. The radical meanings of the two words are entirely different. Bhaj = adore, and pad = go, or throw oneself at or on. The former (bhakti) requires active concentration on God on the part of the soul (adoration); whereas the latter (prapatti) simply demands resignation or unconditional capitulation, making no terms with God, but variegated by the two attitudes,—(1) active, or aggressive; and (2) passive, or expectant, on the part of the soul. Rāmânuja's commentary on the Bhagavad-Gītā must be studied together with his Gadyatraya, before venturing on the remark made by Dr. Grierson that his commentary "is much to the same effect".

p. 568. Dr. Grierson's correction as to the meaning of Kaivalya is not complete. Kevalas might employ other means besides knowledge, $j\bar{n}\bar{a}na$, for their soul-realization. They might also resort to bhakti, prapatti, or $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryabhim\bar{a}na$, provided they resort to one or other of them as long as their goal is no other than that isolate state.

NOTE BY DR. GRIERSON ON THE ABOVE

Every student of Vaishnavism will be grateful to Govindacharya Svāmin for the light thrown by him in the above notes on a most obscure branch of the subject. Space will not allow me to discuss them here, and I am ready to assume that, so far as doctrines of Southern Vaishnavism are concerned, the corrections are all justified. I therefore content myself with two remarks. As regards Rāmânuja's explanation of the word prapadyatē in Bhagavad-Gītā, vii, 19, it is translated "worships" by the Svāmin himself in his excellent English version of the poem with Rāmânuja's commentary. In the famous carama-ślōka (xviii, 66), which Vaishnavas look upon as

¹ See pp. 127 ff. of my Yatīndra-mata-dīpikā, just out.

containing the quintessence of the teaching of the poem, we have—

sarva-dharmān parityajya mām ēkam saranam vraja "Renouncing all Dharmas, hold Me as thy sole refuge."

On this Rāmânuja says: "All Dharmas = All the paths of righteousness inculcated in the Bhagavad-gītā as means to mōksa, viz., karma-yōga, jñāna-yōga, and bhakti-yōga. Renouncing = The practising of these means as modes of my worship, and in love; but entirely renouncing the fruit thereof (phala-tyāga), the personal ownership of the act (karma-tyāga), and personal authorship of act (kartrtvatyāga)." To this the Svāmin adds in a footnote: "Rāmânuja gives here the ordinary interpretation meaning bhakti, whereas a higher interpretation is prapatti." The rest of R.'s commentary on this verse is most instructive. It is plain that he considered that Krsna instructed Arjuna to hold to Him, so as to enable Arjuna to "launch on bhakti-yōga". the only means of salvation. I have not seen the Gadyatraya, but it is plain that in his commentary to the Bhagavad - gītā Rāmânuja either ignored the modern prapatti altogether, or else considered it as included in the term "bhakti". This is, of course, not the only interpretation of the verse, which has probably had more treatises written concerning it than any other passage in the poem.

As regards the $K\bar{e}valas$, see the Svāmin's description of them on p. 575 of the Journal for 1910. "These are the men who embark particularly upon the path of $j\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ $y\bar{o}ga$, which is chiefly the means to secure this coveted 'zoistic' state." The fact that they can also employ the other means is an interesting addition to our knowledge.

G. A. G.

Camberley.

December 5, 1911.

KASMIRI ALMANACS

In Kāśmīrī the word bösi usually means "stale", being the equivalent of the Hindī bāsī. The word něchapatürü (nakṣatrapatrikā) means "almanac". Bösi něchapatürü therefore apparently means "a stale almanac". Inquiries from Kaśmīr reveal that it means nothing of the sort. Bösi is here a derivative of Bhāskarī, "of or belonging to Bhāskara." Bhāskara Rāzdān was a noted Kāśmīrī Jyōtiṣī, and the change of sk to s, as well as the elision of r, has many parallels in the language. The following is an abstract of an account of the origin of these almanacs given to me by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mukundarāma Sāstrī, who is himself a follower of the rules laid down in the Bösi něchapatürü. Passages enclosed in square brackets are additions of mine.

In former times in Kaśmīr, commencing with the Śaka year 587 (665 A.D.), almanacs were compiled according to the rules laid down in Brahmagupta's karana, the Khaṇḍakhādya,¹ a work based on the Brāhmasiddhānta with corrections from the Āryasiddhānta.

As time went on, actual observation showed the existence of small accumulating errors in the tables of this work, which, after a lapse of thirty to thirty-six years, amounted to as much as one, two, or three ghatikās [one ghatikā = 24 minutes]. As necessity arose, these were corrected

¹ [The Khandakhādya was written in Śaka 587. See Sudhākara Dvivēdī, Ganakataranginī, p. 18. As regards the connexion of the Khandakhādya with the Āryasiddhānta—that is, the First Āryasiddhānta, the Aryabhatīya of Āryabhata (A.D. 499),—cf. the same work, p. 19, and also Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivēdī, Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. xx.] According to the śāsana "himagirinikaṭasthāh prāgudīcyāh", in former times all almanacs in eastern and northern countries were based upon the Āryasiddhānta. Up to a short time ago, in Cambā, Sukēt, Maṇḍī, Ghāzīpur, Kanauj, and the neighbouring countries, all almanacs were based on the Khanḍākhādya. [The Paṇḍit is not certain about the present day, and adds that, owing to the wide distribution of printed almanacs, local variations and local customs are falling into disuse.]

with the aid of the *Madhyama Sāranī*¹ and other similar works. Finally, during the reign of King Rājadēva of Kaśmīr, after 1242 A.D. Vimalācārya wrote a corrected edition of the *Khandakhādya* and a new *Sāranī*, which are still authoritative, and on which most modern Kāśmīrī almanacs are based.

Things thus went on for several centuries. Hindu learning being impeded by the Muhammadan conquest. But in the year 1758 A.D., in the reign of King Sukhajivana. an eclipse of the sun occurred at a time so widely different from that predicted by the almanacs that they, and the revised Khandakhādua on which they were founded, fell into disrepute. A Pandit named Bhāskara Rāzdān then showed that if the calculations had been made according to the Grahalāghava, a karana written by Ganēśa Daivajña,2 they would have agreed with the actual occurrence. He therefore rejected the Khandakhādya, and prepared an almanac based on the Grahalāghava. In the course of two or three years this became accepted all over Kaśmīr, but after only three or four years it was discovered that the observed times of the rising and setting of the planets did not agree with the times given by it. It was also found that this difference would not have been so great if the calculation had been made according to the Khandakhādya, and, moreover, that it could be corrected with the aid of Sāranīs. There thus arose a schism amongst the Kāśmīrī astronomers, some advocating a return to the Khandakhādya, while Bhāskara Rāzdān and his friends obstinately opposed this, and advocated the permanent adoption of the Grahalāghava. The

¹ A Sāraṇī is a kind of ready reckoner, a book of tables for the rapid calculation of astronomical moments, such as the commencement of a *tithi* or the like.

² [See *Ganakataranginī*, 58. The date of the *Grahalāghava* was 1520 A.D. There was an annular eclipse of the sun visible in India on December 30, 1758, N.S. The conjunction occurred 6 hours 17 minutes after sunrise (Lankā time).]

majority adopted the former course, but a small minority—about one per cent of the Kāśmīrī Hindūs—follow Bhāskara down to the present day.

There are thus now two sets of almanacs current in Kaśmīr,—the dēśī něchapatürü based on the Khanda-khādya, and the Bösi něchapatürü based on the Graha-lāghava. Between these two there may be as much as two or three ghaṭikās difference in calculating the commencement of a lunar day. Hence, sometimes, according to one a lunar day may commence in one weekday, and according to the other in another. In this way the followers of the respective almanacs sometimes keep fasts or festivals on different days. The dates given for the entry of a planet into one of the signs of the zodiac may differ so much as two, four, or even eight days.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY. March 24, 1912.

NOTES ON VEDIC SYNTAX

1. In a notice of my work on the Āraṇyakas of the Rgveda, Dr. Caland has raised a point of some interest as to the use of the verb upa-vas. In the Śānkhāyana Āraṇyaka, xii, 8, occurs the phrase bhūtikāmah puṣpeṇa trirātropoṣitah, which in my translation I rendered "a man who desires prosperity should fast on flowers for three days". To Dr. Caland this appears comic, and the obvious reading is puṣyeṇa, "under the Nakṣatra, Puṣya."

Now that a sentence out of what is virtually a Sūtra should seem comic is hardly a reason to find another reading obvious, for e.g. Dr. Caland's own renderings of the Kauśika and Vaitāna Sūtras frequently seem too absurd to be possible, and yet it would be wrong on that

¹ Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, xiv, 508, n. l. I am indebted to the author for sending it to me.

account lightly to reject them. Pusyena is palæographically so obvious that it might have occurred to Dr. Caland that there was some reason for it not appearing in the text. And the reason is that it would be very hard to find in Vedic Sanskrit, probably also in classical Sanskrit, any real parallel for such a use of the instrumental: trirātropositah is of course equivalent to trirātram or trirātreņa upositaķ,2 and the instrumental as denoting "duration" is, if not exactly very common, still Vedic³ and classical.⁴ But on what authority is the instrumental equated to "under the Naksatra, Pusya"? The best case I can conceive for the rendering is to regard Pusya as here equivalent to the month Pausa, and to render "for three nights during the month Pausa". But against that rendering tells (a) the fact that Pusya is not found in this sense in the Vedic literature, so far as I know; the St. Petersburg Dictionaries give nothing earlier than the Visnu Purāna; 5 and (b) the fact that such a use of the instrumental is not known to me to have a parallel in the Vedic texts, and for these reasons I did not read pusyena, nor can I even accept the emendation now, until it is shown to be syntactically probable.

I consider that puspena is best taken as an instrumental denoting what nourishment the sacrificer was to enjoy during his ritual fast (it need hardly be said that such fasts were by no means absolute), and puspa in this connexion is surely adequately defended by puspāśin in Visnu Smṛti, xcv, 7; presumably the sacrificer partook of some decoction of flowers in place of the milk which might have formed his diet. But the passage as a whole is obscure, and I regret that Dr. Caland's acquaintance

¹ See now Bloomfield, GGA. 1912, pp. 1 seqq.

² See examples in BR. s.v.

³ Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 130.

<sup>Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, p. 13.
Böhtlingk, s.v. 1c.</sup>

with the Sūtras should not have been able to throw light upon it.

- 2. Dr. Caland seems to me more happy in his second conjecture that in Aitareya Āranyaka, iii, 1. 4, and Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, vii, 10, in prthivī tvā devatā risyati we should see ārisyati, the future to the preceding aorist ārah. It may be that arisyati or ārisyati is concealed in the phrase, but it is not certainly the case. Sāyaṇa takes risyati as hinasti, and the fact that the active sense of the verb is specially Vedic¹ led me to think he was right. As for the future sense of the indicative, it is of course perfectly normal, and is adequately illustrated by Delbrück² and since the date of my book by Bloomfield.³
- 3. On the other hand, Dr. Caland's criticism of my rendering of the presents with ha sma of Aitareya Āranyaka, i, 1. 3, and Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, iv, 7 by English presents is in part an error, in part apparently founded on a misunderstanding of the use of the English language. In the former passage, as can be seen from my translation, I use the historic present as the nearest equivalent to the Vedic present with ha sma. The alternative was to render with Delbrück 4 "was wont to", and against this use, in my opinion, there is to be set the fact that it would be necessary then to render differently, e.g., Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, vii, 5-7, and 11, 12, and 13. All these passages give views of authorities: the first three have simply iti with the name; 11 has atha khalv āhur nirbhujavaktrāh, and 12 and 13 have iti ha smāha: to render them differently is not, in my opinion, consistent with the use of English. In the case of Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, iv, 7,

 $^{^{1}}$ RV. viii, 48. 10; AV. xiv, 1. 30. Later the word as active seems artificial.

² Op. cit. pp. 278, 279. Cf. Gildersleeve, Greek Syntax, § 194.

³ JAOS. xxix, 294, 295. See also my criticism of Dr. Caland in JRAS. 1909, p. 753.

^{*} Op. cit. pp. 502, 503; Synt. Forsch. ii, 129. For English see Kellner, English Syntax, § 368.

the matter is complicated by the use of akarot later with vrnkte, the former in the protasis, the latter in the apodosis of a relative sentence, and Dr. Caland has evidently neglected to read the note on p. xiv of my translation,1 though it is referred to in my note on the passage, or the note on the historic present at p. 245 of my Aitareya Āranyaka, which shows not only knowledge of the Vedic idiom but also compares it with the Homeric and Latin. I should, however, add that the cases where ha sma are used with $\bar{a}ha$ and similar perfects with normally present sense are of great interest, for they lead to the use of uvāca in such cases, and, as the use has two aspects-(a) the fact that the dictum exists up to the present and is in English rendered as a present, (b) the fact that the utterance was actually in the past—the use of uvāca leads to the narrative perfect gradually invading the Brāhmana prose; cf. JRAS. 1909, p. 150. The use of the present in citing authorities no doubt assisted in the development of the use of the present in the sense "was wont to". A good case of the development of the usage is seen in Kāthaka Samhitā, xxxiv, 17, where etad ha vā uvāca is followed by sa ha sma vai . . . somam pibati and tam ha sma yad āhuh and abravīt.

4. One or two minor points may also be mentioned. It would certainly be a gross error 2 to translate $\bar{a}jya$ in Aitareya $\bar{A}ranyaka$, i, 1. 1 and 2 as "ghee offering", when it means $\bar{a}jyasastra$, but my rendering is "recitation with the ghee offering", which is the English for $\bar{a}jyasastra$, and in my note I gave the references to the hymns. Nyūna does not mean "leer" in Aitareya $\bar{A}ranyaka$, i, 4. 2,

¹ See also Delbrück, Vergl. Synt. ii, 261 seqq.

² But hardly so gross as Caland & Henry's rendering (L'Agnistoma, p. 305) of the unaccented vāvrdhe in Taittirīya Samhitā, i, 4. 20, as "qui... a grandi". Yāh in the first part of the verse has no predicate expressed, but this common ellipsis (Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 11) should not have misled the translators, who cannot be unaware of the rules of the Vedic accent. And what of the rendering at p. 411 of ajyānim in Taittirīya Samhitā, iii, 3. 8f as "les beurres" (ājyāni)?

for it would spoil the sense so to take it, and in i, 1. 2 the sense "small" is quite satisfactory; sadas is correctly rendered "seat" as a technical term of the sacrifice, while $m\bar{a}msaudana$ and $sth\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}$ - $p\bar{a}ka$ are given conventional meanings; if phrases in Aitareya Āranyaka, v, 1. 1 and 2 are misinterpreted, the correct renderings should be given, but to judge from the other corrections offered they will require careful scrutiny. Nor do I see sufficient reason to retain the l of the single MS. in place of the l (d). Lindner, in his edition of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, has followed the practice of restoring d and dh with his MS. M and other authority, and I prefer this to the l of the edition of the Śrauta Sūtra.

5. I have noticed all the points explicitly dealt with by Dr. Caland and would now correct two errors of his. I am glad to see his recognition of the merits of Friedländer's work on the Mahāvrata, which had been unaccountably overlooked by scholars until I drew attention to its worth. Friedländer, however, has not translated the section on the Mahāvrata, but only the first (and rather the smaller) part, so that the less favourable impression caused by the later version must be due in part only to imagination. Secondly, it is not true that Adhyavas vii-xv were unknown until edited by me. Weber had made some use of them and had cited them once or twice; and what is more important, not only have I explicitly stated, but the most cursory reading would have shown, that their contents do not coincide with those of the Aitareya Āranyaka; the similarity ends with viii, and ix-xv are quite new, as was made clear long ago by Weber.3

¹ It is quite impracticable to avoid using conventional renderings unless the Sanskrit is always kept, and Dr. Caland himself does so elsewhere. For sadas as properly and originally "seat", see Śatapatha Brāhmana, iii, 6. 1. 1; sthālīpāka is dealt with in my Aitareya Āranyaka, p. 254.

² p. xii. Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. i, 222; Macdonell, Vedic Gramm. p. 45.

³ Indian Literature, p. 50, n. 37.

6. I take this opportunity of claiming the support of Dr. Caland 1 for the criticism which I made 2 of von Schroeder's argument, in favour of the theory of the early Vedic drama, that the gods were conceived as dancing in mimetic dances. He regards the use of the word "dance" as quite inadequate to show that this is the case. I agree also with the criticism 3 of the theory of the Lopāmudrā and Agastya hymn, but the author has overlooked the fact that his argument from the Kāṭhaka was anticipated in 1909 by myself 4 as well as independently by Oldenberg.⁵

A. Berriedale Keith.

AGE CRITERIA IN THE RIGVEDA

Professor Bloomfield has in an article in the JAOS.⁶ brought forward some important cases where there is conclusive evidence of imitation and therefore of relative chronology in the *Rgveda*. It is of interest to consider how far these instances bear out the results achieved by metrical and linguistic tests by Professor Arnold in his *Vedic Metre*.

It is beyond reasonable doubt that the absurd anaśvó jātó anabhīśúr árvā in i, 152. 5 is an imitation of anaśvó jātó anabhīśúr ukthyò of iv, 36. 1: now the metrical tests and the linguistic assign i, 152 to the strophic period, which is the second of Professor Arnold's periods, and iv, 36 to the normal, the third of the periods. It is certain that i, 92. 11 and 12 are modelled on i, 124. 2, which Professor Bloomfield rightly calls "the

Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, xiv, 500.
 JRAS. 1911, p. 998.
 Op. cit. p. 502.
 JRAS. 1909, p. 205, n. 2.

⁵ GGA. 1909, p. 77. I take this opportunity of observing that Bloomfield's criticism of Caland's rendering of ācāryāḥ in the Vaitāna (GGA. 1912, p. 19) might perhaps be modified in view of the use of ācāryāḥ in Aitareya Āranyaka, iii, 2. 6; Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, viii, 11; cf. my translation of the latter work, p. 56, n. 3.

⁶ xxxi, 49-69.

high-water mark of Vedic composition"; but metre alone reduces i, 92 to the normal period, the linguistic tests assign it to the strophic, while both combine to place i, 124 in the cretic, the fourth period. In viii, 56. 1 the third Pāda is clearly a mere solecism, adapted absurdly from i, 8. 5; yet the former is assigned to the strophic period without hesitation, while the latter is only assigned to it on metrical grounds. Again, in iii, 32. 7 and vi, 19. 2 is found a Pāda applicable to Indra (brhántam rsvám ajáram yúvānam), which in vi, 49. 10 is transferred with the less happy susumnám for yúvānam to Rudra; yet metrical and linguistic tests assign iii, 32 to the normal period, and metrical tests assign vi, 19 to the same period, while both sets assign vi, 49 to the archaic period. In i, 30. 21 the attracted vocative asve ná citre arusi is clearly derived from iv, 52. 2, asvéva citrárusī; yet the tests set the former in the strophic, the latter in the normal period. Again, in viii, 13. 19 Professor Bloomfield sees the explanation of the odd description of the poet as śúcih pāvaká ucyate só adbhutah in the fact that the writer has plundered ix, 24. 6 (of Soma), śúcih pāvakó ádbhutah, and ix, 24. 7, śúcih pāvaká ucyate. Aufrecht long ago saw the truth in this case; yet metrical and linguistic tests assign viii, 13 to the archaic or oldest period, and ix, 24 to the normal, a division two periods later. Finally, in i, 1. 8 and i, 45. 4 we have the phrase rájantam adhvaráṇām contorted in i, 27. 1 to samrájantam adhvaránām, and in viii, 8. 18 applied to the Asvins in the dual; yet the tests place the last three passages in the strophic period and the first in the normal period.

What, on the other hand, is found to accord with the metrical tests? iv, 3. 10 (strophic) borrows from vi, 66. 1 (archaic); iii, 40, 6 (assigned by metre alone to the strophic) is used in i, 10. 7 (normal), but it should be noted that the linguistic tests give exactly the opposite

result, making the latter the earlier passage; x, 96. 2 (popular) borrows (though there is no cogent proof) from iii, 60. 3 (cretic); i, 39. 6 (assigned by metre alone to the archaic period) is used in viii, 7. 28 (strophic); iv, 17. 3 (normal) is used in x, 28. 7 (popular).

Other cases are indecisive either way: i, 22.21 borrows from iii, 10.9, both are referred to the same normal period; in Professor Bloomfield's view i, 80.10 is derived from iv, 18.7 and iv, 19.8; the tests assign i, 80 to the normal period (the linguistic tests to the strophic), iv, 18 to the popular, and iv, 19 to the normal; here also may be reckoned the case of i, 1.8; i, 45.4; i, 27.1, and viii, 8.18 above, while i, 124.3; v, 80.4, and x, 66.13, which borrow from the former, are put in one period by the tests.

These are all the cases adduced by Professor Bloomfield which he regards as cogent; he suggests that viii, 72. 18 is derived from vii, 55. 2, whereas the tests assign the former to the archaic, the latter to the popular period, but the case is not to be relied on; Professor Bloomfield also puts i, 144. 7 before viii, 74. 7, while the tests reverse the order, making the first strophic, the second archaic; on the other hand, he makes x, 63. 13 (cretic) use i, 41. 2 (strophic) and viii, 27. 16 (archaic), but these cases do not stand on the same basis of certainty as the others.

There can be little doubt as to the conclusion to be drawn from this writer's enumeration: in six cases at least the metric and linguistic tests break down hopelessly, and in the residue of cases they are frequently indecisive. That in some cases they agree with the results of Professor Bloomfield is what was to be expected; and even then, of the four or five cases of agreement, one is rendered useless by the conflict of the two tests; two are cases of hymns in the later tenth book. The total result is therefore that, while there are certain metrical and linguistic tests of real validity, the refinements on these

tests suggested by Professor Arnold are not consistent with the new and clear evidence adduced by Professor Bloomfield, which is all the more valuable as that scholar does not himself connect his discussions with the data of Professor Arnold.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE SUFFIX SAT

Professor Speyer has recently 2 made an ingenious effort to explain the origin of the suffix $s\bar{a}t$ by finding in it an abbreviation, of a popular and perhaps originally local character, of the word $s\bar{a}tm\bar{\imath}^{\circ}$ used as part of a compound, which through its recognition by Pāṇini 3 secured a place, even if a somewhat feeble one, in the classical literature of India.

The theory is an interesting one and deserves careful consideration, since there is no obvious explanation of the appearance of the suffix, which has nothing corresponding to it in the Vedic language proper, as Whitney 4 long ago pointed out. But it seems very doubtful if the theory can be said to attain the degree of probability which its author claims for it.

Professor Speyer, in the first place, considers that all the examples adduced by the commentators on Pāṇini and from the literature ⁵ can be reduced to cases of the categoric "des possessiven resp. partitiven Genitivs", and he compares the German "jemandem verfallen,—zu eigen geworden", adding that in Latin the simple genitive would almost always be adequate.

But this statement of the case seems open to great

⁴ Sanskrit Grammar, § 1108.

 $^{^1}$ See also JRAS. 1906, pp. 484–90, 716–22; my $Aitareya\ \bar{A}ranyaka$, p. 203.

² ZDMG. lxv, 313-15. ³ v, 4. 52-4.

⁵ Summarized neatly by Whitney, loc. cit., to whose account there is really nothing to add.

doubt: the Kāśikā, following Pānini, in effect gives two classes of cases where the suffix is employed. It allows it with the verbs kr, $bh\bar{u}$, and as to express totality ($k\bar{a}rtsnya$), and with these verbs and sampad to express abhividhi. The distinction between these two cases is not as Professor Speyer seems to take it, that between a complete change of substance and a partial one: if the change is only partial, according to the $K\bar{a}\hat{s}ik\bar{a}$ the suffix cannot be used, and for that reason it shows that an adjective cannot be used with sāt, that is, we must say paṭaḥ śuklībhavati, not śuklasād bhavati; the difference between kārtsnya and abhividhi is between a change which is universal and a change which affects and transforms all the substances in question ($sarv\bar{a}$ prakrtir vikāram āpadyate) and not merely an attribute, but only takes place in certain circumstances. Thus, on the one hand, we have agnisād bhavati śastram, udakasād bhavati lavanam, and on the other asyām senāyām utpātena sarvam šastram agnisād bhavati (sampadyate), varsāsu sarvam lavanam udakasād sampadyate. In both cases the prakrti is completely changed, but in the one the essence of the matter is regarded as the change of the whole substance, in the other the change of all the substances. The distinction is clearly an intelligible one; it accords adequately with the use of abhividhi elsewhere in Pāṇini, it accounts for the form of the examples adduced in the Kāśikā, and it seems to relieve Pāṇini of the charge of having ignored the fact that the adjective could not be used with the suffix.

The second category of cases is that where the suffix shows that the relation is one of dependence (tadadhīna-vacane), and examples are rājasāt karoti, rājasād bhavati, rājasāt syāt, rājasāt sampadyate. It will be noted that the form syāt and not asti is quoted, but it is hardly correct to say that the optative alone is intended; the essential use of the whole construction is to express some

action on the part of the subject, and therefore $sy\bar{a}t$ is naturally more suited as an example than asti, but Pāṇini would not have considered incorrect the example quoted from the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$ by Whitney: yasya $br\bar{a}hmaṇas\bar{a}t$ sarvam vittam $\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}t$.

The literature bears out the grammar. Neglecting the later texts, which are under the suspicion of the influence of Pāṇini, the Mahābhārata gives bhasmasāt with as, bhū, kṛ, and also with gam, yā, and nī, in the sense of "become ashes" or "reduce to ashes", while on the other hand it gives us loko 'yam dasyusād bhavet, śatrusād gamayad dravyam, and repeatedly brāhmaṇasāt kṛ.¹ It is important to note that the cases of these uses are not confined to any special section of the work: the Mahā-bhārata knows and frankly uses the idiom, and supports the view that it was well known and current in the language of the time of Pāṇini.

It is hardly possible to reduce the first category to that of a possessive or partitive genitive; the second category is clearly, as the grammarians took it, a possessive relation, but while it is easy to say that agnisād bhavati means "becomes the fire's", it is more difficult to admit the accuracy of the assertion. There is no evidence in the actual usage to raise it from the position of a mere conjecture.

In the second place, Professor Speyer sees the explanation of $s\bar{a}t$ in the use of $s\bar{a}tm\bar{\imath}bh\bar{\imath}a$ or $s\bar{a}tm\bar{\imath}kr$, which is ignored by Pāṇini, but which occurs in the epic and which is found frequently in Buddhist texts like the $J\bar{a}takam\bar{a}l\bar{a}a$. But this does not help us much: in the Śatapatha Brāhmana² and in other Vedic texts³ we find $s\bar{a}tmat\bar{a}a$ used with the genitive in the sense of attaining union with a deity, a sense which persists in the epic and later.

¹ For the references see St. Petersburg Dictionary, s.vv.; Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, § 309.

² xi, 5. 6. 9. ³ Sāyujya is used with much the same sense.

I do not know that in any Vedic text the word is compounded with a preceding noun, and it probably is not, but in the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$ it is so found compounded. But to say that $devas\bar{a}d$ bhavati (which occurs in the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$) is identical in sense with $dev\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ eti $s\bar{a}tmat\bar{a}m$ is not correct: "to become a god" is one thing, "to attain union of essence with the gods" is another. Moreover, the idiom with $s\bar{a}tmat\bar{a}$ in all the places known to me in the early texts is used with verbs of motion $(gam, i, n\bar{\imath})$, as indeed the accusative renders necessary, and it is exceedingly hard to see how $devas\bar{a}tmat\bar{a}m$ eti (which does not, so far as I know, actually occur, but is a possible assumption in favour of Professor Speyer) can give $devas\bar{a}d$ bhavati.

The difficulty is diminished by Professor Speyer, who relies on the forms $s\bar{a}tm\bar{i}bh\bar{u}$ and $s\bar{a}tm\bar{i}kr$ for the transition stage, and who asserts that examples of these forms can be found in the St. Petersburg Dictionaries from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāna. statement appears to be due to some confusion, for these dictionaries do not give a single example of either form from either work, either in their main notice or in their numerous addenda, and Monier-Williams' Dictionary is naturally likewise barren. This fact disposes for the time at least completely of Professor Speyer's contention, for it has plausibility only if we can suppose that forms like sātmībhūta were common and so could be through popular corruption a source of "sād bhavati. But the facts as yet available show sātmībhūta and sātmīkrta as much later in the literature than Pānini; so far they are only quoted from the medical work of Suśruta and the Buddhist texts like the Jātakamālā, and Professor Speyer's hypothesis rests only on the earlier evidence like sātmatām gachati, which is quite insufficient to support it. Nor, must it be added, is the sense of sātmībhūta and sātmīkrta when

¹ xii, 2328 (a late passage).

actually found really the same as that of $s\bar{a}t\ kr$ or $s\bar{a}d\ bh\bar{u}$. The meaning is both in Suśruta in a medical sense and in the $J\bar{a}takam\bar{a}l\bar{a}^1$ practically "become one's second nature", as in the $J\bar{a}takam\bar{a}l\bar{a}^2$: $abhy\bar{a}sayog\bar{a}d\ hi\ subh\bar{a}-subh\bar{a}ni\ karm\bar{a}ni\ s\bar{a}tmy\ eva\ bhavanti\ pums\bar{a}m$; this sense is very different from "become one's property", as in $vittam\ br\bar{a}hmanas\bar{a}d\ \bar{a}s\bar{\imath}t$, or from "become completely changed into", as in $bhasmas\bar{a}d\ bhavati$, and a final discrepancy even between the late usage and that necessary for the theory is that the late usage does not appear to occur with the noun, denoting the person—much less the thing—whose second nature anything becomes, in the form of a compound.

It seems to me hardly necessary to add anything further against the theory, which cannot be supported on the evidence yet adduced, but it may be well, in view of Whitney's dictum, accepted by Professor Speyer, that the Vedic literature contains nothing to cast light on the origin of the use, to remember that the $V\bar{a}jasaneyi\ Samhit\bar{a}^3$ has sárvam tám bhasmasá kuru: there are variants of this form; the Atharvaveda⁴ has the form masmasa in sárvan ní masmasákaram drsádā khálvān iva; in the parallel passage to the Vājasaneyi the Taittirīya Samhitā 5 has masmasá, the Kāthaka 6 has masmasá, which is also read by the Taittirīya Āranyaka, and the Maitrāyanī has mrsmrså: it should be added that the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya,9 some MSS. of the Samhitā, and the Śatapatha Brāhmana 10 have masmasá for bhasmasá. The generally accepted view 11 now appears to be that these forms are all onomatopoetic and that masmasá should be read in the

¹ See the St. Petersburg Dictionaries, s.v. sātmī, and Professor Speyer's own quotations, ZDMG, lxv, 314.

² Cf. also Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax, p. 46, n. 1.

³ xi, 80. ⁴ v, 23. 8. ⁵ iv, 1. 10. 3. ⁶ xvi, 7. ⁷ ii, 5. 2. ⁸ ii, 7. 7. ⁹ v, 37.

vi, 6. 5. 10. Eggeling, SBE. xli, 259, renders "burn thou to ashes".
 St. Petersburg Dict. s.v. Maşmaşt; Bloomfield, SBE. xlii, 455.

Vājasanevi Samhitā, or at any rate that bhasmasá is merely a phonetic variant for masmasá.1 Accepting this theory, yet it seems far from improbable that this use (which is clearly a popular phrase, and which therefore appears only incidentally in the Vedic ritual) helped the development of the use of sat, especially in bhasmasat itself. Moreover, there is an obvious source from which the t could have been assisted in entry, namely, the frequent use in the epic of sat krta, sat kr, and even brāhmanasatkartr: 2 such a fact might result in a contamination of the phase bhasmasā kuru. The hypothesis would demand (1) that a bhasmasā kuru, originally perhaps onomatopoetic, was popularly regarded as "reduce to ashes", (2) that by analogy to sat kr it was changed to bhasmasāt kuru, and (3) that on analogy it was the source of new and varied formations with other verbs and nouns, developing on the two lines of change of substance and dependency. Such a development is perfectly possible,3 but in the absence of all convincing evidence I prefer to regard the suffix sāt as of unknown and uncertain origin, though I think that bhasmasá kuru cannot have been without effect on the development.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE MEGHADUTA

To my remarks on the Jaina poem $N\bar{e}mid\bar{u}ta$ on p. vi f. of the preface to my edition of Kālidāsa's $M\bar{e}ghad\bar{u}ta$ the following may now be added. No. 18 of the series "Srīyasovijayajainagranthamālā" contains the text of

¹ Cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gramm. i, 18; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 431.

² See St. Petersburg Dict. s.v.

³ Possibly the fact that the s is not liable to lingualization is to be connected with the fact that sat in sat kr is not liable to change as not being an ordinary suffix.

the Śīladūta by Chāritrasundaragaṇi (Benares, Vīra-Saṃvat 2436), a Jaina poem which was composed at Cambay in Vikrama-Saṃvat 1487. The fourth line of every stanza of this little work is identical with the last line of one of the stanzas of the Mēghadūta. The subjoined table shows the correspondence of verses in both poems:—

ŚĪLADŪTA.	Мёснарёта.	ŚĪLADŪTA.	MĒGHADŪTA.	Śīladūta.	MĒGHADŪTA.
1-8 9-11 12 13-17 18 19-22 23 24-33 34, 35 36-69 70, 71	1-8 10-12 9 13-17 i 18-21 ii 22-31 iii, iv 32-65 y, vii	73 74 75, 76 77 78 79 80 81–95 96 97, 98	70 69 vi, ix 68 viii 67 x 71–85 88 87, 89	101 102-111 112 113 114 115, 116 117 118, 119 120 121 122, 123	86 92-101 104 102 xiii 105, 106 103 107, 108 110 xiv 109, 111
72	66	100	90	124, 125	xvii, xviii

Page x of Preface, note 2: Vallabhadēva mentions his upādhyāya Prakāśavarsha also in his commentary on Māgha, xvi, 17, and xx, 71. At xx, 54 he criticizes an earlier commentator on the Śiśupālavadha, whose name was Bhatta-Śamkara.

The following references in Vallabha's commentary on Māgha's poem have to be added to those which I have noted on p. xf. of the Preface: Amara (xvii, 35; xviii, 9, 15), Kāṭhaka (xvi, 50), Kirātārjunīya (xx, 71), Kauṭilya (xx, 23), Jayāditya (xx, 79), Tantrākhyāyika (xvi, 25; xviii, 78; xx, 72), Dēvēśvara (xx, 74), Dharmakīrti (xx, 16), Bhagavadgītā (xix, 98, 114; xx, 79), Mahābhārata (iv, 4; xi, 66; xiv, 70; xv, 23; xx, 66, 79), Raghuvamśa (xvi, 55; xix, 116; colophon, 5), Rudraṭa (xix, 3), Vāmana (xx, 79), and Sētubandha (xvii, 4). Besides, the following persons are named as "good poets" (sukavi) in the

commentary on the last verse of the colophon: Vararuchi, Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, and Mayūra.¹

Page 8 of the text, verse 11: For āśābandha see Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, ed. Cappeller, p. 49, verse 85.

Page 8, note 1: Add a reference to $J\bar{a}taka$, ed. Fausböll, vol. ii, p. 363, l. 23 f.: $bal\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ cha $n\bar{a}ma$ megha-saddena gabbham ganhanti.

Page 23, note 1. The verse $nidr\bar{a}$, etc., is quoted by

Vallabha also in his commentary on Māgha, xx, 24.

E. HULTZSCH.

THE BUDDHIST MONASTIC TERMS SAMATITTIKA, SAPADANA, AND UTTARI-BHANGA.

These are terms which have been much discussed without, as yet, reaching any satisfactory conclusion. In my collection of Central Asian manuscripts there is a fragment which settles, at least, the problem of samatittika. It shows that that word represents the Sanskrit sama-tiktika (sama-tiktaka). The fragment in question, on the whole exceedingly well preserved, is a leaf of the Vinaya. It was found in 1907, with many other fragments, near a place called Jigdaliq, about a day's march from Baï, in the Kuchar district. It is written in the Indian "upright" Gupta characters of the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. Its contents coincide substantially with those of Cullavagga, viii, 4, clauses 3-5; and the passage which concerns us particularly runs as follows:—

Piņdapāta-vṛttam kataram. Satkṛtya bhikṣunā piṇdapātah pratigṛhītavyah sāvadānam sama-tiktikum sama-sūpikam samprajānena (read samprajñanena)

¹ Pandit Durgaprasad's edition inserts Somanātha, Bhavabhūti, and Krīdānanda after Subandhu, and Bilhaṇa after Kālidāsa. Of these Bilhaṇa belongs to the eleventh century and thus lived a few generations after Vallabhadēva.

upasthita-smṛtinā avikṣipta-cittena avikiratā | tāvattakañ=ca pratigṛhītavyam yāvattake samya[g-bhakti]r= bhavati. Idam=ucyate pindapāta-vṛttam. 10 2 (i.e.12)||

That is: "(Clause) 12. What is the regulation concerning alms-food placed in a (monk's) bowl? With due care the monk should receive alms-food into his bowl, inclusive of (every) individual (i.e. without any being passed over), with the proper amount of condiments, with the proper amount of cooked split peas, with circumspection, with ready recollection (of his duties as to food), with unbewildered mind, not scattering (any particles of the food). Just so much should he receive as will make a perfect distribution (among the whole of the assembled monks)."

With this extract the directions in Cullavagga, clauses 4 and 5, in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. xx, pp. 287-8, may be compared. They refer to the conduct of the monks when assembled in the Ārāma (monastery) at the appointed time of receiving their meal. The portion of the word samya[g-bhakti]r enclosed in square brackets is illegible; but that, or samyak-pūrtir, or some similar word is required by the context.

The true spelling of the Pāli word, whether samatittika or samatitthika, has been discussed by Professor Rhys Davids in his translation of the Tevijja Sutta, i, 24, in SBE. xi, 178, footnote 1. He decides for samatittika as the true spelling, on the ground that, while in the Burmese script the two conjuncts tt and tth are so much alike that they may be, and often are, confounded, they are thoroughly distinct in the Singhalese script; and in Singhalese manuscripts the word is invariably spelt with tt. He proposes, hesitatingly, the Sanskrit equivalent samatrptika, "equally full," apparently suggested by the explanation sama-bhārita of the Samanta Pāsādikā (see SBE. xiii, p. 62, footnote 5). But, as our fragment now

shows, the true Sanskrit equivalent is samatiktika, "containing a right proportion of pungent things," i.e. of condiments. The real fact, however, is that there exist in Pāli two entirely different words, one spelt samatittika, the other samatitthika. The former occurs only as a term of food (alms-food), and represents the Sanskrit sama-tiktika (samatiktaka), "containing a right amount of condiments"; the other represents the Sanskrit samatīrthika (sama-tīrthaka), "level with the bathing-place," properly used of a flooded river, or pond (as in Mahāvagga, vi, 28, 11, ed. p. 230; Tevijja Sutta, i, 24, transl. p. 178; Smaller Sukhāvatī Vyūha, clause 4, in Anec. Oxon., p. 93; Lalita Vistara, ch. 26, ed. Lefmann, p. 407. 1. 2), but also, in a looser way, of brimful vessels or bowls (as in Lalita Vistara, ch. 24, p. 387, l. 3; Jātaka, vol. i, p. 393, ll. 17, 25; p. 400, l. 1). It was the existence of these two words in Pali, nearly identically spelt, which appears to have caused all the confusion in the manuscripts and the uncertainty in their interpretation.

The true Sanskrit equivalent, sama-tiktika, of the Pāli sama-tittika, as applied to alms-food, and as found in our fragment, is readily intelligible from the passages in the Pāli Vinaya, which describe the ordinary constituents of that food. The ordinary food of a Buddhist monk consisted of three ingredients: (1) boiled rice (odana, or bhakta), (2) cooked split peas (sūpa), (3) condiments (vyañjana, or uttari-bhanga). Thus in Cullavagga, ch. viii, sect. 4, clause 4, 5 (ed., vol. ii, pp. 214–15), we have the following passage:—

(4) Odane diyyamāne ubhohi hatthehi pattam pariggahetvā odano patiggahetabbo; sūpassa okāso kātabbo; sacce hoti sappi vā telam vā uttari-bhangam vā, therena vattabbo 'sabbesam samakam sampādehi' iti; samasūpako pindapāto patiggahetabbo, samatittiko pindapāto patiggahetabbo; (5) sakkaccam pindapāto bhunjitabbo, na sūpamvā vyanjanamvā odanena paticchādetabbam []

That is, "When the boiled rice (odana) is given out, the monk should hold his bowl with both hands, and receive the rice (odana) into it; room should be left for the cooked split peas (sūpa); if there is ghee, or oil, or condiments (uttari-bhanga), the senior monk should say, 'give out a proper quantity (samaka) to all.' The alms-food is to be taken with the proper quantity of cooked split peas (sama-sūpika), and with the proper quantity of condiments (sama-tittika); and it should be eaten in the proper way; neither the cooked split peas (sūpa), nor the condiments (vyanjana), may be covered up (i.e. mixed together) with the boiled rice (odana)."

Compare the translation in SBE, vol. xx, pp. 287-8. Notice also the synonyms uttaribhanga = tiktika = vyañjana. Another, similar passage occurs in the Pātimokha, Sekhiyā Dhamma, No. 36, in SBE, vol. xiii, p. 53. Compare also the passage in Milinda-pañha, pp. 213-14.

In the SBE, translation the word $s\bar{u}pa$ is always rendered by "curry", but it really means "dal". Both terms are well known in Northern India as the names of indigenous Indian dishes. "Curry" is the name of a strongly spiced flesh or vegetable dish, while "dal" signifies simply split pulse of various kinds (see Rājanighantu, in śalyādivarga, xvi). "Dāl," however, is also the name of a dish, as used in the term "dāl-bhāt", i.e. dāl and rice; and in that case "dal" means cooked split pulse, i.e. dal boiled in water with the addition of a little ghee (or oil) and ginger, asafætida (hingu), etc. (see Bhāva Prakāśa, i, 2, ed. Jīvānanda, p. 15). The commentary in the Sutta Vibhanga (Vin. Pit., vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 190) explains sūpa to be either mugga-sūpa or māsa-sūpa, that is, split peas, either Phaseolus Mungo (Skt. mudga, Hindi mūm̃g) or Phaseolus Roxburghii (Skt. māsa. Hindi urid).

The words vyanjana and upari-bhanga, above translated by condiment, refer to what is known in India as "chutnee" (cat'nī), a spicy, hot, pungent seasoning (made of mango, raisins, tamarind juice, red pepper, etc.). The relative quantities of the three constituents of the food (rice, dal, chutnee), of course, vary according to individual taste; but, as a rule, of dal a much smaller quantity, and of chutnee only a pinch is taken. At cook-shops in the Indian bazars, where the poorer class of people buy readycooked food, the serving-man supplies their receptacle with rice and a smaller quantity of dal (or curry), and finally places a pinch of chutnee on the top of the whole supply. Hence that pinch of condiment (chutnee) is called upari-bhanga, or top-morsel, a term which has hitherto failed to be fully explained (see SBE. xx, p. 159, n. 1, and Childers' Dictionary, s.v.). The proportion of rice to dal is said by the commentator (SBE. xiii, p. 62, n. 4) to be as 4:1.

From the foregoing it is clear that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli tittika in sama-tittika, standing in juxtaposition to sūpa in sama-sūpika, must be a word synonymous with vyañjana and upari-bhanga, and be expressive of condiment; and that word can be only tiktika, pungent, savoury, which is found in our fragment.

As to the element sama in the compound, the meaning intended by it does not seem to be that of equality, but rather that of right measure. Sama-tiktaka and sama-sūpika mean "having a right measure of condiment (chutnee)" and "having a right measure of cooked split peas (dāl)". And samaka in the distribution order (above quoted) has the same meaning: "Let the proper quantity (samaka, of dāl and chutnee) be given to everyone." With the alternative meaning of equality, which is adopted in the SBE, translation, the rendering would be: "Let an equal quantity be given to everyone, an equal quantity of dāl as well as an equal quantity of chutnee,"

so that no one receives more or less than any other. But the meaning of right measure seems to be more appropriate to the regulation, for the point is not so much that every individual monk should have given to him exactly the same quantity of the three constituents of the food (for individual requirements might not have been the same, thus causing waste), but that the two lesser constituents of dal and chutnee should be given in the right proportion to the third constituent of rice (whatever the quantity of the latter, to suit individual requirements, might be).

More important than the equality of the share of each individual monk was that no individual monk should be passed over (accidentally or intentionally) in the distribution of the food. This point is provided for in the regulation by the term sāvadānam. The identity of this word is discussed by M. Senart in his edition of the Mahāvastu, vol. i, p. 595 (see ibid., p. 301, l. 9; p. 327, l. 8). He is probably right in taking, not the Pāli sapadānam, but the Sanskrit sāvadānam to be the original word. The latter is to be resolved into sa-avadānam, "with divisions" (from root ava-do, to cut), that is, taking one division after the other, in regular order. At first sight it might seem as if that meaning were better expressed by such a word as anavadānam, "without division." But we must remember the connexion in which the word originally occurs. That connexion is the going about of the monk for the purpose of collecting alms-food. Sapadānam caranto bhikkhu is the monk who goes about begging from division to division (or house to house) in regular order, and sapadāna-cārik-angam is the regulation that ordains going about begging from house to house. The side of an Indian bazar street is a continuous structure containing a number of contiguous rooms or tenements, and the monk is directed to beg, not merely in the bazar street, but in it "with its divisions", or inclusive of its individual tenements; that is, he is to beg

in the street from tenement to tenement, in regular order, not omitting any. From this start the word sāvadānam came to acquire generally the meaning of "in regular order, not omitting any". And thus it came to be applied also to the distribution of food among the assembled monks, meaning that the food should be given them in regular order, from individual to individual, not omitting any. A very similar widening of meaning (from rivers to vessels) took place, as above noted, in the case of the word sama-tīrthika. As to the Pāli form sapadānam, it may be a corruption of sāpadānam, from sa-apadānam, for apadana (from an "unbelegt" root apa-do) is the regular Pāli equivalent of the Sanskrit avadāna. Childers' Dictionary (s.v. sapadāna) notes the word padāna-cārī, one who begs from house to house, which (if correct) points to the existence of a bye-form padana, short for apadana. Analogous shortened forms are not unknown in Pāli literature, e.g. parajjhati and valanjeti for aparajjhati and avalanjeti, etc. (see Müller, Pāli Grammar, p. 24). With padāna, of course, the form sa-padānam would be quite correct.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

NOTE ON THE SUBHAGABHIKSHUKANYAYA

In the Laukikanyāyasangraha, and at still greater length in his larger work, Raghunāthavarmā has offered two interpretations of the above simile. Those contained in the former will be found in my Second Handful of Maxims (2nd ed.), and may be summarized as follows:—

- (a) Some hold that the nyāya is used to indicate the absurdity of supposing that two contradictory characteristics can coexist in one and the same individual, as, for example, womanhood (as represented by Subhagā) and manhood (as represented by the bhiksuka).
 - (b) Others interpret it thus: A woman named Subhagā,

and a mendicant, through fear of a murderous opponent, fled to a certain man for protection; and so it became necessary for him to decide either to use every means in his power to shield them, and thus avoid the crime of driving away a śaranāgata, or, on the other hand, to abandon them lest he himself should fall a victim to their enemy. Under these circumstances he decided to help the woman and leave the man to his fate; and since the decision rested entirely with himself the simile is regarded by these interpreters as applying to cases where, two courses being possible, it rests altogether with the person concerned to adopt the one which he personally prefers!

We may regard (a) as possible, though confirmatory evidence of such usage is not forthcoming; but nothing can be said in support of (b), and it may be dismissed as ridiculous. Those who desire to see Raghunātha's stupid enlargement of (a) will find it on p. 314b of India Office MS. 582. He calls it a Laukikī gāthā.

The real meaning of the simile is, in my opinion, to be found in the following passage of Venkaṭanātha's philosophical drama entitled Sankalpasūryodaya (ii, 92, vol. xxxi of The Pandit):—

त्रालच्यतामयं रजनिचरवंशवान्धवानां राज्ञमीमांसकानां सुभगाभि-जुकन्यायो यदेते निगमान्तपरित्यागिनः परानधिज्ञिपन्ति प्रतिजि-पन्ति च ख्यमेव निगमान्तान .

"See how these Rāhu-like Mīmāṃsakas, kinsmen of a race of night-walkers (i.e. of goblins), exemplify the story of Subhagā and the mendicant; for they stigmatize their opponents as abandoners of the Upaniṣads, and yet reject them also themselves!" Now here we are at once reminded of an instance of inconsistent conduct adduced by Sureśvara in Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, i, 28, where he says that such behaviour is 智慧行而有元, a simile which is explained by the commentator Jnānottama as

follows: "After abusing her daughter-in-law for refusing to give alms to a wandering mendicant, the mother-in-law called the man back, and, when he had come, said to him, 'There are no alms, be off!' thus herself also refusing." The explanation of the सभगभित्रक्याय given by the commentator on the drama coincides exactly with that of Jnānottama, thus conclusively proving that the two similes are identical. May we not assume that the dramaversion, also found in Udayana's Ātmatattvaviveka, is the original, and that the other is a descriptive title given to it by Sureśvara, in whose work alone it has been met with?

G. A. JACOB.

ANOTHER MISUNDERSTOOD SIMILE

The nyāya in question is दण्डकितवत, which, in the appendix to part iv of the abridged St. Petersburg lexicon. is explained by "als wenn man mit einem Stocke getrieben wurde", and, in that of Sir M. Monier-Williams, by "like one driven by a stick". In both cases the rendering is supported by a reference to the comment on $\bar{A}pastamba$ śrautasūtra, xi, 12. 6, and turning to the passage we find it embodies the ritual to be observed when digging and consecrating four holes (technically termed उपरवाः) in the Havirdhana containing the Soma plants to be used at an Agnistoma sacrifice. These "sounding-holes", as Professor Eggeling calls them, are said to intensify the sound caused by the crushing of the Soma plants on boards placed over them; but there is no hint of this in Satapatha Brāhmaņa, 3. 5. 4, where a different reason is given for their being dug.

The fifth sūtra of Āpastamba's twelfth kaṇḍikā prescribes the final consecratory rites, consisting in the first place of the sprinkling of all the holes with water containing barley, during which the mantra रजोहण:, etc.,

is recited; after which a series of acts is to be performed in connexion with *one* of them, namely, sprinkling it with the remainder of the water, pouring in the barley, and strewing it with barhis-grass; the ceremony is then to conclude with an oblation of melted butter.

The next sūtra directs the same procedure to be followed with each of the other holes; and it is on this that Rudradatta says: एवं प्रोचणादभिहोमान्तन विधिना दण्डकितवदभ्यक्षेन सर्वानिकैंक संस्करोति. The mere perusal of these words is surely sufficient to show that the meaning assigned by the lexicographers to the simile contained in them is altogether impossible! What, then, is its meaning? For an answer to this we must go to the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā.

The fifth chapter of Jaimini's $dv\bar{a}da\acute{s}alak\dot{s}an\bar{n}$ is devoted to the consideration of the all-important point of the order in which the various parts of a sacrifice are to be performed, and at the beginning of the third pāda he takes up the case of the Upasads. These, as described in $\acute{s}atapatha~Br\bar{a}hmana$, 3. 4. 4, are three in number, and are offered, one by one, on three successive days; but on some occasions they have to be increased to six, or even twelve, and then a question arises as to the due~order to be observed in carrying out this extension. Under sūtra 5. 3. 2 Śabara states it thus:—

उपसत्स सन्देहः किमानृत्तिर्दण्डकिलतवदुत स्वस्थानाद्विवर्धन्त इति। किं तावत्पाप्तम्। त्रावर्तनीयानामर्थानामेष धर्मी यदुत दण्डकिल-तवत्। यो हि उच्यते विरनुवाकः पद्यतामिति स त्रादित त्रारम्य परिसमाप्य पुनरादित त्रारम्यते तस्माहण्डकिलतवदानृत्तिः॥

We see from this, the pūrvapakṣa, that to go through a series of acts once, and then to adhere rigidly to the same order when repeating them, is the method which is declared to be दण्डकांचतवत्, and the additional exposition given by Mādhava in the Nyāyamālāvistara removes all doubt as to its meaning. He says—

अभी श्रूयते षडुपसद इति । तच चोदकप्राप्तानां तिसृणासुपसदां पूर्वत्यायेनावृत्त्या षट्संख्या सम्पादनीया । सा चावृत्तिर्दण्डकित-वत्समुदायस्य युक्ता यथा दण्डेन भूप्रदेशं संमिमानः पुरुष आमूलायं क्रत्तं दण्डं पुनः पुनः पातयति न तु दण्डस्य प्रत्यवयवं पृथगावृत्तिं करोति ॥

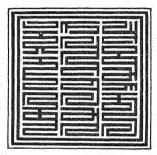
As is clearly shown here, the simile is that of a man measuring [a piece of ground] with a staff or rod, in doing which he, of course, moves the entire staff forward each time. By this method, Upasad-offering number one would be presented on the first day, number two on the second, and number three on the third; and they would be repeated in the same order on the fourth, fifth, and sixth By the alternative process termed खखागादावृत्तिः, "repetition of each from its own place" (which, in this instance, is declared to be the proper one to adopt), number one would be offered on the first and again on the second day, number two on the third and fourth days, and so on. In the case of the ceremonies associated with the uparavas, however, as Rudradatta tells us, the former method was to be followed, and the whole of the action was to be repeated, in the same order, in connexion with each of the holes. It is clear, therefore, that for this simile we must give to the root kal its sense of "to count", and thence "to measure", and not that of "to drive".

G. A. JACOB.

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE DALAI LAMA'S SEAL

The other day, when examining an old set of lantern slides belonging to the Moravian Mission College at Niesky, Upper Lusatia, I discovered another version of the Dalai Lama's seal. This old set of lantern slides was made from photographs collected by our missionary, F. Becker-Shawe of Leh, during the years 1891 to 1895. To serve as a specimen of Tibetan handwriting, Mr. Shawe

seems to have photographed a letter from the Dalai Lama which he found preserved in the archives of one of the old noble families of Ladakh. Below the letter we find the Dalai Lama's seal according to a different version from that published in this Journal, see 1910, p. 1205. The present new version has the great advantage of being quite clear, and no corrections of any kind are necessary. As regards the Dalai Lama's letter, it refers to the old



Government trade between Leh and Lhasa, called *Lophyag*, and I may still find time to prepare a translation of it. The seal reads as follows:—

Notes. The e vowel-sign in the syllable rje is different from all such signs as shown in the specimens of my previous article on pp. 1211–14. The i vowel-sign, however, agrees with the form of that sign as occurring in the word gcig on p. 1214. It is remarkable that the prefixed r in the syllable rdo is written in full.

As regards the title *rDo-rje-'achang*, Vajradhara, it was given to the Dalai Lama by Altan Khān, king of the Mongols, in 1575. (See Grünwedel's *Mythologie*, pp. 81, 82.)

A. H. FRANCKE.

ARABIAN POETRY

It was with astonishment that I turned a page of Sir Charles Lyall's masterly article in the January number of this Journal on the pictorial aspects of ancient Arabian poetry and found myself bracketed with Professor Wellhausen as denying the poetic interest of that poetry and the artistic sense of the ancient Arabs. In truth I cannot yield a whit to Sir Charles Lyall in my appreciation of both, save in respect to his enormously greater knowledge of the subject. I have always, privately in my teaching and publicly in lectures-Professor Goldziher will remember one at the Congress of Arts and Science at St. Louis-maintained exactly his position. And if he will refer to a file of the New York Nation for 1904 he will find an article there (vol. lxxix. pp. 518 f.) on the poetry of Arabia and the ballad problem which will, I think, convince him of this. As for my reference on p. 23 of my Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, it was really the exact opposite of what Sir Charles Lyall finds in it. I speak there of the religious authority and dignity surrounding the poet in ancient Arabia: of his decisions and guidance being accepted as a voice from the unseen world. And so, however elaborate and beautiful was his poetic art, however keen was the artistic sense of his hearers, it was not due to such things that, in practical matters, his word was accepted and followed, but to the belief that he was a man apart and inspired. Again, I recognize, just as much as Professor Goldziher, "that the works of the classical age of Arabic poetry must be regarded as products of art," but I am not speaking of that side of the poet's life and activity, but of its obscure early source and of the survivals from that source which endured into the classical period. Sir Charles Lyall will replace the "so" before "respected their poets" which he has omitted in the quotation from

my book and will refer it back to the preceding paragraphs, and will also give due weight to the qualification "in the first instance at least", I think that my meaning will become clear. Of course, if he rejects Goldziher's whole position as to an original connexion between poetic inspiration and that of soothsavers, etc., I cannot at all follow him. Also he will find on p. 20 of my book full acceptance of the indubitable fact that the later stories on the subject were told in jest. As for the Jamhara to which he refers, I have been somewhat intimately acquainted with it for many years, as I contributed a description of the Būlāq edition to the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for December, 1894, pp. clxxv-cxci. I trust he will believe, then, that I am in no respect a partaker of the heresy of Wellhausen, whose position in this, as in some other things, I frankly cannot understand.

D. B. MACDONALD.

SIBAWAIHI OR SIBUYAH.

My friend Mr. Krenkow, on p. 34 of his most useful paper in the January issue of this Journal on the $T\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}kh$ -Baghdād of the Khaṭīb, speaks somewhat severely of the attempts made by Arabic writers (often Persians themselves) to transliterate, according to the rules of Arabian speech, the names borne by their Persian co-religionists. He charges them with pedantry, and declares that it is wrong to write in their fashion Persian names, which should be properly transliterated as they were really pronounced by Persians.

I have no objection to make to this principle, which is that adopted by Professor Nöldeke in his well-known Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. But I wish to point out that, if we are to follow it consistently, we must not pronounce these early Persian

names as they are pronounced in Īrān at the present day, but as they were pronounced when the Arabs became acquainted with them. If we do so, we shall find that the Arabic transliteration is no matter of pedantry, but has good reason for its procedure.

Sībawaihi is said to have been so called from the smell of apples. This indicates that the second syllable of his name was $b\bar{o}$, not $b\bar{u}$, which latter pronunciation is altogether modern; $b\bar{o}$ in Pahlavī is $b\bar{o}i$ (Avesta baoidhi). The etymology, it is true, is foolish, because, as Mr. Krenkow points out in his footnote, $S\bar{\imath}bawaihi$ must be formed in the same way as dozens of other names of the same pattern of which $b\bar{o}$ is not an element, and also because there is only one b and not two; but nevertheless it fixes the pronunciation of the vowel as \bar{o} and not \bar{u} .

If we look into Sasanian history, we find several names of the same kind, some of which were known to the Greeks and had accordingly been transliterated by them. Thus the Persian بوید, Syriac (Joshua the Stylite, § 59) نجوانی, is in Greek (Procop. Pers. i, 12) Bóns; ندوید is in Greek (Burδόης (Nöldeke, Sasaniden, 273); شیروید (op. cit. 92) and گئروید (id. 139). As Nöldeke remarks (op. cit., note to p. 92), all these names are familiar or affectionate forms (hypocoristica), with an ending which the Greek transliteration shows should be rendered -oē; accordingly, in the Geschichte der Sasaniden they appear as Bôê, Bindôê, Šêrôê, Gurdôê, Ğuwânôê.²

² Mr. A. G. Ellis has reminded me that we probably have an Achæmenian name of the same formation in *Bigvai* (Ezra ii, 2, 14), which seems to be the Greek *Bayώas*, and was most likely pronounced in Persian *Baghōē*; this would be the hypocoristic of some longer name of which the first element is *Baghā*. God.

¹ A number of other names of the same kind are to be found in G. Hoffmann's Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer (1880). Hoffmann renders them Bābhowai (p. 58), Burzowai (93), Dēndowai (56), Gushnowai (70), Narsowai (103), Šērowai (77): these appear conclusive as to the pronunciation of the last syllable, as wai or wē, not yah.

Applying these principles to the more modern names it is clear that we should restore the original Persian pronunciation if we transliterated them $S\bar{e}b\bar{o}\bar{e}$, $Mushk\bar{o}\bar{e}$, $Kh\bar{a}l\bar{o}\bar{e}$, $Naft\bar{o}\bar{e}$, $Durust\bar{o}\bar{e}$, etc. It would be wrong to write them as if they were present-day Īrānī names, $S\bar{\imath}b\bar{u}yah$, $Mushk\bar{u}yah$, etc., because this pronunciation of the $majh\bar{u}l$ vowels did not come in until centuries after the Muslim conquest.

We now see at once why the Arabic writers used the termination -awaihi to render the Persian $-\bar{o}\bar{e}$. two vowels do not, strictly speaking, exist in classical Arabic, and they are therefore called majhūl, "unknown," as distinguished from \bar{u} and \bar{i} , $ma'r\bar{u}f$, "known." The nearest Arabic sound to \bar{o} is the diphthong au or aw, and the nearest Arabic sound to \bar{e} is the diphthong ai or ay. Therefore the Arabs were quite correct in the transliteration they adopted, according to the principles of their own language. In all probability the accent in these hypocoristic names fell upon the last syllable; and it was in order to mark this that the Arabs expressed it by aihi (with short kasrah at the end, which would not be heard in pause). In modern Arabic au is frequently pronounced ō, and ai ē; and Sībawaihi, thus rendered, is by no means a bad equivalent of Sēbōē.

C. J. LYALL.

ROMANIC LETTERS FOR INDIAN LANGUAGES

The accompanying illustration gives the details of the scheme of Romanic letters for Indian languages, as suggested in my paper on "An Imperial Script for India" read at the East India Association. Romanic letters consist of the ordinary Roman letters supplemented by the phonotypes of Sir Isaac Pitman and Mr. A. J. Ellis, together with some special letters for Indian sounds for which English has no equivalents. The illustration

shows the printing types, the script forms of the letters, and the sounds assigned to the letters. I shall be glad to send further information and specimens of the application

of the scheme to Indian vernaculars on receipt of address and stamp for postage.

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THE BUSHELL BOWL

I desire to correct an error of translation near the end of my rendering of the Bushell Bowl inscription published in the April number of the *Journal*. The following is the passage in question: "On the *ting yu* day, a plain bowl being completed, was presented to the King for the favour of his commands."

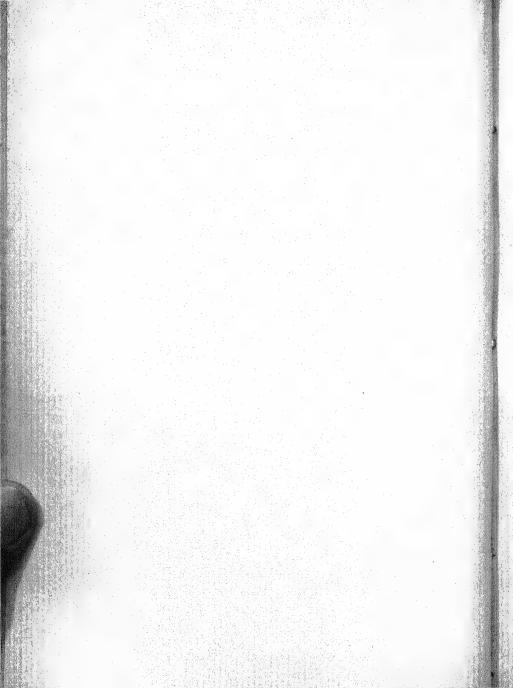
The error would not have mattered materially had I not founded an argument for the genuineness of the bowl upon

this passage, though fortunately the change of rendering does not affect the force of the argument.

It has been pointed out to me—and I ought to have seen the difficulty before—that the Marquis of Tsin, having taken leave of the king and returned home, where he announced his successes in the ancestral shrine, could not be found immediately after again at the Chou Court, as would be implied by the statement that he presented the bowl for the favour of the king's commands. The crux is in the character $\textcircled{q}_i, y \ddot{u}$, which I translated "presented to". This character, however, has another and opposite meaning. Kanghsi includes the sense of "greeting" (相 $\textcircled{q}_i, hsiang ying)$ among those of the character, and states that the latter is then equivalent to $\textcircled{g}_i, y a$, with the same meaning.

I would accordingly substitute the following rendering: "On the ting yu day, a plain bowl having been completed, the Royal commands were duly met and received." The argument on pp. 445-6 only needs qualifying by changing the proffering of the actual bowl and requesting commands to the formal greeting and receipt of their text, which, of course, must have ended with the words "so will the end be peace". I will venture to add, "so mote it be."

L. C. HOPKINS.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PARISISTAS OF THE ATHARVAVEDA. Edited by GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING and JULIUS VON NEGELEIN. Vol. I, in three parts: Text and Critical Apparatus. Leipzig, 1909–10.

Drs. Bolling and von Negelein are fully justified in editing, even from the imperfect MSS at their disposal, the text of the Atharvan Parisistas. There seems no reasonable probability of further manuscript material of value becoming available at any early date, and while it is true that the text cannot be definitely reconstituted as a whole on the basis of the existing material, it is clearly now possible to give a version which will render accessible the contents of the Parisistas as a whole. It is true that some of the texts are already accessible in satisfactory versions, such as those of the Asurīkalpa by Magoun, of the Skandayāga by Goodwin,² the Auśanasādbhutāni by Hatfield,³ the Śrāddhakalpa by Caland, the Grahayuddha by Weber, 5 who has also utilized the Naksatrakalpa 6 and the Caranavyūha⁷; but there is great advantage in having them edited collectively with full critical apparatus and indices, nor is it doubtful that much has been done by the editors to improve on the texts prepared by their predecessors. The labour involved in all this work must have been very great; in both cases the first idea of carrying out the task was suggested as far back as 1898, a date which reminds us of the amount of the work required to produce so elaborate and valuable a text.

Of course, the subject-matter is such as to render it

¹ AJP. x, 159-97.

² JAOS. xv, pp. v seqq.

³ Ibid. 207–20.

⁴ Altindischer Ahnencult, pp. 95 seqq., 290 seqq.

⁵ Ind. Stud. x, 317 seqq. ⁶ See Naxatra, ii, passim.

⁷ See also Siegling, Die Rezensionen des Caranavyūha.

needless to aim at perfection. The texts are without any substantial degree of literary merit, and the care with which the original of good poetry and prose should be reconstructed would here be thrown away. The value of the texts rests on their interest as bearing on religion, ritual, magic, astronomy, and grammar, and for those purposes we can extract much from the part of the text which is certain without having in all respects a perfect text available.

The value of the *Parisistas* is, unhappily, seriously diminished by the total uncertainty of their date. They are not, indeed, quite modern: the quotations of Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the *Atharvaveda*, and of Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, which the editors have carefully recorded, are sufficient to prove, what indeed one could hardly doubt, that they are not modern productions. General considerations are adequate to refer them to the period at the end of the Vedic period proper, when the Vedic tradition was becoming more and more faint and the verses were transferred to other uses, but there is no tolerable ground for fixing the date of this period. Nor,

¹ Fick's dictum in his review of this work (ZDMG. lxv, 839), "bei den Parisistas griechischer Einfluss ausgeschlossen ist," is, of course, too lighthearted, and is not really intended; cf. Yavana in 1, 2.4; li, 1.3; 3.3; Ivi, 1. 5; Ivii, 2. 5; and the Roman dīnāra in xxxvi, 26. 3. He is more nearly correct in connecting the texts on omens with the Puranas, and this might help if we could accept the view of Mr. Pargiter (JRAS. 1912, pp. 254, 255) that the occurrence in inscriptions of certain verses which are found in the Padma, Bhavisya, and Brahma Purānas affords evidence for the early dating of these Puranas. But the only conclusion which the data presented by Mr. Pargiter admit of is that there were current in India various verses regarding the gift of land, and that these are found in inscriptions and Puranas. That the Puranas did not borrow from any particular inscription is doubtless true, but why should we assume that the inscriptions borrowed from these Puranas? A common ancestry for both is obviously to be found in earlier Sastras, not now extant, and no conclusion can be deduced for the date of the Puranas from these verses. To obviate misunderstanding I may say that I quite agree with Mr. Pargiter in not thinking the Puranas very modern; cf. my Bodleian Catalogue, Appendix to vol. i, p. 7.

again, is it possible to doubt that the *Parisistas* represent varying strata, and are not all of one time. Thus no one will doubt that the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, which heads the list, is of considerable antiquity and value: it is not very early, indeed, as its extended geographical knowledge shows, but it is not all late work, but a reworking of older material: some of the mantras are of Vedic character. But even in cases where this character is absent there are available criteria which will help when systematically applied, as they will no doubt be by the editors in the further work which they promise, to separate the several pieces as of different dates.

Take, for instance, Parisista ix, the ritual for the presentation to a priest of a cow made of sesame (tiladhenu), and Parisista lxvii, the expiation of portents (adbhutaśānti). Both are written in Ślokas and have no obvious Vedic character. But the former presents us with words like cārabhata (ix, 4. 5), "mercenary," which is appropriate to the Kāvya style, and pumgava is used in the compound brāhmaņa-pumgava (ix, 3.1) in a sense which also is not early. Moreover, it recognizes the most developed form of Yama's dead world, with the asipattravana and other horrors, and the dogs (no longer two) which convey terror. A more subtle form of comparison gives evidence of posteriority. In Parisista ix there are fifty-one halfverses of Slokas: of these not more than five deviate from the approved Pathyā type, the second set of four syllables having the form $\smile -- \simeq$, and of these five three are of the third Vipulā type ($\smile - \smile - -, - - -$). There remain ix, 2. 1b, which is irregular, running → —: it will be seen that the line has to contain suvarnaśrngī raupyakhurī; then in ix, 3. 2b we have $- \smile - - \smile \smile - -$, ksīradhenum madhudhenum, where two MSS. read madhūdhenum, restoring the metre at the cost of usage: yet the irregularity is quite possible. In one other verse the

text reads (ix, 2. 6b) dhenutvan na sa $pray\bar{a}ti$: this is metrically ugly and happily it is clearly not the correct text: the verse is missing in the MSS. BCT., and in ADE. the reading is $pr\bar{a}y\bar{a}ti$, which the editors should not have altered, as it makes perfectly good sense and is the less obvious reading than $pray\bar{a}ti$.

With this may be contrasted Parisista lxvii. It contains ninety-two half-verses, and of these twenty-one are irregular, and what is even more important the irregularities are not of the ordinary Vipulā type. These are, indeed, represented, the first Vipulā ($\simeq - \sim - \sim \sim \simeq$) twice, the second ($\simeq - \smile - - \smile \smile \simeq$) thrice, the third $(\simeq - \sim -, - -)$ once, the fourth $(\cong \cong \cong -, - \sim - \cong)$ twice. Then there occurs once the double iambic ending; four times in one phrase the ending - - - - - without the usual cæsura which makes the fourth Vipulā; once once $\smile \smile ----$; once $\smile \smile ---\smile \smile -$; once $\smile \smile \smile \smile \smile$, $\smile \smile$; and $\smile \smile \smile$, $\smile \smile$, an irregular third Vipula. In lxvii, 8, 8, the verse ends pratipurusam nibodhata with nine syllables. There can be no reasonable doubt of the earlier character of such verse, for considerations of formal and less formal productions do not here arise.

In Parisista ii, the acquisition of a kingdom $(r\bar{a}strasamvarga)$, of seventy-four half-verses seven only are irregular. Of these three are of the third Vipulā type; one is — — — — — an irregular third Vipulā; one is — — — — — a fourth Vipulā with irregular cæsura; and one — — — — an irregular first Vipulā, with one di-iambic ending. Again, in one case $(samayit\bar{a}brahmaveda-j\bar{n}as)$ the compound is broken by the cæsura. Contrast with this Parisistai, 5, where irregular verses are almost the rule. In

Pariśiṣṭa v, of fifty-five half-verses but two are irregular, being third Vipulās, and in one case there is Sandhi between the half-verses, and in this Pariśiṣṭa the late Paurānic form cāmara occurs. In Pariśiṣṭa iii, the coronation of a king, of eighteen half-verses only one is irregular, being a third Vipulā, and a sign of lateness is visible in the crasis etā(ħ) anvaye into etānvaye.

In Parisista iii, 3, vv. 3-6 are a little hymn and can be easily distinguished from the surrounding verses by the metrical irregularities (three in nine half-verses) and the use of phraseology like pāram aśīmahi. In Pariśista vi, the ceremony before a meal image of night, the verses found are all regular. On the other hand, in ix of twenty-two half-lines seven are irregular—one ends in a di-iambus, two are first Vipulas (— — — — — —), one is irregular (- - - - - - - - - - -), one is a second Vipulā, one a third, and one is unusual, — — — — eleven verses occur without an irregularity in the description of the weighing of the king; xii-xixa yield little useful material, but in xixb, the worship of Brahman, of fifty-eight half-verses but one is irregular (-----in texture. In xx, which deals with the offering to Skanda, of sixty-four half-verses five are irregular—one a regular fourth Vipulā, one irregular (— -, - -, - -), one a regular second Vipulā, one an irregular third (--- - - - -), and finally one - - - - - -— with nine syllables. Parisista xxi is interesting; it does not seem in contents (an account of the objects needed at a ceremony) to be very old, and of eighty-two half-verses four are irregular (a regular fourth Vipulā, two irregular second Vipulās (— - - - - - and - - -cases of a di-iambus, which normally seems early metre. But they are peculiar: in both cases they occur in verses

the first half of which is a compound finished in the second half (viz. śleśmātakārkakanṭakikaṭutiktādivarjite; ariṣṭagṛdhrakauśikavihaṃgais; similarly, there is an irregular fourth Vipulā in aindrāyudhadhūmrakṛṣṇanī-lapānduravarṇakāh), and so far from being a sign of early date they confirm the general impression of late date which the other metrical characteristics certainly convey.

On the other hand, xxii, the characteristics of the Arani. deals with a topic of which early accounts are natural, and of eighty-nine half-verses not less than nineteen are irregular. There are eight third Vipulas; two di-iambic endings; two first, one second, and two fourth Vipulas; and the following irregular forms: ----; --- $- \cup - \cup -$; $- \cup \cup -$; and - - $\smile \smile \smile$, $\smile \smile$. In xxiii the vessels for the sacrifice are described: of 147 half-verses thirty-one are irregular; there are four first Vipulās ($\smile - \smile - \smile \smile \smile$) and two (- - - - - -), five second Vipulas, three third Vipulas, four fourth Vipulas, and the following odd forms: --- \smile -; \smile ----, -- \smile ---- (nine syllables); - \smile (seven syllables); \smile - - - \smile \smile -; and - - -, - - -. On the other hand, in xxiv there are twenty half-verses without irregularity, and the significant line puram antahpuram cāpi nāyakam ca hinasti sā, where nāyaka is a sign of late origin. This Parisista, too, is of especial interest as the next two sections (wrongly counted to it in the tradition) are not only clearly separate in subject but also in metrical style: in twenty-eight half-verses there are eight irregularitiessix first Vipulas (two of type a, four of type b), one second Vipulā, and one - - - - - - - a variant of the first Vipula: here style rather than age is the cause, for

the verses are decidedly ornate. Indeed, I think the editors are wrong in holding that 2, 5-3, 2 and 5, 1-6, 4 (which are written in regular Upajātis and Vasantatilakās) are later than the rest of the text. It is impossible to cut out 2. 5-3. 2 reasonably, and it is significant that the verses omitted, like the verses allowed to be original, show the preference for the first Vipula. This cannot be an accident, and the proper conclusion is that the text is a unity, and that we have the same complex of comparative simplicity with elaboration which meets us in the Kāvva and is regarded as an ornament. The case is indeed a useful warning of the necessity of bearing stylistic considerations in mind. In xxv, of thirty-four half-verses there are two third Vipulas and one fourth Vipula. xxvi, which deals with the characteristics of the kindling wood (samidh), of sixty-six half-verses eleven are irregular (one first Vipula, three second, four third, one fourth, and \sim \sim \sim and \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim . In xxvii, which describes the spoon (sruva), in twenty halfverses, there are \circ - - \circ \circ \circ and - \circ -_ _ and _ _ _ _ _ the two latter in one line. In xxxviii, in nineteen half-verses one first Vipulā alone appears. In xxix, twenty-one verses yield one third Vipulā. In xxxa, of thirty-two verses one is a first Vipulā, another $\smile ----$ in a long compound (abhasmāsthyangāratusā); in 2. 3, agne prehy agninā rayim, we have a quotation; in xxxb, of twenty-six verses but one is a third Vipulā and it contains the late sāttvikī, tāmasī, rājasī. In xxxi, of 105 halfverses thirteen are irregular (two first Vipulas, one of each type, three second Vipulas, one third Vipula, three ノー ー; ー ∪ ー ー ー ー ー ∪; and ∪ ∪ — - - - -). In xxxiii, of eighty-seven verses seventeen are irregular (in other cases the verses are quotations); there are three first Vipulas (type b), one

second Vipulā, four third Vipulās, three fourth Vipulās;
;;;;;;;;
and $\smile - \smile \smile -$; two di-iambic, and one of eleven syllables. In xxxvi, up to 25 inclusive, of ninety-seven half-verses thirty-three are irregular—four first Vipulās (three of b , one of a), three second, five third, three fourth, two di-iambie; $\smile - \smile \smile$; $\smile \smile$
;
(twice);;;;
- $ -$; and in 30. 1 b is found $ -$ In 26 and 27, which are
connected (lakṣajāpa occurs in 26.1; lakṣajapa is 27.1), of eight half-verses not one is irregular, and this curious fact is not perhaps unconnected with dīnārānām found in 26.3, which is conclusive for a date not before the first century A.D.¹ Probably these verses and perhaps the rest to the end were added later, though this is not necessary, and in 29.1 a di-iambic ending (anumantritam) is found. The Pariśiṣṭa deals with ceremonies to obtain certain wishes from Rudra Śiva, and additions were easy and natural. Indeed, the MS. C adds a new section to the Pariśiṣṭa in artificial late metres.

¹ Keith, JRAS. 1907, p. 681. I take this opportunity of correcting Winternitz & Keith, *Bodleian Catalogue*, No. 1439, where Vajrajāpa should be read for Vajrajāya.

In xxxvii some of the verses are clearly sub-Vedic and contain Vedic forms and conform to Vedic rules of metre (1. 8-10; 14. 2-4; 19. 4, 5, besides the non-Anustubh verses); of the rest, twenty-eight half-verses, sixteen are irregular — one first Vipulā, one second Vipulā, three fourth Vipulās, two di-iambic; — — — — — — ; — — — — ;

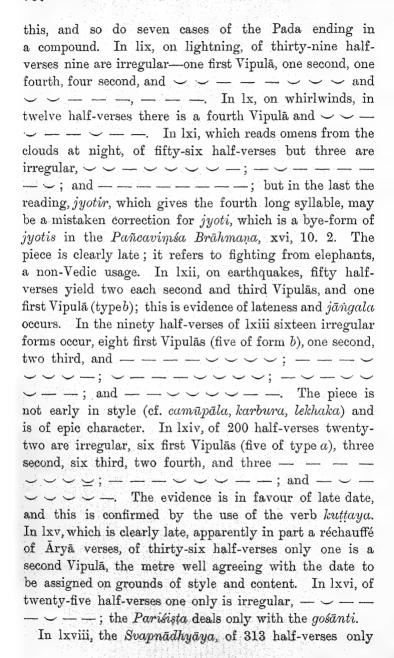
— — — — — ; and in three cases the Pada has been seven feet unless resolutions are made, while in the second Pada of one verse yathā idam must be read with hiatus. This is useful evidence of the probability of early date being assigned to early metre.

____; ___; ___;___;

In xxxviii, which deals with a pañcagavya ceremony and therefore is naturally expected to be late, of thirty-nine half-verses the only irregularities besides two in quotations, which do not count, are those in 3. 3a (trayodaśyādicaturşu)and two regular fourth Vipulas, the latter in a verse where the line is broken at the compound (kālamantrahīne) and in the word pañcagavyam. In xxxix the pañcagavya appears again, and apart from the quotations in 1. 6 and 8b the only irregularities in twenty-five half-lines are in v. 10, sauvarnau kūrmamakarau and tāmrakulīrakarkatau. in v. 11, pañcagavyam (a regular fourth Vipulā) and kartrdātārau snāyetām. These are significant as all explained by the necessities of subject-matter, and it is interesting to see that the MSS. ABCDE gave the form karketau and Roth karketau. Both kulīra and karketa (assuming this form is to be accepted) are very late words of the time of Suśruta. The same line (10) gives us mudgara as a species of fish apparently, a version known from the lexica but not elsewhere, and the use of svargasyākṣayyam in verse 12c is noteworthy, as also the use of Agasti for Agastya as in Av. iv, 9. 3. So in xli, which deals with the Samdhyā, of twenty-nine half-verses only one is irregular, being a third Vipula, and this sign

a late date, and this is confirmed by the mention of Yavana, Śaka, Tukhāra, and the occurrence in the Pariśista of regular Vamsastha and other ornate verses: the piece is no doubt, as the metre suggests and as Tukhāra shows, younger than l. In lii, again on the Grahas, of 164 halfverses only eighteen are irregular; there are four first Vipulās (three of type a), four second Vipulās, five third Vipulās, one fourth Vipulā, and ————; → — —. The irregularities are so prevailingly normal that probably the evidence is decided for late dating. In liii, which deals with Rahu, of fiftysix half-verses five are irregular—one third, two fourth Vipulās, and $\smile --- \smile \smile --$ and $\smile -- \smile -$ — — — In liv, of twenty-three half-verses two are irregular, $- \smile - - - \smile \smile$ and $- - - \smile$ one a first Vipulā (type b), and — — — — — — and $- \smile \smile - \smile - -$. In lvi, which is a piece of astrological trifling, of fifty-nine half-verses only four are irregular—a third Vipulā, a second Vipulā, and — — — \smile - - \smile and - \smile \smile -, - - . Moreover, of these two occur in 4. 1 in Naksatra names, and the last in vimsatisatam tv āgneyam, so that late dating is clear, and this is confirmed by the mention of Yavanas and Sakas and of Ganas in the sense of guilds (2.7) and sheths (śresthāh in 2. 7 must mean this).

In Parisista lviii, which deals with the $Digd\bar{a}ha$, of twenty-six half-verses there is but one irregular, a third Vipulā, and this sign of lateness is confirmed by the fact that in three cases the Pada ends in the middle of a compound. In lviiib, of ninety-nine half-verses, sixteen are irregular; four are first Vipulās (three type b), five second, four third, and three — — — — — — — — — — As the variants are almost all regular the evidence is rather for a late date: golu also suggests



thirty-four are irregular, and these include sixteen first
Vipulās (eleven of form a), three second, and three third.
Two slight variants of the first Vipulā have three (-
—— — — and four occurrences (————
$\smile \smile -); \smile -\smile -\smile \smile$ is also found.
The others are $$
$ \cup$; $\cup \cup \cup$; and $- \cup$
karenu, karātaka, cipita, śaśānka, and so forth show. In
lxix, of eighty-seven half-verses twelve are irregular—four
first Vipulas (one form b), two third Vipulas, two fourth
Vipulās, one second Vipulā, and $\smile - \smile - \smile - \smile -$
(kṛṣīvalah kṛṣīvalam, an exceptional case); — — —
$\smile \smile \smile ;$ and $\smile \smile \smile \smile \smile \smile \smile $. In lxx,
of 144 half-verses seven only are irregular—three first
Vipulās (one of form b), one second, and one third
Vipulā; $\smile \smile - \smile \smile -$ and $ \smile - \smile \smile$
— —. The style is also modern. In lxxb, of 269 half-
verses thirty are irregular—six first Vipulās (three of
each form), six second, eight third, four fourth, and
four , with
\sim \sim \sim and $-\sim$ \sim \sim \sim \sim ; 22. 3 is
irregular, but because of a quotation. The small number
of irregular verses other than the Vipulas is noteworthy.
In lxxc, in 133 half-verses twenty-six are irregular—three
first Vipulās (one form b), six third, four second, and
two fourth Vipulas, and one di-iambic. There are also
(twice); $$;
\smile ————————————————————————————————————
; and
The Parisista is a patchwork of fragments and its text
is uncertain. The verses in other than Śloka metres are
so accurate and elaborate that the modernness of the greater
part of the <i>Parisista</i> is undoubted. In lyxi in 222 half-

verses there are thirty-two irregularities: of these eleven

are the fourth Vipulā, clearly here a stylistic preference, as this Vipulā is normally the most seldom used; seven are first Vipulās, of which six are form b (four are cases of one phrase, $yasya\ rājño\ janapade$), three are second, and six third Vipulās. A modification of the first Vipulā (------) is thrice found, and there are left as irregularities ------ and -----. The style is late and the metre is in accord; $att\bar{a}laka$ is found here and in lx, 6. 2 and lxi, 3. 10. In lxxii, of twenty-two half-verses not one is irregular; moreover, there are six verses in Upajāti metre which are nearly regular (5. 4 is slightly corrupt). Similarly, the verses in lxxc, 30-2 are prevailing of regular types.

These details, tedious as they are, seem to show that the metrical test is not a mistake. It requires careful use and mere percentages are useless, just as stylistic percentages are dangerous (as the study of Plato has shown) unless carefully controlled. Much must be allowed for subjectmatter: the Varnapatala is a difficult topic to handle, and if the verse is irregular, as it is, no stress can be laid on that fact. Then even if the subject-matter as a whole is simple, there may be words which cannot easily get into any regular metre, as in the case of the names of the Naksatras. More important still is the fact that of the irregularities there are two kinds: the Vipulas are indeed irregularities compared with the Pathya, but they are always allowable, and they may be regarded by some composers as stylistic merits. The occurrence, then, even of many Vipulas is not necessarily a proof of early date. Other irregularities are far more significant, and if at all numerous must reflect the period before the strict rules of the Śloka had prevailed, unless they can be traced definitely to difficulties of subject-matter or to mere bad

¹ The counting makes no claim to absolute accuracy; moreover, in some cases the text is certainly doubtful.

versification. Further, it is essential to remember that the *Pariśistas* are not necessarily as handed down complete wholes. *Dīnāra* is found in xxxvi, 26. 3,¹ but this word does not mark the rest of the text as late; it occurs in a passage naturally distinguished by its absolute regularity from the rest of a somewhat irregular *Pariśista*.

But we are still without means of finding any definite dating. So far as the verses in other than the Śloka metre are concerned, the regularity of their construction, often quite perfect, places the pieces of which they form integral parts later than the Brhaddevatā, in which irregular verses are very frequent; with this coincides the fact that regular Ślokas go practically always with these regular verses. In the Brhaddevatā the irregular verses go with irregular Ślokas, though the latter metre evidently took definite form long before the longer metres. The conclusion that the Pariśistas with such metres ² are later than the Brhaddevatā is one which cannot be doubted, but it would have been a priori pretty plain that this was so.

Some confirmation of the validity of these metrical tests can be obtained by the examination of the $Rgvidh\bar{a}na$ in comparison with the $Brhaddevat\bar{a}$. The former text belongs by tradition to Saunaka; it can be ascribed with good reason to his school, and to a member of the school not unduly separated in time from the founder. It shows clear traces of Vedic forms similar to those noted by Professor Macdonell in the $Brhaddevat\bar{a}$, and its style and manner are comparable with those of that work. Moreover, it has with the $Brhaddevat\bar{a}$ certain lines in

¹ It is noteworthy that in xxxvi, 26. 3, the term māndaliko rājā is found, a clear sign of lateness; māndalika occurs also in lxxi c, 31. 4.

² The theory that careless writing explains irregular metre is seldom applicable: in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which is certainly written in decadent Sanskrit, the metre is stiffly regular as a rule; e.g. in sixty-five verses from Taraṅga viii only three irregularities (two third and a first Vipulās) are found.

³ Meyer's edition, p. xi.

⁴ i, p. xxviii.

common, as Professor Macdonell has noted,1 and there is every reason to assume that in neither case was there conscious borrowing, but that there was a school tradition, to which, indeed, the similarity in invocation (mantradrybhyo namaskrtvā), and the use of samāmnāyānupūrvaśah clearly point. Now the text (omitting two clear interpolations recognized as such on non-metrical grounds by Rudolph Meyer²) contains in all 1,204 halfverses, and the following is a list of the metrical variations. I have here included all cases, even when a Vedic quotation is the prime cause of the variant, for the sake of comparison with the figures given in the case of the Brhaddevatā,3 and for the same reason: it is clear from other cases of Vedic Pratikas that the author could overcome the metric difficulty when he would, and it may fairly be assumed that when he lets it stand he was willing to be guilty of an irregularity, especially as in most cases he uses the same irregularities in his own verses. It may be added that I have ignored the minor interpolations suspected by Meyer: it is clear that he goes too far in his doubts of the text and postulates a degree of accuracy which is not to be found in writers of Saunaka's school, and the register of odd verses is too dangerous to accept wholesale. It is also true that Meyer's edition, despite its obvious merits, rests upon too few MSS. to be considered final, but despite this it is accurate enough for useful results to be derived, if not with such certainty as in the case of the Brhaddevatā itself.

There are 133 occurrences of the Vipulas, thirty-six of the first (twenty-one of form a), forty of the second, twenty-seven of the third, and thirty of the fourth. In addition there are seventy-four irregular forms.⁴

¹ i, p. 147. ² pp. v, vi.

³ See Keith, JRAS. 1906, pp. 1-10; and cf. Oldenberg's important article in *Gött. Nach.* 1909, pp. 219-46. I assume throughout that a mute plus a liquid makes position: this is clearly the case.

⁴ ii, 25. 5 may be disregarded as consisting of two Vedic quotations.

Variants of the first Vipulā	-24
	9
	11
	2
	1
	1 .
Variants of the second Vipu	lā—7
	1
	2
	3
	1
Variants of the third Vipul	ā-7
	1
	1
	2
	1
	1
Variants of the fourth Vipu	lā—3
	1
	2

Of the di-iambic ending there are ten examples: in two cases each the first half is $\smile -$ and - - -; in one each $\smile -$ -; - - -; and - - . In three cases the ending is - - , prefaced by - - -; and - - : In eleven cases the end is - - ; in three the first half is - - ; in two - - ; and the others are - : - ; and - - : In nine cases the first half-verse begins with nine syllables, all due to Vedic quotations.

The total number of irregularities is thus 207, which is about 17 per cent of the total of half-verses (1,204); the percentage of irregularities other than the Vipulās is

over 6. In the case of the *Brhaddevatā* the percentages are about 16 and over 4. But the explanation of the higher percentages in the *Rgvidhāna* is simply that the handling of Vedic Pratīkas is less happy: the nine cases of a nine-syllable Pada as against five in the *Brhaddevatā* are conclusive. In both cases the other metres are quite formless, though in the *Rgvidhāna* there are only the introductory verses to use as a comparison.

The metre of the two omitted passages (ii, 6-12 and iii, 26-62) usefully confirms the argument from metre. They are clearly not parts of the original text as a whole. Meyer showed this from their outward form, their contents and style, and concluded that they were later. Now in ii, 6-12, of seventy-six half-verses six only are irregular (one each first Vipula, second, third, and fourth), two being quite irregular, $- \smile - - \smile \smile - -$ and - . These are much below the proper allowance of irregularities for the Rgvidhana proper. In iii, 26-42, in 194 half-verses there are thirtythree irregularities, but only eight 1 are other than Vipulas, and there are five of the second form of the first Vipula, which shows a distinct stylistic preference for a Vipulā. Moreover, there occur in it regular Vasantatilakā and Indravajrā verses.

The Parisistas yield disappointingly little new material for the history of religion or culture. It is significant that while Brahman, the god, occurs repeatedly, Kṛṣṇa never is mentioned, but this is not surprising; Kṛṣṇa as a god lies out of the Vedic pantheon and the Vedic tradition. In grammar they yield more, though still not much, and a few points illustrative of syntax may be noted. In lvii, 1. 5, the editors suggest the reading pittajvaras tathā śvāsah prajāh pīḍayatas tadā in place of pīḍayate, on

¹ Probably only seven; 32. 1 is a doubtful reading: the MSS. favour pradaksinam.

² ii, 1. 1; xiii, 5. 6; xix b, 2. 5; xx, 7. 1; xxxi, 1. 1, 3; xxxiii, 1. 1, etc.

the ground that metre and concord can best be secured thus. But this is clearly a needless suggestion, and is not supported by this pidayete of A, which is metrically improbable. The singular with the nearest subject is quite as legitimate as the dual, and pidayate is used in the middle as readily as in the active; see e.g. liii, 4. 4, and the reading of ADE in xlii, 2. 6, where we should of course read in place of the text, as reported by the editors (p. 269), tasmāt pīdayate vastram. The change between pīdayate and pīdayet which precedes in the version of ADE. is worthy of notice: in xliii, 2, 17, etc., the editors against the authority of the MSS. read trpyatām for trpyetām, on the ground that as trpyatu and trpyantu repeatedly occur, the change of voice or mood is inexplicable. I think the MSS. reading should clearly have been kept with change of voice, not mood. Carelessness in these respects is characteristic of later texts,1 as it is of the Epic, and the Tarpanavidhi is not very old in its Atharvan form.

The parenthetical use of verbs of saying is very strongly illustrated in lxviii, 1.8: pracaksate sā prakrtih prakrti $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ -kovid $\bar{a}h$, especially as $t\bar{a}m$ praketim is metrically possible, but not one MS. suggests it. In the Paippalada Mantras appended to i a good case of the nominative, when the vocative is normal, is found: Agnis tam (yakşmam) ghrtabodhano 'paskanda nah: it is significant that B has commenced to change to 'paskande(n). xviiic, 9, is a possible parallel. In xxxiii, 1. 7, a string of nominatives is taken up by ity etan, as often in the Sutra style. An accusative of time, $p\bar{u}rnim\bar{a}m$, when $p\bar{u}rnim\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ is not possible for the metre, is found in ix, 4. 7. A genitive of material seems to be seen in $bah\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ vāpi kārayet in ix, 1. 3. The comparison is as usual clumsy in ii, 1. 3: daivāt purusakārāc ca daivam eva viśisyate. The interchange of the gerund with a case-form and its reference to some person other than the real

¹ See Meyer, *Rgvidhāna*, pp. ix, x.

subject is very clear in ii, 6. 4, where sarvadravyaparityāgāt is parallel with vedānām adhītyādyottamā ṛcaḥ, and the subject is quite different (śuddhir anyair udāhṛtā). More unusual is the reading in xxxvii, 2. 1: atha yat kāko 'bhimṛśati tan mṛtyum āśaṅkhyaṃ bhavati. Have we here a real parallel to the Lucretian "æternas quoniam pœnas in morte timendumst", and the Greek διωκτέον τοὺς πολεμίους? Unhappily it would be unwise to press this instance, while the construction is elsewhere little supported.¹ It is quite possible that the noun mṛtyu is for once neuter; such interchanges of gender are not rare in Sanskrit (e.g. haras in Bṛhaddevatā, v, 19, is masc.), or again mṛtyur may be read and āśaṅkhyam (which is not so easy a corruption) will be a neuter predicate on the same principle as śakyam is constantly used.

In the use of the moods the only point of interest is the use of the optative. In ii, 2. 2, is read atharvā srjate ghoram adbhutam samayet tathā, where the change of mood is of course explicable, but which points to the growing equivalence of the indicative and the optative. So also in xii, 1. 10, and lxvii, 8. 7; in lxiv, 4. 8, the change from vinasyeta to kṣīyate is really little more than a result of the metre, which will not bear vinasyate. Good examples of the optative in indefinite relative clauses will be found in ii, 5. 2; xxxvii, 9. 1, 19. 1; 1, 2. 1; Ixviii, 2. 54; Ixxi, 5. 3; 6. 1, 2; 7. 1, etc. The optative and indicative alternate as in ix, 4. 7: ya imām pathate nityam yaś cemām śrnuyād iti | devalokam atikramya sūryalokam sa gachati, where the placing of the world of the sun above the world of the gods is of interest. In the same clause even they alternate, as in xxxi, 10. 4: yas tv imam śrāvayed vidvān pathate caiva sarvadā . . . rudraloke mahīyate, and so xxxvii, 17. 1. Future and optative alternate in v, 5, 2. The optative of characteristic is seen in i, 9. 2: utpātān yas

¹ Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, p. 61.

tu yān vidyāt . . . tam vai lipsitum arhati. Yas-yān in that passage seems to have the force of "one who can tell whatever portents"; ADE. have tān, but cf. yadā yatra in lxvi, 9. 4, which has the same indefinite sense, and the difficulties of Rgveda, iii. 32. 14, may thus be best explained. Of minor points may be mentioned the pleonastic use of ca in ix, 2.7, and the shortened "compound" kṛśa in nātisthūlam kṛśam tathā in iii, 2.3, and xxvii, 2.2.

Of the many other points of interest I may note that the theory 1 that the mysterious $Vang\bar{a}vagadh\bar{a}h$ in Aitareya $\bar{A}ranyaka$, ii, 1. 1, contains a reference to Vangas and Magadhas receives a slight support from the compound $Vanga-Magadha-Matsy\bar{a}h$ found in i, 7. 7. The use of khalatin for khalati in lxviii, 1. 11, is paralleled by the use of $j\bar{n}\bar{a}tin$ for $j\bar{n}\bar{a}ti$ in $Rgvidh\bar{a}na$, ii, 16. 5; iii, 21. 5. $\bar{A}krsna$ is interesting, especially as it occurs in the technical sense of "verging on black" in lii, 2. 5.

Some of the texts show points of contact with other works which afford some evidence of date. Thus the Tarpanavidhi may be compared with the Tarpana in the Śānkhāyana Grhya Sūtra³ and the Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra.4 It is not only much longer, but it adds names of a modern cast, Kapila, Vodha, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha, and Pānini (Paila and Sumantu are common to the Sūtras) among others; divides into two persons the female sages Gargā Vācaknavī, Vadavā Prātitheyī, and Sulabhā Maitrevi, and the Rsis, Kahola Kausitaki and Suyajña Sānkhāyana, while it adds a Mahāsānkhāyana. It is only fair to place this extended version later than either Sūtra, but it is much more doubtful if this applies to the still more extended list in the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra,5 which is decidedly and admittedly later than that of the

¹ Keith, Śānkhāyana Āranyaka, p. 46, n. 4.

² Patañjali on Pāṇini, ii, 2. 18, Vārtt. 5; Wackernagel, Allind. Gramm. ii, 1, 237.

³ iv, 10.

other two Sūtras.¹ There seems to be no decisive evidence to determine which of these texts is the earlier. The $K\bar{u}rmavibh\bar{u}ga$, a mythic geography, is clearly not early, for it gives many non-Vedic names, such as Nāsikya (Nasik), Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), Sahyagiri, Vaijayantī in the south, Ahichattra and Nāgapura and others. Pāriyātra goes with Kāśi and Kuru-Paňcāla, reminding us of the definition in Vasiṣṭha² of the land of the Āryas to the north of the Pāripātra Mountains. The editors print Pāriyātra without comment, but p and y in the MSS. of the type they have had available do not differ, and Bühler³ prefers the reading with a p, Pāripātra. Unhappily want of MSS, has rendered it impossible to do much more than Bloomfield⁴ has already done for the Kautsavyaniruktanighantu.

It remains to add that the volume is most admirably produced, that the text is printed in transcription, as common sense dictates, that misprints are very few, and that the editors have had the wisdom to add an index of words which, while not aiming at completeness, contains a most useful selection of the terms found in the texts. But does grāmin in xxxvi, 16, really mean "headman of a village"? "A lord of a village" seems at least equally likely sense.

A. Berriedale Keith.

Indian Chronology (Solar, Lunar, and Planetary).

A practical guide to the interpretation and verification of Tithis, Nakshatras, Horoscopes, and other Indian Time-records, B.C. 1 to A.D. 2000. By Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, M.A., B.L. (Madras), Ll.B. (London). Crown 4to. Madras, 1911.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work, the contents of which are summarily indicated by the title, gives complete

¹ Oldenberg, SBE. xxix, 121. Paithinasi occurs only in the Atharvan text; cf. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, pp. 17, 18.

² i, 8; Baudhāyana, i, 1. 2. 9.

³ SBE. xiv, 147.

⁴ JAOS. xv, pp. xlviii-l.

information on all topics of Indian chronography and furnishes accurate methods for calculating all items connected with it. For the latter purpose serve numerous tables, which take up 233 closely printed quarto pages, containing little short of a million of figures. They are preceded by 114 pages of letterpress divided into four parts. The first part gives a full and clear explanation of the calendary system of the Hindus, the quantities used in it, and methods for calculating those items which are noticed in an Indian almanac, viz., solar and lunar dates, weekdays, Naksatras, the Tyājyam, Yogas, Jovian cyclic years, eclipses, etc. The second and third parts explain the use of the several tables and their construction. The fourth part (planets and planetary chronology) teaches how to calculate the mean and the true places of planets and how to construct Indian horoscopes. The author, who does not believe in astrology (Preface, p. ii), has included the last-mentioned subject in his work because it forms part of Hindu chronology, and because he writes not only for the historian and scholar, but also for the Indian reader who takes a practical interest in these things. He therefore naturally treats all chronological questions from the Indian point of view, and in accordance with it he has invented his methods for solving them. To illustrate this characteristic trait of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, let us consider the most frequent task of the epigraphist, that of verifying a lunar date coupled with the weekday, i.e. of ascertaining the Christian date on which a given tithi ended. Now the present reviewer's method in the Indian Antiquary, vol. xvii, and Epigraphia Indica, i, as well as that of Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit in the Indian Calendar, consists in this, that we first find approximatively the sought-for day and then compute accurately for the beginning of that day the number of the elapsed tithis and the fraction of the running tithi. The result shows, in most cases at once, whether the right day had been

selected, and the end of the running tithi can be found from a proper table. But Mr. Swamikannu Pillai "investigates, directly and once for all, the ending moment of a tithi, the very thing required by Indian usage" (p. 89). To solve this problem in the manner of the Hindus would require a most wearisome calculation, but properly constructed tables may save the calculator the greater part of the trouble. This is what the author has admirably succeeded in achieving. His Table x, which covers more than a hundred pages, furnishes for all years from B.C. 1 to A.D. 2000, and for the twelve months of each year, the necessary quantities which, operated upon in a further process with the help of three auxiliary tables (Eye-table), yield the ending moment of the tithi in two decimals of a day. The operations to be gone through are easy and not too many, and the whole process, if once clearly understood and its details thoroughly mastered, will require less time than that of Sewell and Dikshit. But the author's boast that the computation can be performed in less than a minute will fill with admiration and envy calculators less practised than Mr. Pillai undoubtedly is. However, if the habits and requirements of Western scholars only are considered, the process of verifying lunar dates can be rendered still more easy, as will be seen from my improved and developed Epigraphia Indica tables, which will soon be published in the Encyclopedia of Indo-Arian Research. To return to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's work, it must be added that his Table x is based on the Sūrya Siddhānta, but that for the years from 500 to 999 A.D. all the items are given according to the Ārya Siddhānta also, and that the adhika and ksaya months, as well as the solar and lunar eclipses (from L'art de vérifier les dates), are indicated in Table x. The author has given two sets of tables for finding the ending moment of the tithi with still greater precision, four decimals of the day, in accordance with the Sūrya

Siddhanta and the Arya Siddhanta; of course, the process of calculation becomes more complicated when a higher degree of precision is aimed at. A set of similar tables serves for finding the end of Naksatras and Yogas. Again, for the years from 1841 to 1920 A.D., which for practical purposes of to-day call for a separate treatment, the same problems are worked out in ghatikās and palas in Tables ix and xii. And for the same period Table xiii furnishes the equation of true to mean sunrise for a number of important places in India from the 8th to the 35th degree of latitude, and Table xviii the true places of the sun and the planets for every tenth day. It is impossible to notice all the tables and their uses in a short review, but attention should be drawn to the planetary tables (xvii) by which the true place of the planets will be found for any time in accordance with the Hindu method, and to the Eye-table, which gives the auxiliary tables constantly used, printed on a rather crowded folio page (also issued separately mounted on strong paper). The Eye-table by itself suffices to solve the usual chronological problems.

As regards the methods of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai in general, they may safely be pronounced to be sound and correct. The author has taken care to prove their correctness by calculating the same dates which have been calculated by his predecessors, and showing that his method yields exactly the same results arrived at by them. His ingenuity in devising these methods, and his indefatigable perseverance in working them out in numerous tables, will ever command the sincere respect of all who are able to appreciate work of this kind. The author has rendered a great service to his science, and will have a lasting claim on our gratitude. It is fortunate that we now possess two works treating of Indian chronology in all its branches, the older one by Sewell and Dikshit, of which a third part has just appeared, and the work under review; they may be said to be rival works, but they act as supplement the one to the other, as either author takes up an individual attitude towards his subject, and in such cases the reader will always be the gainer.

HERMANN JACOBI.

BONN.

INDIAN CHRONOGRAPHY. An Extension of the "INDIAN CALENDAR", with working examples, by Robert Sewell, late of His Majesty's Indian Civil Service. Post 4to: pp. 187, including 25 tables. George Allen and Co., Ltd.; London: 1912.

The means of calculating and verifying Indian dates are necessary not only to the epigraphist, who has to determine the equivalents B.C. and A.D. of dates given in the records with which he deals and to arrange his historical results accordingly, but also to the civil judge, who has to appreciate the authenticity and bearing of charters, deeds, bonds, and other documents produced as evidence in his court, and to various functionaries who have to verify, with a view to eligibility for admission to the public service, etc., the ages of candidates as disclosed by the horoscopes which in India take the place of our certificates of birth and baptism. One work devoted to such calculation and verification has already been given to us by Mr. Sewell; namely, The Indian Calendar, which was published by him, in co-operation with the late Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, in 1896, and of which an appreciative notice, with sample workings by it, was given by Professor Kielhorn in this Journal, 1896, p. 809 ff. And that work has successfully stood the various tests which have been applied to it by all who have made use of it.

It was found, however, that *The Indian Calendar* was in some respects not full enough in explanation of the matters dealt with in it. The present work remedies that: it explains the reason for every step taken in

all calculations made by means of it and *The Indian Calendar*; further, it gives sixty-three additional well-chosen examples (pp. 81 to 128) which illustrate practically calculations of every kind; and it makes several of the processes more simple and easy. In these respects the book should be particularly useful to beginners, in addition to being serviceable to those who are already versed in its topic.

Space does not permit of a detailed notice of Mr. Sewell's new book. But some of the other special features in it may be indicated.

Tables XVII to XIX, B,¹ enable us to turn very easily results obtained by the First Ārya-Siddhānta into results according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, and vice versa; so that a calculation by either authority gives us quickly the result by the other also, without our having to make a separate working in detail.

Tables XX, A and B, save a great amount of trouble in calculating tropical samkrāntis: the first of them is new; the other is taken from Warren, but the decimal figures, which are a great labour-saving device in actual work, are a new feature.

Tables XXI and XXIV, with §§ 90-94, enable us to calculate mean lunar months and *tithis*.² This is a new feature, and is likely to be of considerable use in disposing of some, at least, of the many historical dates which, examined by true time, do not give correct results, and have therefore been classed as "irregular". A case illustrating this is given as Example 24.

Table XXII shows at a glance, when the longitude of the sun, the moon, or any other 'planet', has been determined for any moment, the exact place of the

¹ The numbering of the tables runs on from after Table XVI, the last table in *The Indian Calendar*.

² In the heading of Table XXI, the words "at the beginning" should be supplied before "of Amanta Chaitra".

'planet' among the signs and the *nakshatras*. And Table XXIII, which is a reproduction of a table published by Dr. Schram, gives what may perhaps be found an easier means of calculating *nakshatras* and *yōgas*.

Tables XXVII, A, to XXXV, with §§ 130 to 187, are devoted to the cycles of Jupiter. The present treatment includes new and very easy means of finding the exact beginning, according to six different authorities, of any of the years of these cycles which are regulated by what is known as the mean-sign system.

Table XXXVIII, B, gives all the principal elements of the years A.D. 1901 to 1950 in continuation of Table I of The Indian Calendar, which covers the period A.D. 300 to 1900, and thus makes the two books available for present times as well as past ones. In the other direction, if we want to examine earlier dates on the lines of the present system of the calendar which was developed from about A.D. 400, Table XXXVIII, A, gives the time of the Mēshasamkrānti according to the First Ārya-Siddhānta for all years from B.C. 59 to A.D. 299; and Tables XXXIX and XL, adapted from tables published by Professor Jacobi, enable us to make calculations back to B.C. 500.

Tables XLI, A and B, adapted from tables published by Sir Alexander Cunningham, give easy means—in fact, the easiest of all means—of finding the weekday of any Christian date from B.C. 3200 to A.D. 2400. This is constantly wanted by way of checking the results of all sorts of calculations.

Mr. Sewell has now given us three works on the calculation of Indian dates: (1) The Indian Calendar, with a contribution by Dr. Schram on Eclipses of the Sun in India; (2) Eclipses of the Moon in India; and (3) the present work, Indian Chronography. It would be invidious to make comparisons between his books and other works devoted to the same topic: and everyone will probably prefer to continue to use those processes

and tables with which he first becomes familiar. But it may be said, without objection, that Mr. Sewell's three books give results which are just as good as those given by any other books: even if his processes are in some cases not quite as short as others may be, they are probably easier to master and apply: and his Table I, with its continuation in Table XXXVIII, B, of the present work, is particularly useful because of the great amount of data which it shows at a glance, for the whole period A.D. 300 to 1950, instead of our having to work them out before we go on to other calculations for which they are needed as bases or as guides.

J. F. FLEET.

THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHREAN SEA. Translated from the Greek and annotated by WILFRED H. Schoff, A.M., Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia. Medium 8vo: pp. 323; and a map. Longmans, Green, & Co.; London, Bombay, and Calcutta: 1912.

As is well known, the $\Pi \epsilon \rho i\pi \lambda o \nu_S \tau \hat{\eta}_S$ ' $E \rho \nu \theta \rho \hat{a}_S \Theta a \lambda \acute{a} \sigma \sigma \eta_S$ is an account of the personal experiences of someone who was engaged in the sea-borne trade, carried on mostly by coasting, from the Red Sea and the northern parts of the east coast of Africa to India and down its western coast from the Indus to Cape Comorin and Ceylon: the author's statements regarding parts beyond that point seem to be based on hearsay. The value of the work lies in the number of places which it mentions, and the information which it gives about them, their surroundings, and their trade. And this new translation, with its copious accompaniment of notes, a variety of well-selected illustrations, and a full and careful index, will be found a valuable contribution to our study of the details of the work. it is to be regretted that the occasion was not utilized to give us also a new edition of the text, with the differing readings of the two manuscripts and the emendations proposed by the various editors of the work. The published texts, which range in date from 1533 to 1883, are not easily accessible for comparison. But, in places where the present translation differs at all substantially from that which was given by Mr. McCrindle in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 8 (1879), pp. 107–51, we should like to have the means of estimating the merits of the two renderings. Also, we who have lived in Western and Southern India think that we might perhaps do something more towards identifying some of the places which still remain unrecognized, if we had before us the forms in which the names are actually presented in the original and the emendations which have been suggested.

I cannot attempt a general review of Mr. Schoff's book, but will only notice a few special points.

The author of the Periplus is not known: so we have no guide of that kind towards determining its date. There is, however, no room for doubt that the work belongs to the first century: and the issues are narrowed to two particular times in that period. Mr. McCrindle followed the view that the work was written between A.D. 80 and 89 (IA, 8. 108). Mr. Schoff has preferred to place it in A.D. 60 (p. 15). Each authority has stated his reasons, which are found mostly in references which the work makes to historical rulers of countries which were not Indian. I must consider the matter from only the Indian point of view.

The Periplus mentions three Indian kings by name. Two of them (§ 52) are "the elder Saraganes" [McCrindle] or "the elder Saraganus" [Schoff], who was apparently before the author's time, and "Sandanes" [McC.] or "Sandares" [Sch.], who was a contemporary of the

¹ It was also republished separately, in the same year, with a translation of Arrian's Account of the Voyage of Nearkhos.

author. In the first of these we certainly seem to have a Sātakarņi king: but whether he may be the Arishṭa(karman) of the Vishṇu-Puraṇa, as is conjectured by Mr. Schoff, we really cannot say. The other is supposed to be the Sundara-Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas; which is quite possible if we are to take the form with r (not n) in the last syllable. But, in any case, we have no independent means of fixing the date either of Arishṭa-karman or of Sundara, and of arriving thereby at a date for the Periplus.

The third king (§ 41) is "Mambaros" [McC.]2 or "Nambanus" [Sch.]. This is certainly the great Kshaharāta king Nahapāna, well known from inscriptions and coins.3 He was a foreign invader, apparently a Pahlava or Palhava, i.e. of Parthian extraction. He established himself first in Kāthiāwār, and then acquired some of the territory on the mainland, on the north of the Narbada, as far as Ujjain. He then annexed, below that river, Southern Gujarāt and the Northern Konkan, with Nāsik, the northern parts at least of Poona and Ahmednagar, and probably Khāndēsh; wresting from the Sātakarņi kings of the Dekkan those parts of these territories which lie above the Western Ghauts, if not also the country between the Ghauts and the sea. And finally, after reigning for not less than 46 years,4 he was overthrown by the great Sātavāhana-Sātakarņi king Gautamīputra-Srī-Sātakarni. In close connexion with Nahapāna we

¹ See fully, the quotation from § 52 on p. 789 below.

² It can only be by a slip of the pen that Mr. McCrindle presented this name as "Mombaros", with o (instead of a) in the first syllable: see this Journal, 1907. 1043, note 1. In fact, on a subsequent occasion, in *Ind. Ant.*, 13. 325, he used the form "Mambares".

 $^{^3}$ On some of his coins his name appears as NAHTANA, with omission of the α of the second syllable, and with the Latin H, h, used along with Greek letters. For the transformation of the Nahpana, thus written, into Nampana, Mampana, Mambana, (Mambara), see this Journal, 1907. 1043, note 2.

⁴ His 46th year is mentioned in an inscription at Junnar: Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 10, appendix, No. 1174.

have a ruler named Chashṭana, —not mentioned in the Periplus, but known from coins and an inscription, and noticed by Ptolemy with the information that his capital was Ujjain (IA, 13. 359),— who either was Nahapāna's co-regent at Ujjain, or was his successor, or else was both his co-regent and his successor.

Now, the so-called Saka era, beginning in A.D. 78, was certainly founded either by Nahapāna or by Chashtana; in the sense, of course, not that either of them formally proclaimed the establishment of an era to commemorate any particular event, but that the opening years of the era in question were the years of the reign of one or the other of them, which grew into an era in consequence of the next ruler continuing the reckoning so started, instead of introducing a new reckoning according to his own regnal years. But, if the Periplus was written in A.D. 60, then Nahapāna, who is known to have reigned for not less than 46 years, must be placed in or about A.D. 32-78, and the era of A.D. 78 was founded by Chashtana. If, on the other hand, Nahapāna began to reign in A.D. 78, then the Periplus was not written in A.D. 60, but is to be placed between A.D. 80 and 89.2

This latter view is the one which seems the right one to me, judging the matter by what we know of the Indian history of the time. The Periplus tells us in § 38 that in its author's time "Scythia", by which it means our modern Sind, was subject to "Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other" [McC.], or "Parthian princes who are constantly

¹ For the course of events just after the death of Nahapāna, see this Journal, 1910. 821.

Mr. Schoff has conjectured that before A.D. 78 there may have been a predecessor of Nahapāna bearing the same name (pp. 198 f., 294). But it is difficult to recognize any good basis for this suggestion of a duplication of the name. It appears to rest on the point that the coins of Nahapāna show a variety of faces: this, however, seems to be due to different die-cutters having taken the heads from a number of different Roman coins: see this Journal, 1908. 551.

driving each other out" [Sch.]. And there is every reason to regard Nahapāna as having been of Parthian extraction (see p. 785 above): at any rate, we may safely treat him as one of these "Parthian" princes, who, more able and enterprising than the others, struck out a new line and turned his attention to a conquest of territories outside Sind, in preference to continuing the unending strife in Sind itself. But such a state of affairs in Sind cannot have arisen until after the death of Gondophernes, who was reigning over a wide territory, which included Sind, from A.D. 20 or 21 down to at least A.D. 46:1 and we certainly cannot make the 46 or more years of the reign of Nahapāna fit in to the 32 years between A.D. 46 and 78. I am therefore of opinion that Nahapāna's reign dates from A.D. 78, and consequently that the Periplus must have been written after that year, and is to be placed between A.D. 80 and 89, or we may say, roughly, about A.D. 85.

The Periplus mentions the capital of Nahapāna's territory by the name Minnagara (§ 41), and tells us that much cotton cloth was brought down from it to Barygaza, which is the modern Broach in Gujarāt, Bombay. There were two cities bearing the name Minnagara in the western parts of India.² The other was the capital of what the work calls "Scythia" (see p. 786 above), and was situated in the delta of the Indus, apparently on or near to the main stream, the central one of the seven which made the "seven mouths" of the river.

Mr. Schoff has mentioned (p. 180) proposals to identify the Minnagara in which we are interested with Indore, and with Madhyamikā, which is the modern Nāgarī on

¹ See this Journal, 1905. 234.

² Minnagara is taken, I believe, as a hybrid word meaning "a city of the Mins, the Scythians". The name of a third Minnagara or Minagara, which is placed by Ptolemy on or near the Gangetic Gulf (IA, 13. 334), must have some different explanation.

the north of Chitor, in Rājputānā. But Nāgarī is too far to the north; and Indore is unsuitable for other reasons.

No such name as Minnagara is traceable now. But a Minagara, which is certainly Nahapāna's Minnagara, is also mentioned by Ptolemy (IA, 13, 359); and the position assigned to it by him, with respect to Ujjain, makes it practically certain to me that it is the modern Dōhad in the Pañeh Mahāls. "As the name Dohad (or 'two boundaries') implies, the town is situated on the line separating Mālwā on the east from Gujarāt on the west. It is a place of considerable traffic, commanding one of the main lines of communication between Central India and the seaboard." And a study of the sheets of the Indian Atlas shows that it is just the place through which there would go the trade from Ujjain (and of course other parts of Mālwā) to Broach, which is mentioned in § 48 of the Periplus.

The Periplus alludes in § 51 to the great inland trading route from the east coast, in the Kistna District, right across India diagonally via Tagara, which is Ter in the Nizam's Dominions,² and Paithan, to Barygaza, Broach. And in respect of the last part of the route it says that the consignments from those two towns "are carried down on wagons to Barugaza along roads of extreme difficulty" [McC.]; or "are brought down to Barygaza by wagons and through great tracts without roads" [Sch.]; or, again (as I would put it), "are brought down to Barygaza by

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908), vol. 11, p. 366.

figures in the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908) as "Thair", from one of the misspelt forms in which it has been shown in maps, etc. The name is Ter; not Tair, Ther, or Thair. In the Imperial Gazetteer, vol. 23, the notes on the place should have been given under "Ter" on p. 281, and the cross-reference "See Ter" should have been given under "Thair" on p. 284.

wagon-roads and through vast places that have no proper roads at all." 1

In connexion with this route there has remained, overlooked, a question to which Mr. Schoff has now drawn attention: namely, why was the traffic taken on from Paithan to Broach instead of being diverted to some nearer and more easily accessible port?

The Periplus mentions in § 52 Kalliena, that is, Kalyān in the Thana District, on the Ulhas River which flows into Bombay Harbour, and speaks of it as "a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes, but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barugaza" [McC.]; or as a city "which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful market-town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard" [Sch.]. Mr. Schoff has observed (p. 196) that Kalyan would be the natural terminus of the Tēr-Paithan route.2 And he has suggested that:—"The obstruction of that port by the Saka power in Gujarāt forced the tedious overland extension of the route, through the mountains, to Barygaza." Here by "the Saka power" he means Nahapāna and his people. I would supplement his suggestion as follows:-

¹ The words are:— Κατάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πορείαις ὁμαξῶν καὶ ἀνοδίαις μεγίσταις: see the extract given in Archæol. Surv. West. Ind., vol. 3, p. 54, note.

² There is no question about Kalyān having been a trading place of some importance in the time with which we are dealing: merchants and goldsmiths of Kalyān are mentioned in some of the inscriptions at Kanhēri and Junnar; Lüders, List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nos. 986, 998, 1000, 1001, 1024, 1177. But whether it became a seaport in that period, is another question: Ptolemy does not mention the place; and it must have had easy access to Broach along the coast, inland, without having to use boats.

It is certainly the case that there might have been laid out from Paithan to Kalyan, via Junnar and the Nanaghat Pass. 1 a route which would have been some eighty miles shorter than the route from Paithan to Broach, and of which the Ghaut portion would have been much easier than the forty or so miles of very difficult descent from the north-west corner of the Nāsik District via Peint into But Broach seems to have been from a very Gujarāt. early time the great collecting and distributing centre, in the trade with the West, for all inland parts: the Periplus mentions not only the trade into Broach from the Ter and Paithan route, and that from Minnagara (Dohad) and Ujjain, but also a trade via Proclaïs or Poclaïs from Kābul and those parts (§ 48), and a trade from the western parts of China through Bactria (§ 64). The overland route from the Kistna District via Ter and Paithan had been laid out partly to meet the requirements of those two cities and no doubt of other places along the road, and partly in order to avoid the long and tedious coasting voyage all round the south of India, with the danger from the pirates who infested a portion at least of the west coast (§ 53): and for this last reason, since the said pirates can have had no difficulty in commanding the approaches to Kalyan, the route was taken straight on to Broach, instead of turning from Paithan to the coast with the object of being continued thence by sea or by land to Broach. One of the Sātakarņi kings, "the elder Saraganus", probably finding himself able to cope with the pirates, sought to establish Kalyan as a rival of Broach. Then Nahapāna blockaded Kalyān, expressly in order to maintain the commercial supremacy of Broach. And it was probably a quarrel over this matter which started hostilities between Nahapāna and the Sātakarni

¹ The ancient importance of these two places is well known from the inscriptions at them.

kings, and ended in Nahapāna acquiring a considerable part of their western territories.

In § 47 the Periplus mentions two Indo-Greek kings of previous times, Apollodotus and Menander, and tells us that their coins were still in current use at Broach.

In connexion with this, Mr. Schoff has summarized as follows (p. 184) the account of Menander given in a leading textbook on the early history of India:—

"In the years 155-153 [B.C.] a Greek King Menander, apparently a brother of Apollodotus, whose capital was Cabul, annexed the entire Indus Valley, the peninsula of Surāshtra (Syrastrene) [Kāṭhiāwār] and other territories on the western coast; occupied Mathurā; besieged Madhyamikā (now Nāgari near Chitōr), and threatened the capital, Pātaliputra, which is the modern Patna. Menander had to retire, however, to Bactria. He is supposed to have been a convert to Buddhism, and has been immortalized under the name of Milinda in a celebrated dialogue entitled *The Questions of Milinda*, which is one of the most noted books in Buddhist literature."

To that we must add that the account taken over by Mr. Schoff says further that Menander "invested Sākētam in southern Oudh." Also, that it is part and parcel of a treatment which includes the Śunga king Pushyamitra and the grammarian Patañjali.

We need not hesitate about accepting the identification of Menander with the Milinda of the Pāli work, the Milindapañha. And that work presents him as reigning at Sāgala, which is Siālkōṭ in the Panjāb,¹ and as being a powerful, wise, and learned king, fond of discussions with wandering teachers, who eventually, under the effect of the answers which he received to the questions put by him to the Buddhist Nāgasēna, became converted to Buddhism, and abdicated in order to spend his remaining

¹ See my article "Sāgala, Śākala, the City of Milinda and Mihirakula" in the Acts of the Fourteenth Oriental Congress, Algiers, 1905, vol. 1, p. 164 ff.

days in the practice of religion. For the rest, it is necessary, no doubt, in writing a history, to try to fill in details, more or less. And from such a point of view we may admit provisionally some of the achievements attributed to Menander by the writer who is quoted by Mr. Schoff; only remarking that in the references made by Patañjali under Pāṇini, 3. 2. 111, to the Yavana, the Greek, who besieged Sākēta and Madhyamikā, there is nothing to identify the besieger with Menander or any other individual, and that there is still less reason for referring those two sieges with such confidence to the exact years B.C. 155–153: that is all conjecture. But there are two items in this account —the occupation of Mathurā and the threatening of Pāṭaliputra— which we are quite unable to endorse.

These two items rest on the authority of a work entitled Gārgī-Samhitā which was brought to notice by Professor Kern in 1865, in his edition of the Bṛihat-Samhitā, preface, p. 33 ff., and was referred by him to about B.C. 50. A chapter in this work, bearing the name Yugapurāṇa, professes to give, in the usual prophetic style of the Purāṇas, an account (but a very elementary one) of the kings of the Kali age. It mentions the Śaiśunāga kings, and then Śāliśūka, who was according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa the great-grandson, and according to the Vishṇu the great-grandson, of Aśōka. And it then makes a statement translated by Professor Kern as follows:—

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa, Pancāla-country, and Mathurā, will reach (or take) Kusumadhvaja (Palibothra); Pushpapura (Palibothra) being reached (or taken)

¹ But Kusumadhvaja, 'having the flower-banner', would be the god Kāmadēva: the city was Kusumapura, which name, however, did not suit the verse. It might be urged, perhaps, that Kusumadhvajam is a corrupt reading for Kusum-āhvayam, with puram understood; sc. "(the city) named Kusuma(pura)": but the reading is "dhvajam; and it is characteristic of the text.

all provinces will be in disorder, undoubtedly. The fiercely fighting Greeks will not stay in Madhyadēśa; there will be a cruel, dreadful war in their own kingdom, caused (?) between themselves. Then, in the course of the Yuga, at the end of the Greek reign, seven mighty kings will be in alliance (? or have we to read Sāketa, in Sāketa)."

It is not easy to understand how, even so long ago as in 1865, this Yugapurāṇa chapter came to be accepted seriously, and to be referred to the first century B.C. Its corrupt and otherwise peculiar diction —(both features are amply illustrated in the extracts given by Professor Kern)— indicate a quite late origin. And its apocryphal character is fully disclosed by the point that it assigns to the Saiśunāga kings, who preceded by some time the Mauryas, a period of 5505 years, 5 months, 5 days, and 5 muhūrtas: 1 that is, among the kings of the Kali age, which only began in B.C. 3102, we are to find room for a dynasty which reigned for 5505 years before the year 2781 expired, = B.C. 321, the initial date of the first Maurya king, Chandragupta.

There certainly was an early writer named Garga: he flourished about A.D. 400, and wrote on astronomy and astrology; and a work by him would very likely be known as the Gārgī-Samhitā, though Bhaṭṭōtpala (A.D. 966), who quotes many of his statements, does not seem to use such an expression. But, even if the Gārgī-Samhitā thus brought to our notice represents his work in any way, we may be sure that he did not write the Yugapurāṇa chapter: and we may safely dismiss the statements of that chapter as worthless for any historical purposes, as regards either Menander or anyone else.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ Why did not the author round off this statement by saying 5555 years? Apparently, only because he could not cram the word *panchāsat*, 'fifty', into his verse.

IL "RĀMACARITAMĀNASA" E IL "RĀMĀYAŅA". By L. P. TESSITORI. Reprinted from the Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, vol. xxiv, 1911.

Ever since Growse published his translation of the $R\bar{a}macaritam\bar{a}nasa$ students have recognized that that work was in no sense a slavish imitation of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ of Vālmīki.

"The general plan and arrangement of the incidents are necessarily much the same, but there is a difference in the touch in every detail, and the two poems vary as widely as any two dramas on the same mythological subject by two different Greek tragedians . . . The two agree only in the broadest outlines. The episodes so freely introduced by both poets are, for the most part, entirely dissimilar, and even in the main narrative some of the most important incidents, such as the breaking of the bow and the contention with Paraśurāma, are differently placed, and assume a very altered complexion. In other passages, where the story follows the same lines, whatever Vālmīki has condensed—as, for example, the description of the marriage festivities—Tulsī Dās has expanded; and where the older poet has lingered most his successor has hastened on most rapidly." ¹

While students of Hindī literature have admitted the correctness of the above statements, they have had no opportunity for entering into details. Hindī literature— a discovery, to Europeans, of only some twenty or thirty years ago—was a vast and unexplored continent, and the few pioneers could do little more than map out its main features. It is encouraging to see these labours bearing fruit. Europe is beginning to recognize that the vernacular literature of India offers new regions awaiting conquest, and new subjects of investigation. In the pamphlet named at the head of this notice we have an example. Signor Tessitori has done what we have all wished to see done, but for which we pioneers never have had time or opportunity.

¹ Growse, Introduction to his Translation.

The poet himself (i, 7) says that his work is based upon Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, "and occasionally on other sources" (kvacid anyatō 'pi), and taking this statement as his text Signor Tessitori proceeds to compare the two poems in detail. The question of the other sources is not touched by him, but he shows clearly that Tulasī Dāsa has on the whole followed the general path taken by Vālmiki. Omitting the first part of Book i and nearly the whole of the last book, which in the Rāmacaritamānasa are quite independent, the most serious discrepancies between the two works occur in the sixth book—the Yuddhakānda of Vālmīki and the Lankākānda of Tulasī Dāsa. Here there is great confusion in the accounts of the various combats, one fight being exchanged for another, and the acts of this hero being attributed to that. Signor Tessitori's explanation of this is ingenious, but to my mind not altogether convincing. It is that even we, with our clearly printed texts and modern apparatus, find it difficult to follow the complicated action of Vālmīki's Yuddhakānda, and that Tulasī Dāsa, handicapped by his clumsy manuscript, simply made mistakes. I shall return to this later on.

Other differences between the two poems are shown to be due to various causes. Such are, for instance, Tulasī Dāsa's desire to shorten his work. This led him to omit some episodes, and in other cases to combine two of Vālmīki's episodes into one. In making omissions he has now and then retained a few words corresponding to words in Vālmīki's poem, which were there important but which in the Rāmacaritamānasa, with the episode wanting, are quite superfluous. Another reason for the differences is the poetic originality and the command of vocabulary possessed by the later poet. He disdained to use Vālmīki's language, and substituted new and fresh similes for those of his predecessor. In spite of this Signor Tessitori has collected quite a number of instances

in which, consciously or unconsciously, he has repeated the very words of Vālmīki.

Another question raised by Signor Tessitori is what recension of the Rāmāyaṇa — the Western (A), the Bengali (B), or the Northern (C)—was used by Tulasī Dāsa. The main results are as follows:—

- 1. Tulasī Dāsa follows C in giving the story of Rāma down to his arrival in Citrakūṭa.
- 2. He follows B from the return to Ayōdhyā of Sumantra to the end of the Aranyakānda, and perhaps also for a good part of the Kiskindhākānda.
- 3. He follows C from the beginning of the Yuddhakāṇḍa (T. D.'s Lankākāṇḍa) down to Rāma's ascent of Suvēla after the Crossing of the Ocean.
- 4. He follows B from the beginning of the combats with the Rākṣasas (B, vi, 17) to the end of the Yuddhakānda.

Now, all this is interesting and important. It throws much light on the origin of the Rāmacaritamānasa, and also on the question of what version of the Rāmāyana was current in Audh and Benares in the days of Tulasī Dāsa, i.e. in the latter half of the seventeenth century,1 but it seems to me that there is a probable explanation of the discrepancies between the two poems which has not been taken into account by Signor Tessitori. He has gone on the assumption that Tulasi Dasa had a manuscript of the Rāmāyana by him, and that he consulted it as he went along. That hence his variations, except in the Lankākānda, were deliberate. This method of writing, with a manuscript within reach, is the way a student in Europe would go to work, but it cannot be thought that an Indian poet would labour on such lines. Tulasī Dāsa was a Vaisņava ascetic, brought up by a Guru in the fear and love of Rāma. Under this Guru he received his education and, if that was anything

¹ In regard to this it is worth remembering that Tulasī Dāsa wrote the *Bāla-*, *Ayōdhyā-*, and *Aranya-kāndas* in Ayōdhyā, but the remaining *kāndas* in Benares. Cf. iv, 1.

like the education of a literary Vaisnava of the present day, he learned the whole of the Valmiki Ramavana off by heart while yet a boy, and was also familiar with the numerous other versions of the story. When he wrote his poem it was unnecessary for him to consult any manuscript. When he followed Vālmīki it was merely a case of conscious or unconscious memory, and when he departed from it it was either unconscious failure of memory or else a deliberate choice of the account given in some other work. We have seen that Tulasī Dāsa states in so many words that he consulted other sources besides the epic of Vālmīki. The commentators agree in mentioning three works as having been used by him — the Adhyātma - Rāmāyana, the Bhusundi-Rāmāyana, and the Vasistha-samhitā. Although Signor Tessitori draws attention also (p. 110) to points of agreement with the Raghuvamsa, I venture to think that he has laid too little stress on the importance of these extraneous sources. The Bhusundi-Rāmāyana I have never seen, nor do I know if MSS, of it exist, but the other two works are well known and easily obtainable. An examination of these would very probably explain differences between the works of Tulasi Dāsa and Vālmiki in a manner more simple than that employed by Signor Tessitori. Of one thing I am certain. Tulasī Dāsa wrote his poem with his whole being saturated not only with Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, but also with all the other then existing Vaisnava works dealing with the history of the Master whom he adored. The idea of checking his literary references was unknown to him. If he quoted he often no doubt quoted with verbal incorrectness, as learned Pandits do at the present day, and I daresay that he himself would often have been puzzled to say on what particular work he founded the expressions used by him in any particular passage.

In one respect I heartily agree with Signor Tessitori.

He lays stress upon Tulasī Dāsa's originality. Tulasī Dāsa was a great poet, and though here and there his memory may have played tricks with him and led him to make unintended quotations, as a whole he deliberately avoided copying Vālmīki's language or borrowing his similes. On the other hand, I cannot look upon the variations of the sixth book as due to misunderstanding of Vālmīki's sequence of events or to mental confusion. If my belief is right, Tulasī Dāsa was familiar with every step in the sequence of events from his boyhood. If his account differs from that given by the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa now available to us, it can only be that either he had been taught a recension unknown to us, or else that he deliberately abandoned Vālmīki and adopted the account of some other authority.

Although I have ventured to differ from Signor Tessitori in one not unimportant particular, I would strongly recommend all students of Tulasi Dāsa to study his paper. It is full of valuable comparisons and of suggestive remarks, and it must necessarily be taken into serious account in all future investigations as to the connexion between the two great poets of the Glory of the House of Raghu.

George A. Grierson.

Camberley.

March 26, 1912.

- A CATALOGUE OF THE TAMIL BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Compiled by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D., and the late G.U. POPE, D.D. London, 1909.
- A CATALOGUE OF THE KANNADA, BADAGA, AND KURG BOOKS in the same. Compiled by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D. London, 1910.
- A CATALOGUE OF THE TELUGU BOOKS in the same. Compiled by the same. London, 1912.

I spare my readers the usual remarks that should commence a notice of such works as the above. We all

know them off by heart. They should refer to the apparent dryness of the subject, to the real value and interest in the catalogue of a great library, and to the labour and learning involved in its preparation. Every member of the Royal Asiatic Society will admit the last two, and most will deny the first. I shall therefore consider such a preface to be taken as read and go at once to the heart of the subject.

The three catalogues of Dravidian languages are built upon the same lines as the preceding excellent Oriental catalogues of Professor Blumhardt. They heavily add to the debt which students owe to the British Museum, and they exhibit Professor Barnett's learning and accuracy in a department of scholarship with which few of us are familiar. In one respect they show a marked improvement. From the former catalogues all mention of dictionaries and grammars written in English for English readers was excluded. Here we have at least all the modern ones.

Examination of these volumes shows the amazing richness of our national library in works by modern Dravidian authors. As regards earlier works it is naturally not so complete, but even here we find many rare treasures. To give even a cursory account of the contents would be manifestly impossible, and so I shall confine myself to a few important topics in each language. It is almost needless to say that if I mention omissions it is not in a spirit of complaint.

In Tamil the old literature is well represented. We find all the principal editions of the *Tol-kāppiya*, the *Kural* of Tiru-valluvar, the poems of Auvaiyār, the *Nāl-udiyār*, Kamban's *Rāmāyana*, the famous dictionary named the *Divākara*, Pavaṇandi's grammar the *Nan-nūl*, and similar classical works. The only name which I have not succeeded in finding is that of the *Cintāmaṇi*, an anonymous romantic poem by a Jain writer whom

Caldwell dates as not later than the tenth century. The older printed Tamil books also appear in considerable numbers. There does not appear to be any copy of what is usually said to be the first of all—the Doctrina Christam, translated into Tamil by Anriquez (Cochin, 1579)—but there is a complete copy of the translation of the whole Bible by Ziegenbalg, Schultze, and Grundler There are also the Rhenius Bible of 1827-33, (1714-28).the Fabricius Old Testament (1777, the F. New Testament is missing), the de Melho New Testament (Colombo, 1759), and the Cramer Gospel of St. Matthew (Colombo, 1741). The list of Beschi's works is a long one, and, so far as modern reprints are concerned, it is apparently complete, but there are none of the old original editions. I may note that a bibliography of Beschi by Vinson is printed in the Revue Linguistique, xxxiii, pp. 1 ff., 1900. As already mentioned, it is a great comfort to find all the modern grammars and dictionaries grouped under their respective heads in the Subject-index. One important work of this class has appeared since the catalogue was compiled, viz. The Twentieth Century Tamil Dictionary, by P. Ramanathan (Madras, 1909). It is not suited for beginners, as the whole is in Tamil.

As regards Kannada, while there are all the modern grammars and dictionaries, I note that the grammars of Carey (Serampore, 1817) and McKerrell (Madras, 1820) are missing. The three forms of Canarese—ancient, mediaeval, and modern—are all fully represented. For the ancient dialect we have the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa (about 1100 a.d.), Aggala's Candra-prabha Purāṇa (1189), Nāgavarma's Grammar and Kāvyāvalōkana (1145), Keśirāja's (thirteenth century) Śabdamanidarpaṇa, and Ṣaḍakṣari's (seventeenth century) Rājaśēkharavilāsa and Śabaraśaṅkaravilāsa, but not his Vṛṣabhēndravijaya. For mediaeval Kannada we have Someśvara's (fourteenth century) Śataka and other works, Bhīma's Basava Purāṇa

(1369), Kumāra Vyāsa's (sixteenth century) Bhārata, Kumāra Vālmīki's (1590) Rāmāyaṇa, the Dāsapadas (from 1530), and Lakṣmīśa's Jaimini Bhārata (1760).

In Telugu, besides the modern grammars we have Carey's Grammar (Serampore, 1814), but not W. Brown's (Madras, 1807 and 1817). C. P. Brown is, on the other hand, very fully represented. The earliest specimen of the Bible is the Serampore edition of the Synoptic Gospels (1812). This was the first printed. The list of later versions gives a complete series of typical examples. The Mahābhārata and the Grammar attributed to Nannaya (eleventh century) appear in several editions of each. All the great writers of the sixteenth century, the "Augustan age of Telugu literature", are well represented. There are several editions of the Svārōcisa-manu-caritra of Allasāni Peddanna, "the Grandsire of Telugu poetry," one of Krsna Rāya's Āmuktamālyada, three of Nandi Timmanna's Pārijātāpaharana, the same number of Sūranna's Kalāpūrnōdaya, and two of his ingenious Rāghava-pāndavīya. Finally, the list of editions of Vēmana, probably the greatest of all the Telugu writers of the sixteenth century, and certainly the most popular, covers nearly two columns.

The above gives a very imperfect idea of the Dravidian literary treasures to be found in the British Museum. I have confined my remarks nearly entirely to classical literature and to early printed books. It is unnecessary to point out that entries dealing with these form but a small proportion of the whole. The rest, dealing with modern literature, cannot here be described. Considerations of space, and also of my own incapacity, forbid it. A few words are necessary to explain the share of the late Dr. Pope, clarum et venerabile nomen, on the title-page of the Tamil catalogue. The work was commenced by him more than twenty years ago, but he was unable to bring his task to completion. Professor Barnett revised

and rewrote his descriptions, and catalogued the numerous works acquired during the succeeding fifteen years. In this way the original number of titles became fully trebled. It now only remains to congratulate Professor Barnett on the completion of these three monumental volumes. So far as I am aware, there is nothing like them in any other European language, and if in spite of this I ask for more, it is only in the hope that the set will be soon completed by a volume for Malayalam.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Camberley.

March 23, 1912.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MAYURABHANJA. By NAGENDRANĀTH. VASU. Vol. I. Calcutta, 1911.

THE MODERN BUDDHISM AND ITS FOLLOWERS IN ORISSA.

By Nagendranāth Vasu. With an Introduction by
Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī. Calcutta,
1911.

The first of these volumes contains the results of archæological and antiquarian investigations in the State of Morbhanj in Orissa during 1907-9, conducted under the enlightened patronage of the Maharaja, whose recent death adds a tragic interest to the work. The body of the book comprises a series of reports on the antiquities and history of a number of sites visited in the course of the survey, with an appendix containing text and facsimiles of eight copper-plate inscriptions. To this is prefixed an introduction on the various religions that have left their traces in the antiquities or spiritual life of the district. The second chapter treats of Buddhism, tracing its history from the first to the fifteenth century, and showing how it lingered on in half-conscious existence in these regions until 1875, when Bhima Arakshita began to preach the Mahima-dharma, boldly combining Buddhist and Vaishnava theology into a curious doctrine that has much in common on its practical side with the Hīna-yāna and on its theoretical side with the Mahā-yāna. This chapter on Buddhism, reprinted with an introduction from Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, forms *The Modern Buddhism*.

Almost every form of Hindu religion has left its mark in Morbhanj. Not least has been the influence of the Sauras, with which our author begins his introduction. He holds "that the Magas or Scythic Brāhmaṇas were the first to introduce the worship of the image of the Sun into India", and sees their descendants in the modern Āngirasa Brahmans—a view that may possibly be right, but still awaits decisive evidence to prove it. Saiva and Sākta influences have also been powerful; and Jainism has left many remarkable monuments. Curiously enough, Vaishṇavism, although the dominant church for many centuries in these regions, is not at all well represented in their antiquities.

Undoubtedly the most interesting part of this interesting survey is the chapter on Buddhism. In his valuable History of the Bengali Language and Literature Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has vividly shown us how deeply the thought of many early nominally Vaishnava poets of Bengal was coloured with ideas derived from Mahā-yāna theology. Pandit Nagendranāth Vasu, following the same line of investigation, brings the history of Buddhism in Orissa down to the present day. He finds distinct traces of Mahā-yāna cults among the Bāthuri or Bāuri tribe, on whose ethnology he gives some valuable data. He then quotes from the poems of the six great Vaishnava Dāsas of Orissa, Achyutānanda, Balarāma, Ananta, Jagannātha, Yasovanta, and Chaitanya, as well as other writers, which all abound in echoes of the Buddhist Śūnya-vāda, and after various cognate investigations concludes with a full account of Bhīma Bhoi's modern Mahimā-dharma, in which

Buddha figures as an avatar of the Absolute, Alekha, and is identified with Jagannatha.

In concluding this brief notice of this veritable $ratn\bar{a}$ -kara of learning, we may add that it is illustrated by
numerous plates. Most of these are from photographs;
a few, however, are from sketches, which are not all that
could be desired.

L. D. BARNETT.

AJMER: HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE. By HAR BILAS SARDA. pp. x, 174. Ajmer, 1911.

This book, written by one who knows Ajmer well and has read much about its history in both Hindu and Moghul times, is an excellent account of that "ancient, beautiful, and interesting place", the name of which is now officially spelt as above, instead of, as we have so long known it, Ajmere or Ajmir, transliterated from AJAT and

After a general description of the district follows an account of the city, Taragarh Fort, the lakes, the Adhai din ka Jhonpra, the Dargah Khwaja Sahib, the Fort, and other buildings erected in Moghul times, with a chapter on Pushkar, the details of the buildings, the history of their erection, and the inscriptions found on them being fully given.

The second part is a short history of the Chauhan rulers of Ajmer, and the doings of the early Moghul emperors in the city and district. Akbar, making it the head-quarters for his operations in Rajputana and Gujarat, built the city wall and magazine. Jahangir laid out the beautiful Chasma with its palace, Shah Jahan constructed the palace and white marble pavilions on the borders of the Ana Sagar Lake. Aurangzib fought near by the great battle by which he defeated Dara Shikoh and established his position as emperor.

For the history of the later Hindu kings the author has referred a good deal to the *Prithiviraja Vijaya*,

a MS. found by Dr. Bühler, and briefly described by him in the account of his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS., 1877, which is now in the Deccan College, Poona, MS. No. 150. Having been written during or soon after the time of Prithiviraja it is interesting and important, and the genealogy of the Chauhans as taken from it and published by Mr. James Morison in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. vii, p. 189, may be taken as correct, agreeing as it does generally with that gathered by Dr. Kielhorn from inscriptions; it is good to hear that a transcript of the MS. has lately been made with a view to publication in the Bombay Kavyamala Series.

A statement on p. 150 regarding Ajayadeva, that "His queen Somaldevi, says the Prithiviraj Vijai, was very fond of designing new coins. Coins of Ajaideva and Somaldevi are met with in large numbers", has led to an inquiry being made to the author as to a description of these coins, for as yet we know of none attributed to the king, and only the two or three rare ones with the name Somaladevi on them, which Professor Rapson in JRAS., 1900, p. 121, showed to be the right reading, instead of Somaladeva as read by Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, pl. vi, Nos. 10-12, and by Prinsep before him. Mr. Sarda has been good enough to reply that the coins of Ajayadeva are those of Cunningham's Medieval India, pl. ix, Nos. 7, 8, and Prinsep, Indian Antiquities, vol. i, pl. xxiv, Nos. 7, 8, bearing the legend Sri Ajaya Deva, and attributed by both these authors to Ajaya Chandra Rahtor of Kanauj, and those of the queen are the ones above mentioned as commented on by Professor Rapson. Mr. Sarda also sends extracts from an inscription and from the Prithiviraja Vijaya concerning the coins of both the king and the queen, and adds that Pandit Gauri Shankar has sent, for publication in the Indian Antiquary, two notes discussing the matter fully. It is strange that coins should be issued some bearing the king's name and others that of his wife, unless she was at any time a regnant queen, but we must await the publication of Mr. Gauri Shankar's notes in hopes of this and other difficulties being cleared up.

The work is carefully written and well printed. Two mistakes should be corrected, viz., p. 91, l. 17, "1870 A.D. to 1570 A.D.," and p. 148, l. 3, "Govind to Durlabh."

O. C.

Bengali—Literary and Colloquial. By R. P. De. Calcutta: Dey Brothers, 1911.

In Bengali—Literary and Colloquial Babu R. P. De has aimed at providing a concise grammar, together with specimens of literary work of different standards, colloquial dialogues and sentences, and a comprehensive vocabulary. The book is evidently the outcome of much labour and diligence and has been composed after many years' experience in teaching the language, and is specially intended for candidates in the various Government examinations. The best parts of it are the semi-colloquial dialogue between two gentlemen in part iii and the large collection of colloquial sentences in part v, which last comprises one-third of the book.

The grammatical portion is very uneven in its character. The Sanskrit portion, such as the forms of words and sandhi, is as full as is probably necessary for the object aimed at; but the Bengali portion is not treated adequately either in extent or thoroughness and is certainly concise. It is sound generally so far as it goes, yet one meets with strange lapses; thus it is said the letter \mathbf{q} (v) has the sound of w in wife, but its real sound is b, and it is so transliterated in the colloquial sentences. The pronunciation of $j\tilde{n}$, and of m, y, and v in compound letters is not explained, and the transliteration of the letters a, e, and s is not consistent. The declension of nouns is only sketched out; the various formations of the

Instrumental, ablative, and locative are not mentioned, and the accusative is regarded as a dative. The treatment of the verb is the weakest part. In the conjugation of the one verb used, the honorific form of the third person is omitted, only one form of the passive is directly given, the participles are just mentioned, but verbal nouns are overlooked; and the irregular verbs, which are the commonest verbs, are unnoticed. The syntax of both nouns and verbs is elementary. The distinctions between good Bengali and colloquial are not pointed out, thus $\bar{a}m\bar{a}ke$ and moke, "me," are mentioned together as if equal. Those two varieties of the language are sometimes blended with highly literary forms, and as specimens of compound words are selected $\bar{a}lul\bar{a}yita-kesh\bar{a}$, $chaur\bar{a}st\bar{a}$, and $bil\bar{a}t-pherat$.

The best part of the book is the colloquial sentences together with the vocabularies. The sentences are wellchosen and deal with everyday matters of all kinds, and should provide everyone with words, expressions, and idioms that will be useful to him in his work. The Bengali employed is good ordinary colloquial that is generally understood by all except perhaps in East Bengal. The sentences are given in English and Bengali, and the Bengali is also transliterated into Roman letters (though the transliteration is not always consistent). When a student has been grounded in the grammar and has attained some ease in reading the language, these sentences and the vocabularies should be of real help to him in getting to practical work in Bengal. The grammar portion of the book would then be useful for purposes of reference and to refresh his memory if necessary.

F. E. P.

RENWARD BRANDSTETTERS MONOGRAPHIEN ZUR INDO-NESISCHEN SPRACHFORSCHUNG. VIII: GEMEININDO-NESISCH UND URINDONESISCH. Luzern: E. Haag, 1911.

The above-mentioned little treatise is, I am disposed to think, the best thing its author has ever produced. Like other sound scholars Dr. Brandstetter progresses: he goes on learning all the time. In accuracy, insight, and method he is now on a distinctly higher plane than he was when he began to issue this valuable series of monographs; and every additional number has testified to the fact that his capacity for handling a difficult and complex subject has been continually expanding. In the present work, moreover, he deals with a matter of farreaching importance, namely, the ultimate results of Indonesian comparative philology, so far as they can be apprehended at present, and he has brought to bear upon these central problems that intimate knowledge of individual forms of speech which he has gained by years of patient study, combined with a mastery of synthetic method wherein he is excelled by few scholars of our time.

The Malayo - Polynesian languages constitute a vast family comprising hundreds of forms of speech scattered over a huge area of the world's surface. But the area is mainly insular, and for the most part the individual languages are spoken by small groups of people. With two or three exceptions these languages have no recorded history: we can only take them as we find them to-day or, at best, as they were when first discovered by European travellers and explorers. Only Javanese, of them all, has handed down to us a substantial literature enshrining the mediaeval stage of the language, and even that (archaic as its forms often are) is quite modern in comparison with the unknown, far-off times when the linguistic ancestors of all these nations and tribes parted company and spread themselves over the islands of the South Seas. Yet all

these different languages bear plainly upon them the marks of kinship, of common descent from one mother tongue. What, then, was this mother tongue like? That is the question which Dr. Brandstetter sets himself to answer in the monograph lying before me.

It is reasonable to ask in limine whether an answer can ever be given to such a question as that. And when one remembers the hypothetically reconstructed common mother tongue of the Indo-European family which was given to the world somewhat prematurely by a sanguine scholar many years ago, one may be excused for feeling some doubt on the subject. But Dr. Brandstetter does not attempt an actual reconstruction in that sense. position, briefly stated, is this. Here we have a large number of distinct and scattered languages: that which they have in common (alien loanwords and mutual borrowings being left out of account) must be presumed to have been part of their original heritage. Let us see, then, what it amounts to. In dealing with this problem he confines himself to the Indonesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family: rightly, I think, because that branch, apart from its having been more thoroughly and scientifically studied than the others, is on the whole the most perfectly preserved. It falls into a number of subgroups, the precise limits of which have not as yet been defined in every case; but geographical distribution is a sufficient criterion for the purpose in hand. If a word or a form is found throughout the whole or the greater part of the Indonesian area, or even if it appears in two or three widely separate divisions thereof, it must (saving the above stated exceptions) be regarded as common and therefore primitive. For how else could it have got where it now is?

To me this line of argument seems logically irresistible, and I am fully prepared to accept its general conclusions. We have gone a long way since the days when such hypotheses as those of separate creation and accidental resemblance, or Crawfurd's curious notion of the secondary influence of Malay and Javanese on a number of originally unconnected and alien tongues, were held to be sufficient explanations of the many features which the different Indonesian languages have in common. And I can only marvel that, in a work published barely half a dozen years ago, and composed by a man of distinction, Crawfurd's inadequate hypotheses, obsolete almost before they were written, should have been dished up anew for the edification of an undiscriminating public. Half a century of patient study (initiated and mostly carried on by Dutch scholars) and, as it seems to me, a whole zeon of scientific advance, lie between those crude imaginings and the reasoned method of Dr. Brandstetter's treatise.

That does not necessarily mean that the results now arrived at are in every particular absolutely final and complete. As regards completeness, it may reasonably be hoped that important additions to them will yet be made by means of a still more intimate study of some of these languages, and by a comparison of the Indonesian branch with other branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family and with families of speech now generally believed to be ultimately related to it, such as the Munda and Mon-Khmer. The question of finality may also depend to some extent on such further comparative studies. Suppose, for instance, it has been inferred from purely Indonesian evidence that a particular grammatical affix was a primitive feature with a certain force, still traceable in its use in what appears prima facie to be a sufficiently large proportion of the living languages of that branch. Such a conclusion may, nevertheless, be liable to be upset if further inquiry should show that the affix in question is used with a different force in the other branches and allied families, even if only a single Indonesian language (provided its independence of them could be safely

assumed) happened to agree with them in that matter. I doubt, however, if such a case is very likely to occur; and what we are mainly concerned with is, after all, the substantial validity of the method as applied to the evidence as a whole.

Speaking generally, then, Dr. Brandstetter's conclusions are that the common Indonesian mother tongue did not differ essentially in its main characteristics from its modern descendants. In spite of the highly complex character of the laws of phonetic correspondence which prevail at present as between these, the primitive system of sounds was (with a few stated exceptions) much the same as still exists in some of the living languages. There were more monosyllabic words in the original language than are now in use; and the grammatical system, though not then as highly elaborated as it has become in some cases (e.g. in the Philippine and sub-Philippine languages) was much fuller than it is in many of the modern tongues, notably, I need hardly say, Malay, the best-known member of the whole family. Dr. Brandstetter deals principally with phonetics and grammar (including the use and formation of stem-words and their further extension by means of affixes and reduplication), leaving syntax to be treated in a separate monograph. The importance of these conclusions, both from the point of view of Indonesian studies in particular and of comparative philology in general, is too obvious to require much comment. I will merely say that the survey contained in this monograph of the leading common features of the Indonesian languages gives one quite a vivid conception of their structure and will also undoubtedly facilitate the learning and understanding of any one of them, varied and diverse as they are. Altogether this is an important and valuable piece of work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

The Irshād al-Arīb ila Ma'rifat al-Adīb, or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt. Edited by D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. V, containing part of the letter \(\xi\). pp. xii and 560. Leyden, Brill; London, Luzae & Co.; 1911.

The transition from vol. iii, 1 (JRAS, 1910, pp. 885–91), to vol. v of this important text is due to the absence of any manuscript original for the intervening portion. In dealing with this volume the editor was more favourably situated than in the case of the preceding ones, for in place of the thoroughly bad Bodleian MS., he had for this subsequent portion of the text, in addition to a Constantinople MS., the use of a fairly old copy—dated 679 = A.D. 1280 — acquired by himself and by Mr. Amedroz from the Bombay Professor, Muhammad 'Abbās, which nearly reaches back to the author's period, for he died A.H. 626 = A.D. 1229. The contents of this على بن يوسف to عبيد الله بن محمّد volume, which includes بن البقال, are in no way inferior to what has gone before. The letter 'ain yields biographical notices of the highest importance, which Yaqut's literary knowledge raises to the level of actual monographs. Of priceless value are the notices on Ibn 'Asākir (pp. 139-46), on Abu-l-Faraj al-Isfahāni (pp. 149-68), which gives us a close insight into the character and into the internal and external circumstances of the life of the author of the Aghani, the important article on al-Kisā'i (pp. 183-200), and on Abu Hayyan al-Tauhidi (pp. 380-407), who, as we learnt from the former volumes, was a special object of the author's were probably مثالب الوزيرين study, and from whose work taken the extracts on pp. 361-75, which give so clear a picture of the intrigues at the Buwaihid Courts. here for the first time appears, on pp. 208-19, a prolific, but hitherto scarcely known author, 'Ali b. Zaid al-Baihaqi

(ob. A.H. 565 = A.D. 1169-70), a pupil of Maidani; the titles of his works cover two pages and a half. Yāqūt, in many passages here, makes use of his work, the مشارب التجارب (quoted also vol. ii, 314, l. 5), from which he gives us, too, Baihaqi's biography of himself, and what he tells us from this work about the vizier al-Kundurī (pp. 124 ff.) is likewise of peculiar interest.

On p. 409, l. penult., the author's keen insight has detected an autograph—for he seizes on these, as we know, with avidity, and appeals readily to their authority—with the view of including a hitherto unknown Akhfash among his "learned men". By similar means he got knowledge (p. 315, l. 8), through a copy made by al-Sukkari, of a work by al-Madā'ini, unknown to the author of the Fihrist. Nor is proof needed of the fact that the notice of al-Qifti (pp. 477–94), to whom Yāqūt was under so great obligation, is of very special importance.

It follows, therefore, that the volume now provided for us by Professor Margoliouth has again proved to be a mine of information on the history of literature and of manners, and to him, and to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial, we owe our thanks.

In reviewing the previous volumes we dealt with Yāqūt's sources, but we are now relieved of this task in the confident hope that Dr. G. Bergsträsser will apply to this and to the concluding volumes of the text the same thorough critical treatment of the works used by Yāqūt for the Irshād that he applied to the first three volumes (ZDMG., vol. lxv, pp. 798-811, 1911). With regard to the learned family al-Najīramī and its members (cf. also this volume, at p. 81, l. 4 a.f., and ff.), and to Dr. Bergsträsser's note thereon, p. 807, n. 2, we would draw attention to what we said in Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris, 1909, pp. 202-3. The Najīramī family had received ample notice, too, from Suyūṭi's Bughyat al-Wu'āt, probably based on the Irshād:

Professor Margoliouth has found in this volume, too, opportunities for the exercise of his critical and philological acuteness in improving the readings of his MSS. where required. Their readings often differ, not merely as regards passages of similar import, but also as regards the substance of the biographical notices themselves. Where this happened the editor put the two versions side by side and supplemented their respective deficiencies from the other. The trifling emendations which we made in the course of reading the text, we now submit to the editor, with the observation that these do not extend to the abundant and very wearisome verses by late poets, of which there is a large quantity given in the volume. Here and there, on a cursory perusal of these, we came upon slight irregularities in metrep. 269, l. 2, in the second hemistich, and p. 335, l. 3. A large part of the following remarks concern what are presumably mere misprints:-

PAGE LINE

ألم المحريري, read المجريري, i.e. he adhered to the Madhhab of Tabari (Ibn Jarīr); and this is the commonly used epithet of Mu'āfa b. Zakarīya, cf. W.Z.K.M., vol. ix, p. 364, n. 9; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, p. 394, l. 15, عليه عليه عليه ابن جرير وأحياد ونود به و حامي عليه A declared follower of this Madhhab was also Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad al-Bāķarḥi, ob. A.H. 410 (cf. Ansāb, Gibb Facsimile, 61b, l. 7, بنتكل في الفقه مذهب ابن جرير الطبري وكان ينتكل في المفقة على مذهب محمد بن جرير الطبري; العليم المنافقة على مذهب محمد بن جرير الطبري (وكان يتفقه على مذهب محمد بن جرير الطبري); whilst Aḥmad b. Kāmil b. Khalaf, Kādi in Kūfa, ob. A.H. 266, المحب فاختار لنفسه مذهبًا احد اسحاب ابن جرير. . . واهلكه مذهبًا . On the Madhhab Jarīri cf. F. Kern's Introduction to his edition of the Ikhtilāf al-Fukahā, Cairo, 1902, p. 15.

9 4 a.f. زيني, read صيني. Cf. Damīri, sub voc. كلب

PAGE LINE

- ويقال ان هذا لا يوجد الا (ed. Cairo, 1284), الم يوجد الا يعنى الكلاب) يقال له القلطى وهو صغير في نوع منها (يعنى الكلاب) يقال له القلطى وهو صغير الم 367, on the explanation of dreams: والكلب الصينى يدل على مخالطة قوم من الاعجام .
- 11 محدوان, read محدوان, as in my edition of the Kitāb al-Mu'ammarīn (Abhandl. z. Arab. Philologie, ii), p. 41, 1. 6.
- . قد تصرّف , ib., p. 41, I. 7, يصرف 6
- . نهرنا . . . اخونا De Goeje proposed : نهرها . . . اخوها 7
- راسًا (in place of which the editor proposes رَاسًا) I take to be رَّاسًا, a seller of slaughtered beasts' heads; of. Lisān, vii, 394, l. 3 a.f., والعامّة نقول رَّاس ناس ; and of. the supposed Rifā'ī-Kuṭb Muḥammad al-rawwās (Rev. Monde musulman, vi, 459; not "berger").
- 56 12 The gap should be filled thus: [بن مصعب , ef. Mu'ammarūn, 34, 1. 4.
- . أجل read رجل 8
- 67 ult. The reading a requires no alteration. The meaning is: if the reader be convinced that the 'Allān of the anecdote is identical with 'Allān al-Shu'ūbī, he may insert this Lakab in the text.
- . ضربه read , صرفه 5
- . يسرى read , يسرق 6
- 81 الذنب , read. perhaps, سؤر الذنب , i.e. the remains of the (food of the) wolf.
- 81 ult. الحسين should be الحسين, to accord with the title; and cf. p. 82, l. 4.
- 85 ult. نَبَوَة makes correct sense, as meaning "estrangement".
- is too remote رتق : the proposed emendation غیم is too remote from the text, more probably عیب
- . هتل read متك 8 106 .

PAGE

- 11 N should be retained. It is thus in Prairies d'or, 148 ed. Paris, iii, 133: "Insight has disclosed to its (Babylon's) inhabitants the wisdom of things," although for als one would expect to find lal.
- 3 a.f. الأفات, read, as ed. Paris, loc. cit., one of whose requirements is , مر شرطه الابانة separation," in conjunction with the foregoing التشتيت.
- . راوية read , رواية 1 . الخطائية 8 . 203
- 214
- 11 الطيرة ,, الطيرة . Cf. vol. i, 90, 1. 2, and vol. iii, 222 i, 23, 1. 13, and also Aghāni, vi, 198, 1. 6 a.f., ; Ibn Khallikan, No. 666, sub Abu Bekr b. Kurei'a, النوادر الطنزية; and Jephet b. 'Ali translates . والى متى الطنّازين اشتهوا لانفسهم الطنز Prov. i, 22
- s a.f. البدائة; the title of the work is البداية 228 (cf. Gött. Gel. Anz., 1899, p. 464, l. 15).
- 4 ", read , read ... 236
- . باصور ,, ناصور ,, باصور . 274 penult. مَذْكِرًا ,,
- . في [اما] فشر Read 284
- . طلبة read طلبة 3 288
- ult. المقايسة, read المقايسة, i.e. the philosophic discussions 381 by the circle of Abu Suleimān al-Mantiķi, accessible in a Bombay lithograph.
- . کتابه read , کتبه
- . اقوم ,, اقوام 403 penult.
- . نخرًا ,, نجرًا 430
- . افصى ,, اقصى 4 a.f. 435
- . مُضَر ,, مصر 9 . اعدّا ,, اعدوا 1 436
- 441
- ن باحة , perhaps, نبخة 5 441

 PAGE LINE

 458
 9 Read [الحال المحال المحا

Presenting as we do, and in entire accord with our fellow-workers, our renewed thanks to Professor Margoliouth for the progress he is making with his useful undertaking, one wish may be expressed, viz. that he be somewhat less sparing in adding diacritical marks, more especially so as to fix the form of proper names, e.g. \$\frac{1}{2}\mathcal{L}_{\text{c}}\$, p. 287, l. 5 a.f., and furthermore so as to indicate grammatical forms, e.g. p. 220, l. 1 ff., and in the case of the more difficult verse citations. In many a case vocalization is the aptest form of commentary, and the best aid to the understanding of a text which, in a framework of consonants alone, often presents very great difficulty.

I. GOLDZIHER.

ARAMÄISCHE PAPYRUS UND OSTRAKA AUS EINER JÜDISCHEN MILITÄR-KOLONIE ZU ELEPHANTINE. Altorientalische Sprachdenkmäler des 5. Jahrhunderts von Chr., bearbeitet von Eduard Sachau. pp. xxix und 290, mit 75 Lichtdrucktafeln fol. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.

This is a work of the first magnitude, and although it only saw the light a few months ago it has already called forth a number of books and articles, and will provide material for theological, historical, and linguistic studies for some time to come. The sensation caused by the publication of the Assuan papyri several years ago has been eclipsed by these new finds. They do not consist exclusively of legal documents of a private character, but include a number of state papers of great historical interest, and give the reader an insight into a peculiar civilization built up in a remote corner of the ancient Egyptian empire. They further include private letters,

business papers, lists of names, fragments of an Aramaic version of the Ahīkār romance and of another tale, also fragments of the famous Darius inscription of Behistun, and finally smaller ones, ostraka and a number of jars with Phœnician inscriptions—altogether nearly a hundred items.

Amidst the general joy of this discovery a sound of discord was heard, voicing a suspicion of forgery. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, in a learned article, cast doubt on the authenticity of the most important documents, but the worst he could say was that the first papyrus "looked in facsimile as if it had been written very recently". We must confess that his argument that "according to the Arabs the practice of keeping copies of state documents commenced with the Caliph Mu'āwia in the seventh century A.D., and a begging letter is not a state document, and we should still less expect a copy of it to be kept", is weak indeed. It is difficult to see how the Arabs prior to Mu'āwiya could have kept copies of state documents. The Elephantine document in question is not a begging letter, but the petition of a political body for protection. Besides, not one copy was kept, but two. and the slight differences between them show clearly that they were draught copies. Professor Margoliouth remarks that "the German expedition appears to have gone for the purpose of discovering Aramaic documents belonging to the old Jewish colony". Can we assume that this was done in any but a strictly circumspect and scientific manner? The only motive for a forgery (viz. to make money) seems to be entirely absent. The alleged Armenian, English, German, and Turkish words occurring in the texts cannot be taken seriously, and we can but fully agree with Professor Margoliouth's admission that "he cannot pronounce decidedly on a subject which involves so much

¹ The Expositor, January, 1912, pp. 69 sqq., but see Mr. St. A. Cook's article in the March number of the same journal; Expository Times, March, 1912, p. 235.

varied knowledge". Even if one or two of the smaller fragments and ostraka were not genuine, there would still be enough and to spare for serious consideration.

The situation presented to the reader in the two opening documents is one which surpasses the boldest imagination of a writer of fiction. They consist of a dispatch by the leaders and priests of the Jewish community of Jeb to Bagoas, the Persian governor of Judæa, asking permission to rebuild the temple of Jāhō which had been destroyed by the governor Weiderang at the instance of the priests of the Egyptian deity Hnūb. Now whilst in these documents the strictest monotheism is observed in others. viz. pap. 5, l. 1; 6, l. 2; 12, l. 1, etc., we find the plural אלהיא. This may be but a literal translation of Hebrew אבהים, although this is not certain. More serious is the list of names in the last column of pap. 18, where we find the names of two other deities, viz. Ishumbëthël and Anathbēthēl. A third deity, explicitly described as such, is mentioned in pap. 27, ll. 7-8, viz. "HRMbēthēl, the god". In view of this evidence one can only agree with Professor Sachau's observations that the military colony of Elephantine, besides Jāhō,¹ also worshipped these three minor deities, although it does not appear that they had any shrines dedicated to them. The composition of these names with Bethel renders the assumption probable that at least a reminiscence of the calf-worship of Bethel had been transplanted to Egypt; by whom is, of course, unknown. Professor Sachau rightly suggests that this was done by the Judaic fugitives who carried the prophet Jeremiah along with them. Their persistent idolatry is sufficiently testified to by the censures and threats contained in Jeremiah xliv. More evidence is found in the

¹ The worship of Jāhō alone, unsupported by other evidence, would be no absolute proof of monotheism. The name occurs in old Semitic characters on a coin from Gaza, recently shown by Mr. G. F. Hill in a paper on "Some Palestinian Cults in the Græco-Roman Age" read before the British Academy, and shortly to be published.

fact that (as we gather from the complaint made in line 19 of the first letter) a petition sent to the High Priest in Jerusalem remained unanswered. This looks as if the temple authorities did not wish to have anything to do with their brethren in Elephantine, and considered their temple as well as their priests illegal. What makes the situation still more complicated is the circumstance that by side with these polytheistic leanings Elephantine Jews not only observed the laws the Passah, but actually did so in a form which savours of Rabbinic interpretation. For pap. 6 gives what appears to be a standing order, enacting the celebration of the feast with an addition which is not contained in the regulations of the Pentateuch, but only in the Mishnah. Moreover, in pap. 1, 1. 20 the mourning of the people for the destruction of their sanctuary is described in terms which the Rabbinic practice prescribed for the Day of Atonement and for the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, viz. abstention from food, drink ("wine," l. 21), anointing, and conjugal intercourse. All this does not look as if it could have been invented. The industry, ingenuity, and learning displayed in Professor Sachau's general and detailed researches in connexion with the papyri deserve the highest admiration. Professor Sachau is somewhat shocked at the cringing form of greeting in the opening lines, viz. that God should inquire into the well-being of the king's lieutenant; but it is scarcely stronger than صلّى الله عليه وسلم, and the words שאל שלם here as well as in other letters (e.g. pap. 12, l. 1) probably mean nothing more than "may he greet". As to המונית (1.5), we may perhaps think of ב and translate "plottingly". The word לחיא has raised some controversy. Professor Sachau rightly rejects the translation delator, and only accepts the other one, verwünscht, with a sign of interrogation. I cannot imagine that the writers of an official document would

have indulged in abusive terms.¹ The word may be a denominativum of לה' "jaw-bone", and nothing but a physical characteristic of the person in question, viz. the man with the (large) jaw-bone. It should be noted that in the papyrus Euting A, l. 4 the word is missing.

As to the five gates of the temple (l. 10), Professor Sachau (pp. xvi and 15) reasons that Egyptian temples only had one entrance, but has nothing better to suggest than that, at the time the temple was built, the garrison consisted of five companies only. I believe that the five gates can be found in the following: one principal gate leading from the street into a court; then there was one entrance for the priests, one for the women, one for the officers, and the fifth for the common soldiers and servants. As to כים (the same line), Sachau accepts Barth's correction of an alleged mistake into קיסן "wooden". This, however, should have been קיסין (cf. מُבשׁבוֹ). Why should the material of the doors be mentioned if they were made of ordinary wood, and why not, then, עקן as in the following A mistake on the part of the writer is out of the question; as the word occurs again in papyrus 2, I therefore suggest reading קימן.

¹ In pap. 12, l. 3 he is styled ארב חילא.

should be noted that only gods and human beings¹ are mentioned in this inscription. The situation in our text is possibly the following: whilst those who had carried out the destruction of the temple were put to death (l. 17), Waiderang was handed over to the keepers of the (temple?) dogs, who killed him and destroyed all his property. The execution seems to have been accompanied by great cruelty, probably alluded to in Professor Sachau's suggestion (l. 17, footnote) that he was put to death and the chains were subsequently removed from his feet, his corpse being cast away, seems to be most plausible. He was probably given over to the dog-keepers to be devoured by their dogs (cf. 1 Kings xiv, 11; xvi, 4; xxi, 23-4; 2 Kings ix, 10, 36).

It is, of course, impossible to discuss every item of the work here, as the majority of topics are subjects of study rather than of settled views. On several of them there already exists a small literature; this is the case with papyrus 6, alluded to above. From the passage (l. 5) "And from the 15th to the 21st (of Nisan)" we must infer that Exodus xii. 18 was known at that time even in Elephantine. Now this contradicts the current view of the post-Exilic origin of P (to which this passage is counted). In order to escape the difficulty Professor Sachau assumes that the military colony in Elephantine did not, prior to this document, know anything of the Passah feast, or neglected to celebrate it. The latter opinion is undoubtedly the correct one. The Rabbinic element contained in the royal decree, relating to the prohibition of certain beverages, clearly points to a much greater age of the law in question. Had this been a new enactment, the document would, of necessity, have given all the details required for the proper celebration of the feast, whilst for a practice familiar to everybody, but likely to be overlooked on account of

¹ But not in the sense of "dogs" as "humble slaves of the gods", as Cooke (Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions, p. 68) suggests.

ignorance or carelessness, this brief reminder was sufficient. That the feast was familiarly known can be seen from an Elephantine ostrakon, published by Professor Sayce in PSBA., November, 1911, in which occurs the words אחם "she (?) shall prepare the Passah". It is thus clear that the last word on this question has not yet been spoken. A lively controversy on its bearing on Pentateuch criticism has already begun, and is likely to have important consequences.

The word it (papyrus 11, l. 8), left unexplained by Professor Sachau, is interpreted by Professor Barth as meaning "weigh ye", which is not very plausible. I should suggest to take the word as Pa'ël and translate "render cheap" in the sense of "sell cheaply (goods from our houses)". A similar meaning is perhaps to be given to in line 7 of the ostrakon just mentioned, viz. "Hōshaiah has rendered valueless", instead of "undervalued" (Sayce).

Of great interest are the lists of names, the vast majority of which are Hebrew. Many of these names do not occur in the O.T. A strange contrast appears in papyrus 23, all the fourteen names of which are neither Hebrew nor Aramaic. As several of them are Persian, it is possible that the names are those of officers.

A remarkable fragment is papyrus 42, which contains two lines without the word-divisions, otherwise consistently observed in the other documents. Professor Sachau leaves it undecided whether the text is Hebrew or Aramaic, but both his attempts at translating it are unconvincing. The fragment seems to be a Hebrew amulet. As several words

The word [1] (l. 2) has been left unexplained by Professor Sayce. It can only be the imperative Pe'al of [1] "to puncture" (but not "to cut" as Dr. Daiches suggests in PSBA., January, 1912), and probably refers to the practice of pricking small holes in the flattened dough of the "bread" mentioned in the same line. If this be so, the first two lines relate to the preparation of the massoth. The custom of pricking holes in the dough is still observed, in order to allow the heat of the oven to penetrate the dough as rapidly as possible and to bake it before it has time to become leavened.

are missing on the right, a full translation is out of the question. Perhaps it runs as follows:—

מ אלהי כל ישלמך ישלם . . . מ אלהי כל ישלמ . . . שלמך לכל יפרה וישלם . . .

". . . the God of the Universe may make thee well, may He make well (or repay)

thy well-being, to all, may He redeem and repay (?)."

A large field of research has been opened up by the fragments of the Ahikar romance. They bring, in the first instance, the question of the origin of this remarkable piece of ancient Oriental literature somewhat nearer its solution. They further show that this romance is much older than has hitherto been held, and clearly illustrate that critical ardour can err in post-dating as well as in antedating ancient documents.

Among the latest and most incisive writers on the Ahikar romance is Professor R. Smend.¹ He agrees with Dr. R. Harris and J. Halévy that it was a Jewish book composed about 200 B.C. As the papyri date from the fifth century, we must antedate the book for more than Although not maintaining the another 200 years. thoroughly Jewish character, Smend denies its pagan origin upheld by other authors, but finds much Jewish, or at least Semitic, influence in it. The question now is whether the evidence to be found in the Judgeo-Aramaic version of the papyri would corroborate its Jewish origin. Such evidence is not forthcoming; at any rate this text is not the original, but a translation, and it is improbable that any member of the military colony in Jeb was responsible for the translation. The parallel offered by the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription might aid in the formation of a theory. As the latter translation was obviously made on behalf of the Persian government, it may be argued that the Aramaic Ahikar

¹ "Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältniss zu Aesop," p. 116 (Beihefte zur ZAW. xiii).

was likewise sent down to Jeb as a moral guide and educational reading-book. The question of the real original thus remains untouched, but here Professor Sachau's (p. 147) cautious suggestions in connexion with the stele of Ahīkar seem to come very near the truth. In the meanwhile several interesting articles on the exegesis of the didactic part of Ahīkar have been published in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (November, 1911, to February, 1912).

Not of the same importance as the papyri, yet interesting enough are the jar inscriptions with Phoenician names. It is not likely that the military colony in Elephantine manufactured its own pottery, but probably bought it from Phoenician makers. The name מַעְלְאִיפָּׁהְ " Epha maker" on one of the jars is sufficient evidence of this. Another interesting fact is that several of the names in the lists mentioned before also occur in the latest instalment of the inscriptions from Carthage published in the CIS.1

The grammatical sketch appended to the work is of particular value, and fully brings out the importance of the papyri for the study of the development of the Aramaic language through its various stages. They have preserved

¹ No. 2,760, see p. 528 of this Journal.

several archaisms which are no longer visible in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, and thus hold the mean between these and the dialect of the Zenjīrli inscriptions. One must, however, be on the guard against hasty conclusions, as it is likely that the dialect of an isolated colony in a remote corner of a country of different speech developed much more slowly than in Western Asia. An interesting parallel is to be found in the Espagnol of the Jews in modern Turkey, which shows archaisms that have long disappeared from present-day Spanish. grammatical difficulties of the dialect of the papyri are, of course, greatly enhanced by the absence of any Masoretic help. Interesting is the disappearance of & within the word, as in נאהבת for אהבת, and similarly to this we may regard the loss of y at the end, the names שמוע and שמוע probably being identical. As to the use of '7 at the beginning of a sentence, cf. די הן, Daniel ii, 9.

These rapid notes are not meant to give an adequate idea of the fullness of the volume. It will require the combined study of various specialists to cope with the historical, literary, and linguistic material it provides. The scientific excellence of the transcription and the notes is accompanied by splendid facsimiles. The publishers deserve special praise for the way in which the work has been produced.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

SELECTED BABYLONIAN KUDURRU INSCRIPTIONS. By W. J. HINKE, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in Auburn Theological Seminary. (Semitic Study Series, edited by R. J. H. Gottheil and Morris Jastrow, jun., No. XIV.) 5\frac{3}{8} \times 8 inches. Leiden: late E. J. Brill, 1911.

Combining, as they do, manners and customs, legal forms, religion, superstition, and the art of the Kassite period in Babylonia, these *kudurrēti* or boundary-stones

offer numerous points of interest which other Babylonian antiquities lack. The book is therefore a much less uninteresting production than it would seem to be at first glance. Originally grants of land to officials, fugitives, and temples, in the second Išin dynasty they include private transfers of property.

The texts given are eight in number, and, with one exception, have all been published before. The special merit of this publication is, that all, with one exception, have been collated with the originals, and the vocabulary which is to enable the student to translate them is greatly improved. The texts themselves occupy 40 pages, the sign-list takes up 12, and the remainder, 38 pages, is devoted to the glossary. An introduction of five short pages gives all that the beginner needs to know before attacking the texts themselves.

The first text, which is a good example of inscriptions of this class, is a grant of land by the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš to the god Merodach. This seems to have included the city Mâr-uknî, with four other cities. The fields belonged to the city of Risnu on the great Suri River, Tirigan on the Daban River, in the province of Sin-magir; the cities Šasai and Dûr-šarri on the Daban River, in the province of the city Dûr-Pap-sukal; the city Pilarî on the River Šarru (Nahr Malka), in the province of Hudadi (read by Scheil and others Bagdadi); the city Dûr-Nergal on the Migati River, in the province of Mesliaš; the city Dûr-Šamaš-îla-ibni on the Sumuntar River, in the province of Bît-Sin-âšarêdu; the city Karê on the Šarru River (Nahr Malka), in the province of Upi (Opis). All these extensive possessions were secured by this landgrant; and the gods whose names are recorded, whose emblems are shown, and whose seats are indicated thereon, are invoked to curse any who should have the boldness to diminish them. Among these last are "the seat and the tiara (?) of Anu, king of the heavens; the girgilu,

messenger of Enlil, lord of the lands (or of the mountains): the great sanctuary (? or sacred emblem, asirtu) of £a": "the crescent, basket, ship of Sin" (the moon-god); "the brilliant torch of Ištar, lady of the lands; the mighty steer of Addu (Hadad), son of Anu," etc. It is a pity that the reliefs on these boundary-stones could not be included in the book—they would have added greatly to its value, especially if accompanied by notes by such a specialist therein as Professor Hinke.¹ With regard to the girgilu of Enlil, he notes Hommel's suggestion that this is the cock, the word for which others say (comparing הרנגול for is tarlugallu, though, as I have shown (JRAS., 1911, p. 1150), this bird seems to have been called The first syllable of girgilu apparently bibinakku.2 contains the Sumerian word gir, "foot"; the Semitic equivalents are saahu (zaahu) and arabū, the latter being also called issur me, "water-bird" (JRAS., 1911, p. 1061). Perhaps the sea-gull is intended—indeed, this bird seems to occur on two cylinder-seals, one in the British Museum, and the other belonging to Mr. J. Offord, published in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology, November, 1911, pl. xl (see my notes thereon, p. 215, l. 5 from below). The Talmud agrees with the Babylonian inscriptions in stating that the cock was sacred to Nergal, god of war (cf. JRAS., 1911, p. 1042).

Besides the sign-list and the word-list, one would have liked to see an index of names, transcriptions of which, in certain cases, would have been of special use in a book intended for students. It is an excellent production, however, for those who are advanced enough, and is written by a thoroughly competent Assyriologist.

T. G. PINCHES.

² Most birds had more than one name in Babylonian.

¹ See his New Boundary Stones of Nebuchadnezzar (Bab. Exp. of the University of Pennsylvania, series D, vol. iv).

Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello, par le Commandant Gaston Cros, publiées avec le concours de Léon Heuzey, Directeur Honoraire des Musées Nationaux, et F. Thureau-Dangin, Conservateur Adjoint des Musées Nationaux. Deuxième livraison. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911.

This important publication, which continues that noticed in the Journal of the R.A.S. for 1911, pp. 1182 ff., consists of pp. 105-222, with numerous inscriptions, figures in the text, and five heliogravure plates. It goes on to describe the reservoir-quarter (région des bassins) of Lagaš, and has pictures of two such receptacles, one with sloping bottom (pentes convergentes), paved, and the other with asphalted bottom (réduit bitumé). Among the objects found in this portion of the excavations may be mentioned two gore-shaped flakes of mother-of-pearl, engraved with the following designs: a man struggling with a roebuck, a horned and whiskered human head (of a man-headed bull), a lion-headed eagle holding with its claws the heads of two serpents rising from the upper part of a disc, and an ibex rising against a bush to eat a bud. These flakes formed the sides of a sword-hilt.

Exceedingly interesting, also, is the description of the Necropolis on Tell H. One of the first things found was a well-built funerary enclosure ("de beaux murs en briques") of rectangular form. The corners are described as being properly oriented, and in that of the west were three platforms, arranged like broad steps, whereon, it is supposed, the bodies were prepared for burial, and rites performed. To the north of this is a brick tomb, and also other details, the nature of which Commandant Cros cannot indicate. Numerous other burial-places were found in this mound, and the various forms of the receptacles are interesting. Space fails here to give an adequate notice of them, or of the objects disinterred on the site.

M. Thureau-Dangin gives us many new inscriptions, among which may be mentioned that of a new king named Sumu-îlu, cut on a remarkable statuette of a dog. As Sumu-îlu's date is about 2100 B.C., this is almost the oldest representation of a dog known. M. Heuzey contributes a description of it from an antiquarian point of view. Another interesting text is a hymn to the goddess Nisaba (Ceres). Several pre-Sargonic account-tablets follow, and are succeeded by inscriptions from tablets belonging to the ends of the dynasties of Agadé and Ur. Certain letters and contracts of the first dynasty of Babylon show that the authority of that city was acknowledged at Lagaš about this period. The first of the series, which was apparently written a little before this period, is unusual:—

"... By the hands of my son I raise not my head 1; henceforth shall I not be satisfied with food, my best clothes I have not (upon me); I anoint not my members with oil. Pain like a knife (?) has entered into my heart—would that I might benefit (?) . . . "

After some fragments of hymns and of historical texts mentioning the defeat of Uru-ka-gina (by Lugal-zaggi-si), the destruction of Umma, and the restoration of the stele of Mesilim in the reign of È-anna-tum, M. Thureau-Dangin gives some inscriptions of the nature of labels similar to those published in the Journal of the R.A.S. for 1911, pp. 1040–1042. Three of the four new texts begin with the same word or words as those referred to, and end, like them, with the name and titles of Uru-ka-gina. Instead of two lines containing the names of men, however, these specimens have one only, in two cases the name of the temple È-barbara and in the other the goddess Nina. His rendering of these texts is as follows:—

"Bastion of the enclosing wall, E-barbara (or Nina). Uru-ka-gina, king of Lagas."

¹ Apparently meaning "my son is no comfort to me".

He suggests that these labels show that the object to which they were attached belonged to the temple, god, or person mentioned, and was placed on deposit, in the fortress, during the reign of this king, perhaps at the moment when the city was invested by Lugal-zaggi-si, king of Kis. If this be the case, the investment took place in the third year of Uru-ka-gina (Berens, No. 3, JRAS., 1911, pp. 1040 ff.).

I have regarded these labels as having accompanied the goods to which they were attached and as being addressed to "the lord of the fortification" and his secretary, or the like—the names of both are given.

The five plates include the small statue of Gudea (perfect), three views of Sumu-ilu's dog, bas-reliefs, weapons, and views of the necropolis.

The book is a concise and businesslike production, full of interesting and important material. No Semitic archæologist can afford to neglect it.

T. G. PINCHES.

NAMEN DER KORPERTEILE IM ASSYRISCH-BABYLONISCHEN, von Harri Holma. (Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ, ser. B, tom. vii, 1.) Druck von August Pries in Leipzig, 1911.

Such systematic studies as these are things of delight for the philologist and general root-hunter. The work is divided into eight headings: the head and its parts; the parts between the head and the trunk; the trunk; the sexual parts; the upper extremities; the lower extremities; the parts of the specifically animal body; and names of parts of the body which are still of uncertain meaning. With the indexes the pages number 182.

In all probability there are but few sections of the Assyro-Babylonian vocabulary better provided with the means of interpretation than that which refers to the human and the animal frames. This is due not only to the existence of special lists, but also to the words indicating parts of the body in omen-tablets and elsewhere. Notwithstanding that the discussions of the various words are long and detailed, nearly 400 expressions are treated of — an indication of the richness of the Assyro-Babylonian language, already foreshadowed by the 1,200 pages of Muss-Arnolt's Assyrian dictionary and Meissner's Supplement.

It is needless to say that a large number of the words treated of had already been rightly rendered, but the author's notes thereon will be found useful, as they not only confirm the renderings adopted, but show how the meanings were extended.

Notwithstanding the many additions to our knowledge of this section of the Assyro-Babylonian vocabulary which the work reveals, there is still much to be done, as the many queries show. A few extracts from the German index will show the present state of our knowledge:—

Head. Besides the common words quaqqudu and résu, two additional words, gulgullu and bibinu? are given.

Breast, îrtu. Woman's breast, dâdu?, dîdâ, zîzu, habûnu?, kirimmu, muššu, şirtu, tilû, tulû.

Throat, gangurîtu, girru, girânu, hamurîtu, harurtu, napištu.

Womb, beşu, edammukku, ipu, ibahu, laqlaqqu, maklalu, ntt libbi, pušqu, piristu, qirbitu?, remu, remtu, šasurru, Eilttu, šisttu. [Ūru seems also to have been used in the same sense.]

Naturally there are many things in a book like this with which the reader cannot agree. Thus, on p. 25, where the cognates of laku or laqu are given, though the Hebrew أَوْمَ أَوْمَ اللهُ نَا فَعُرُمْ وَاللهُ وَاللّهُ وَالل

the mouth"? In Boissier's "DA" (Présages), p. 23, l. 2 of the rev., he does not read l(?)dki pi-šu, but prefers ldki uzni-šu, perhaps rightly, though the dual-wedges in the latter case would be expected. I have before me at present, however, the following comparison:—

lák pî-šu, which is "the water of his mouth". If I understand this rightly, therefore, láku means "spittle".

As an example of the excellence of the work, however, the words for "throat" may be mentioned. These are napištu in incantations and other inscriptions; girru in omen-texts, ganguritu and hamusītu in bilingual lists, girānu in omens, and harurtu in a letter. The windpipe seems to have been ur'udu. The lungs are given doubtfully as *irāti* and *ru'tu*, and this appears to be one of the meanings of these words. Though by no means certain, it is probable that the Sumerian for "lung(s)" is a group which is glossed bun, and explained by the Semitic Babylonian el-la-... The first character is the usual determinative prefix for a part of the body, the second being the character for "wind" within that for "enclosure". Now the "wind-enclosure" of the body is the chest, and by extension it may have included the lungs. Whether the Semitic rendering is to be completed as ellamu ("front") or not, is doubtful.

The usual word for "foot" is *¿pu, but a fragment, unprovided with a running number when I copied it, has the rendering ilki = ½¿pi, from which it would seem that it could also be expressed by ilku, probably from álāku, "to go." "Hoof" is *supru, a word which also stands for "nail", "claw", and the "nail-mark" used instead of a seal. I have long been in doubt as to the Sumerian equivalent being dubbin, and read it umbin—it is possibly connected with the Semitic ábanu, "finger." Apparently the original meaning of *supru* (var. zubru)

was "extremity", or the like, as the real word for "hoof" or "paw" seems to have been *épir-...* which translates UZU-UMBIN-IGI-DU, and (probably with an explanatory word) UZU-UMBIN-GIŠ-SIG ("fore-foot" or "-hoof"), UZU-UMBIN-TABTABA ("the four feet," or "hoofs", or "paws"), and UZU-GIŠ-NIM-GIŠ-SIG ("fore and hind (literally "upper and lower") members"). UZU-UMBIN-TABTABBA is also translated by *qursinnetum*, "the (four) legs" (of an animal).

But sufficient has been said to show the value of the book. One hopes to see more from Dr. Holma's pen—such studies as this make for a precision in translating otherwise unattainable.

T. G. PINCHES.

TABLETTES DE DRÉHEM, publiées avec inventaire et tables, par H. DE GENOUILLAC. Cloth; 8 × 12½. Paris: Geuthner, 1911.

LA TROUVAILLE DE DRÉHEM. Étude, avec un choix de Textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles, par H. DE GENOUILLAC. Avec 20 planches en zincographie. 8 × 11. Paris: Geuthner, 1911. 3s. 4d.

The first thing that one looks at on opening books like these is the copies, and those of M. de Genouillac are things to gladden the eyes. The first book has fifty-one plates, containing about one hundred and eighty inscriptions, many of them with cylinder-seals, whilst the other has about ninety similar reproductions.

Drehem is described by the author as being about half an hour (by boat, I believe, but that is not stated) from Niffer, which latter was regarded by the Jews of the Captivity as the Biblical Calneh. It is interesting to notice the list of proper names of places compiled by the author from these texts, which thus become documents supplying us with history, especially when their is ake or mayors are mentioned. At this time (about 2300 B.C.)

it may be supposed that there was no king in Babylon, but officials of this class, Aršia1 in the 53rd year of Dungi, and Murteli (or Uru-teli)2 in the 8th year of Bûr-Sin. Among the others referred to may be mentioned Kallamu of Asnun-ak, who owned certain cattle in the 57th year of Dungi; Ituria of the same place, who delivered small cattle in the 9th year of Gimil-Sin; A-billasa of Kazallu, in whose name small cattle were transferred in the 8th year of Bûr-Sin. Ugula of Kiš also received cattle on behalf of the king in the 4th year of Bûr-Sin; Gudea of Gudua (Cuthah) delivers cattle to (the temple of) Enlila in the behalf of the king in the 3rd year of his reign; and Libanukšabaš of Marhaši appears in connexion with the offerings in the festival of Adar in the same year. These and other data of a like nature, contained in the publications of Langdon, Genouillac, and Delaporte, add much to our knowledge of this early period, and more may be expected. In La Trouvaille de Dréhem M. de Genouillac gives much geographical material from other inscriptions, to which may be added the names of Gabren, Girnun, Maur (so rather than Mari or Mair), Simas(gi), Zaul, Siu, Tahtahhuni (read, apparently, Tahtahuni instead of Gabgabni), Giša, etc. Naturally the same name is repeated in these texts again and again, so that the list is soon exhausted, but it is an interesting one.

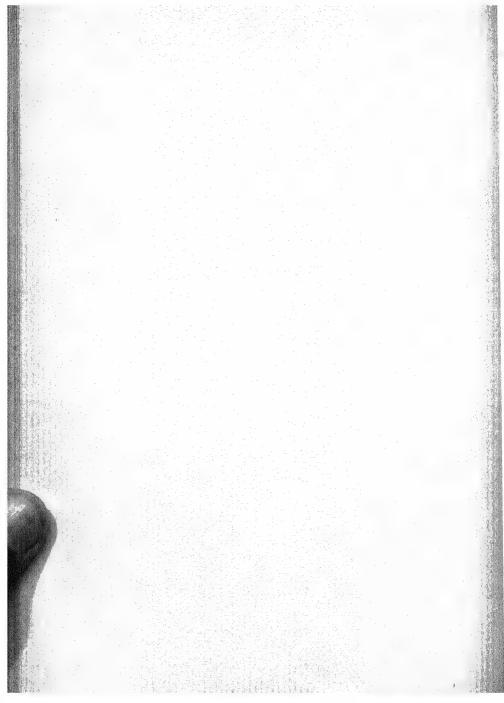
La Trouvaille de Dréhem treats also of the find in general, the calendar, and the dates. The tablets often have very fine impressions of cylinder-seals, and these are always given. A plate prefixed to the work has seven half-tone blocks, with reproductions of some of these early Babylonian objects of art.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ The tablet refers to sheep and lambs belonging to him.

² The text refers to draught-oxen delivered to him.

³ In W. Asia Inscriptions, ii, pl. 60, line 20, it seems probable that the deity mentioned is not Malik, but Maür, "king of the city Maür." It is to be noted that the names here are not in all cases misplaced, as has been thought.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April, May, June, 1912.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

April 16, 1912.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:-

Mr. J. P. Mead, jun.

Mr. R. O. Winstedt.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. E. T. Richmond read a paper entitled "The Significance of Cairo".

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Sewell and Dr. Hagopian took part.

Triennial Gold Medal Presentation. May 21, 1912.

The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

SIR MORTIMER DURAND, in opening the proceedings, said:—The Royal Asiatic Society presents every three years a Gold Medal for Oriental Research. On this occasion it has been awarded to Mr. Fleet, whose work you all know. Mr. Fleet served for thirty years in India, and has distinguished himself by researches in History, Chronology, and other matters, which I will not go into now. Lord Minto has been kind enough to undertake to present the Medal, and we are very grateful to him for doing so. I will now ask him to make the presentation.

LORD MINTO said:—I must in the first place thank the Royal Asiatic Society for having invited me to present the Triennial Gold Medal to Mr. Fleet; for I can assure

them, as a former Vicerov, that it is very welcome to me to assist in any way in doing honour to one who has rendered such long and distinguished services to his country. I believe it is something like forty-five years since Mr. Fleet entered the Indian Civil Service, in the Presidency of Bombay. He joined the Revenue and Executive Branch of the service, and served in the usual grades of Assistant Collector and Magistrate—also as Educational Inspector, Southern Division, and Assistant Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country -till 1883. In January, 1883, he was appointed Epigraphist under the Government of India. He reverted to the regular line of the Service, as Collector and Magistrate of Sholapur, in June, 1886. He was subsequently Commissioner of the Southern and Central Divisions from December, 1891. He proceeded on furlough to England in September, 1895, and retired from the service in June, 1897. Mr. Fleet holds a distinguished record in Indian Epigraphy, History, and Chronology. In these subjects he is a leading authority in foreign countries as well as in England. In Epigraphy his most important work is vol. iii of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors", which was published in 1888: its great merits are (1) the establishment of a model for the modern scientific method of treating Indian epigraphic records; and (2) the settlement of the long-disputed question of the true initial date, A.D. 320, of the Gupta era, one of the fundamental means for adjusting and unifying the chaotic history of ancient India. Equally useful and important are his numerous articles on inscriptions, history, geography, coins, etc., published from 1870 onwards in the volumes of the Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphia Indica, and the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and its Bombay Branch: they constitute a monument of scholarly acumen and accuracy. Mr. Fleet's position as

a leading authority on the subjects mentioned above is shown by his being invited to contribute the account of "The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts" to vol. i of the Bombay Gazetteer (1896); chapter i, on "Indian Epigraphy", to vol. ii, "The Indian Empire," of the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1908); and articles on "Hindu Chronology" and "Indian Inscriptions" to the 11th edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Appreciation of his work has been shown in Germany by making him a Philosophiæ Doctor (honoris causa) of the University of Göttingen, a Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Sciences, Göttingen, and an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society. That, ladies and gentlemen, is merely a sketch of Mr. Fleet's career. I can only tell you again how pleased I am to be here to-day to offer him the congratulations of the Royal Asiatic Society on his work, and to present him on their behalf with their Triennial Gold Medal in recognition of the long and distinguished services he has rendered to the Indian Empire.

MR. FLEET said:—There is so much business before us this afternoon, this being the Anniversary Meeting, that I must make only quite a short statement. I feel it a great honour that the Gold Medal should be given to me in succession to the eminent scholars to whom it has already been awarded,—Professor Cowell, Dr. West, Sir William Muir, Dr. Pope, and Dr. Grierson: it will always be a source of pride to me that my work should be held to rank in any way along with theirs. I would like to add that I regard it as a particular privilege to receive the Medal from the hands of Lord Minto; because, not only has he held the exalted position of Viceroy of India, but also he has shown in many ways, as well as by his presence here to-day, that he takes a strong personal interest in our researches into the antiquities of the country.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 21, 1912, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:-

Babu Jyotish Chandra Bhattacharyya.

Mr. Jonathan David Deane.

Mr. A. S. Fulton.

Mr. Newton Henry Harding.

Rai Saheb Sri Krishna Mahapatra.

Mr. Tan Tiang Yew.

Seven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1911-12

In presenting their Report for the year 1911-12 the Council regret to record the loss by death of an Honorary Member, the Ven. H. Sri Sumangala, and of twenty Ordinary Members :-

The Hon. Mr. Warren D.

Barnes.

Surgeon-General W.B. Beatson.

Syed Ali Bilgrami.

Sir C. Purdon Clarke.

Sir C. A. Elliott. Mr. Ferrar Fenton.

Miss Mary Frere.

Mr. M. Ohn Ghine.

Mr. R. T. H. Griffith.

Mr. D. F. A. Hervey.

thirteen Members :-

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

Mr. Alfred W. Domingo.

Mr. E. B. Havell.

Mr. Ram Shanker Misra. Major-General Mockler.

Mrs. Mond.

Mr. M. Tun On.

Mr. William Irvine.

Lieut.-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar.

Rev. A. Lloyd.

Rai Bahadur S. Mitter. Mr. Charles J. Morse.

Mr. J. H. Nelson.

Professor J. Campbell Oman.

Lord Stanmore.

Sriman M. S. Vaidyesvara

Mudaliar.

Mr. E. Vesey Westmacott.

The Society has also lost by retirement the following

Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillay.

Mr. A. Rea.

Mr. Gulab Shanker Dev

Sharman.

Sardar Sundar Singh.

Mr. Arnold C. Taylor.

Mrs. M. E. Woelker.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following cease to be Members:—

Mr. Sofiullah Saifuddin Ahmad.

Mr. Mahomed Anwar Ali.

Mr. Muhammad Badre.

Rev. James Doyle.

Mr. S. C. Ghatak.

Mr. M. V. Subramania Iyer.

Mr. Priya Krishna Majumdar.

Babu Kedar Nath Mazumdar.

Mr. P. M. Neogi, elected during the year 1911, has not taken up his election.

Professor Jacobi, of Bonn, has been elected to the vacancy among the Honorary Members, and fifty-three Ordinary Members have been elected:—

Nawabzada Khaja Muhammad Afzal.

Mr. T. M. Ainscough.

Mr. M. Sakhawat Ali.

Raja Naushad Ali Khan.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

Professor Sarat Chandra Bhattacharya.

Kaviraj K. L. Bhishagratna.

Mr. Aylward M. Blackman.

M. l'Abbé A. M. Boyer.

Mr. Gopal Chandra Chakravarti.

Professor Ganes Chandra Chandra.

Mr. Aboni Chandra Chatterjea.

Mr. Akhil Kumar Chatterjee.

Mr. Birbhadra Chandra Chowdhuri.

Rev. Edward James Clifton.

Mrs. Coralinn M. Daniels.

Mr. Pulinkrishna Dé.

Mr. L. A. Fanous.

Miss Mary C. Foley.

Mr. K. Haig.

Professor Johannes Hertel.

Mr. Pyare Lal Misra.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Moitry.

Mr. Moung Moung.

Mr. A. R. Pillai.

Mr. Hakim Habibur Rahman.

Rai Kunja Lal Roy.

Mr. B. C. Sen.

Mr. Kumar Ram Pratap Sinha.

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins.

Mr. N. P. Subramania Iyer.

H.H. the Maharaj Rana Sir Bhawani Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of Jhalawar.

Rev. Hardy Jowett.

Mr. Habibur Rahman Khan.

Mr. Mohamed Hasan Khan.

Dr. N. J. Krom.

Dr. Berthold Laufer.

Dr. F. R. Martin.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea. Babu Manmatha Nath

Mukherjea, M.A.

Mr. Mirza Kazim Namazi.

Mr. J. E. Nathan.

Babu Padmini Mohan Neogi.

H.H. Maharaja Bupindar Singh Mahindra Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Chief of Patiala State.

Mr. A. P. Peters.

Rai Bahadur P. M. Madooray Pillay.

Mr. Alan William Pim, I.C.S.

Mr. Surendra Narayan Roy. Mr. M. C. Seton. Sardar Labh Singh. Sardar Nihal Singh. Babu Hira Lal Sood. Mr. Donald H. E. Sunder. Mr. Francis S. Tabor, I.C.S. Rev. W. M. Teape, M.A. Mr. H. A. Thornton.
Mr. James Troup.
Mr. M. N. Venketaswami.
Mr. Frederick G. Whittick.
Mr. D. R. Wijewardene.
Professor Ghulam Yazdani Masudi.

The total increase of membership for the year is only three. This is accounted for by the very heavy losses by death. The losses by resignation and removal are about the average.

There is a decided gain in the subscriptions to the Journal: of the Libraries and non-Members subscribing, two have withdrawn but an additional twenty have joined.

During the year the Prize Publication Fund has brought out its third volume, an edition of the *Meghadūta*, by Dr. Hultzsch, with Vallabha's Commentary; and the Oriental Translation Fund has published two works, (1) an edition of the *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq* of Ibn al-'Arabi, with a translation and abridgement of the Commentary, by Dr. Nicholson, and (2) the Georgian poem, *The Man in the Panther's Skin*, translated by Miss Margery Wardrop and edited by Mr. Oliver Wardrop.

The Council has also undertaken to publish the second volume of the autobiography of the Emperor Jahangir, i.e. up to the nineteenth year of his reign, translated by the late Mr. Rogers and edited by Mr. Beveridge. This has been made possible by the generous offer of Mr. Beveridge to pay about one-third of the cost of printing.

The Annual Dinner was held on May 15, 1911, at the Hotel Cecil, the President in the chair. Among the guests were the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, the Chinese Minister, Sir Richmond Ritchie, and Mr. Fletcher, the Master of Marlborough. At the close of the dinner the President presented the Public School Gold Medal to Mr. Jenkins, of

Marlborough College, who had won the medal for his essay on "The Marquess of Dalhousie".

The Council would remind the members of the Society that this autumn a new lease for seven years of the premises in 22 Albemarle Street will commence, at an increased rental of £130 a year. As was stated at the annual meeting last year, the renewal of the present lease was only made after long and careful consideration of all other possible neighbourhoods and houses. As the decision to stay in Albemarle Street involves a considerable additional expenditure it is necessary to look for additional income. This might be obtained by an increase in the number of Resident Members. Attention has been drawn at the annual meetings of the last two or three years to the continuous decrease annually in this class of members. This should not be, for the advantages offered to Resident Members in the shape of the privilege of borrowing books from the Library and in other respects, in addition to the meetings and the ordinary use of the Library, are well worth the difference in the subscription paid by the non-Resident and the Resident Members: yet, although the non-Resident membership has increased in the last six years by over 100, the Resident membership has declined to such an extent that the number of Resident Members at the beginning of this year was only 85. The Council hope that all members will continue to promote the interests of the Society and its work, not only by being members themselves, but also by urging the desirability of joining the Society on others who are interested in the East.

The Journal has well represented all the varied interests that come within its scope, and its value to those studying Oriental matters is shown by the large increase in the number of Libraries and Societies subscribing to it.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended.

The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.				
그 그는 그 그는 그를 모양을 하고 있다면서 없어?	£ s. d.	£	8.	a.
Subscriptions		910	0	0
Resident Members—83 at £3 3s	261 9 0			
Advance Subscription	3 3 0			
Non-Resident Members—				
8 at £1 1s	8 8 0			
346 at £1 10s	519 0 0			
Advance Subscriptions	46 16 0			
Arrears received	18 0 0			
Non-Resident Compounders—2 at £23 12s. 6d.	47 5 0			
Part Subscriptions, etc	5 19 0			
	910 0 0			
DONATION FOR ALTERATIONS TO PREMISES-				. •
W. Morrison, Esq		100	0	0
RENTS RECEIVED		197	17	2
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE		210	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT		354	1	0
Subscriptions	229 10 0			
Additional copies sold	100 12 6			
Sale of Pamphlets	5 17 3			
Advertisements	17 4 3			
Sale of Index	0 17 0			
	354 1 0			
	304 1 0			
DIVIDENDS		51	7	6
New South Wales 4 per cent Stock	30 4 8			
Midland 2½ per cent Debenture Stock	5 0 0			
South Australian Government 31 per cent				
Inscribed Stock	2 10 2			
Local Loans Stock	13 12 8			
	${51}$ 7 6			
불렀다 그는 교육생인가 있었다. 유병은 일반 다	31 / 0			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS		22	6.	4
Lloyds Bank	21 2 8			
Post Office Savings Bank	1 3 8			
그는 네트를 생활하는 사용하게 되어 있다.	20			
	22 6 4			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS		3	10	3
		1,849	2	3
Balance as at January 1, 1911		883	19	ŀ
이 이 노는 사람이 되었다면 가장 바람이 있다면 나는 것은		£2,733	1	4
		~2,100		2

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock. £212 8s. Midland Railway $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Debenture Stock. £454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock. £152 0s. 10d. South Australian Government $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent Inscribed Stock, 1939.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1911.

PAYMENTS.		
	\pounds s. d.	\pounds s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT		432 6 10
Rent	350 0 0	
Insurance	10 13 11	
Repairs	7 18 11	
Lighting, Heating, and Water	32 7 2	
Other Expenditure	31 6 10	
	432 6 10	
Salaries and Wages		304 0 6
Printing and Stationery		35 15 5
LIBRARY		27 7 6
New Books	16 6 6	
Binding	11 1 0	
	${27}$ ${7}$ ${6}$	
	2/ / 6	
JOURNAL ACCOUNT		579 3 11
Printing	467 1 0	
Illustrations	63 8 4	
Postage	47 4 7	
Purchase of out-of-print Copies	1 10 0	
	579 3 11	
DONATION TO PALL DICTIONARY	-	10 10 0
Postage		38 13 2
LAW CHARGES AND AUDITOR'S FEES		9 1 0
Purchase of £152 0s. 10d. South Australian		
GOVERNMENT $3\frac{1}{2}$ PER CENT INSCRIBED STOCK.		150 0 0
or or market of the other trademan product		
		1,586 18 4
BALANCE as at December 31, 1911, being cash at		
Bankers and in hand	1	1,146 3 0
	1,072 9 5	
Post Office Savings Bank	70 15 9	
Petty Cash	0 10 11	
Postage	2 6 11	
	1,146 3 0	

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct. R. SEWELL,
for the Council.
W. CREWDSON,
for the Society
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F. C. A.,
Professional Auditor

£2,733

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

	£ 8. d. 3.17 4 316 1 1 £319 18 5	134 4 0		67 3 2 9 10 0	76 13 2 1 1 0 £75 12 2
	£ s. d. 1 13 4 4 0 0 0 2 0 0 0 2 0		3 11 8 62 18 6 0 7 0 0 15 0 0 1 6	7 2 0 1 1 3 0 1 3 0	
IND.	Vol. XII, Bindirg Postage Miscellaneous Balance carried to Summary	ron Fund. Dec. 31. Balance carried to Summary	Vol. I, Copyright Vol. III, Printing, etc Book Plate Postage Miscellaneous Balance carried to Summary	Balance Vol. XIII, Printing	Deficit carried to Summary
OREENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.	1911. Dec. 31.	LORAT	PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND. 62 13 2 Dec. 31. 29 9 1	Момоскари Fond. Топительной прес. 31. Топительной прес. 31.	[2]
RIENTAL T	£ s. d. 258 11 8 61 6 9 £319 18 5	India Exp 129 0 0 5 4 0 £134 4 0	Риги Рот 62 13 29 9	Mono 75 12	£75 12
Ō	\$ \$ d.	- 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0	10 16 3 18 0 0 0 12 10	25 5 6 50 0 0 0 6 8	
MICORITPES.				Sales Royal Geographical Society Interest	
	Balance Sales Interest	Balance Subscriptions Interest	Balance Sales Dividends Interest		
	1911. Jan. 1. Dec. 31.	Jan. 1. Dec. 31.	Jan. 1. Dec. 31.	Dec. 31,	

A further contribution of £50 towards the cost of publication of Vol. I is receivable from the Royal Geographical Society during the current year.

SUMMARY.	Lloyds Bank Deposit Account 386 12 6 Do. Current Account 87 0 2		8 £473 12 8	J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.	have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the (R. SEWELL, for the Council. same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments (W. CREWDSON, for the Society, and Bank balances. February 2, 1912. Professional Auditor.	Medal Pund.	d. 1911. £ s. d. £ s. d. d £ s. d. £ s. d	88	Public School Medal Fund.	6 Dec. 31. Cost of Medal 5 0 0 0 Cost of Prizes and Binding, etc 6 4 6 Balance at Bank 26 18 0	9 6 838 5 6
R	Oriental Translation Fund 316 1 India Exploration Fund 134 4 Prize Publication Fund 24 8	Момоснарн Fund, Deficit 474 13	£473 12	Funs—£600 Nottinguam Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund).	We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the (R. SEWELL, for the Council, same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock investments (W. CREWDSON, for the Sociand Bank balances. [N. E. WATERHOUSE, F. C. February 2, 1912.		1911. £ s. d. £ s. d. Jan. 1. Balance 33 5 11 Dec. 31. Dividends 9 15 0 9 15 9 10 12 9	FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable A Stock, £325.	PUBLIC SCI	Jan. 1. Balance 19 7 4 18 4 6 Dec. 31. Dividends 19 7 4 Donation, A. N. W 0 1 8 Interest 19 18 0	FUNDS—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent

(R. SEWELL, for the Council.)
W. CREWDSON, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.,
Professional Auditor We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the Investments above described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer. London, February 2, 1912.

January 1, 1912.

A. N. WOLLASTON,

passed to the Auditors—Mr. Crewdson, Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Waterhouse.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1912-13, are as follows:—

Under Rule 30 Dr. Grierson retires from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend in his stead and to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Irvine:—

Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hoernle.

Under Rule 31 Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 31 and 32 the following Ordinary Members of Council retire:—

Professor Browne,

Mr. Dames,

Dr. Thomas;

and

Mr. Marshall and

Dr. Stein

resign owing to absence abroad.

The Council recommend in their stead and to fill other vacancies:—

Mr. H. F. Amedroz,

Dr. Grierson,

Mr. L. C. Hopkins,

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith,

Mr. Legge,

Mr. Pargiter,

Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Plunkett.

Under Rule 81

Dr. A. B. Keith and

Mr. Crewdson

are nominated Auditors for the ensuing year.

MR. M. LONGWORTH DAMES said: I have pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report which we have just heard read. The principal point I think on which we should concentrate attention is the absolute necessity of an increase in the members of the Society, especially of resident members, for without a large number of resident members it is impossible for a Society like this to maintain its position. Of course, an increase in income is also required as we have had to renew the lease of this house at very considerable extra expense—at £130 a year more than before. I think we are all pleased that we are to remain in the old house; and it is no doubt worth the extra rent that we have to pay. This being so, and in any case, we all ought to devote our attention and try as far as we can to recruit for resident members through our friends from among those returning from service in the East, and so get the resident membership of the Society on to a more satisfactory footing than it is at present. As far as the non-resident members are concerned I do not think we have cause for complaint, for these have gone on increasing, and also the number of subscribers to the Library; it is only among the resident members, the most important class, that we do not make the progress we ought to make. Otherwise, I feel we have every cause to be pleased at the position and progress of the Society, and also in regard to the level at which the Journal is maintained, its general interest and the variety of subjects with which it deals. Therefore I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

DR. W. PERCEVAL YETTS said: At the Anniversary Meeting three years ago the eminent orientalist, Sir Ernest Satow, called special attention to that part of Asia in connexion with which his name has long been famous. He advanced the claims of the Far East to the Society's more ample consideration. I would venture now to reiterate and enlarge upon some of Sir Ernest Satow's remarks, especially those relating to the Middle Kingdom.

The Society has reason to be proud of the Journal published for the year 1911. It contains thirty-two original articles, and, in addition, a large number of miscellaneous contributions and reviews. The high standard of scholarship maintained by the contributors is of course beyond my criticism, but what I would venture to comment upon is the somewhat inadequate representation of matters relating to the Far East. Of the thirty-two articles only six have any direct connexion with this the greater part of Asia, and of these one is concerned with Tibet and one relates chiefly to India. Japan, Siam, and Malaya are not represented at all. Three articles only are devoted to China, a country which holds at least a third of the population of Asia and possesses a civilization unique among the nations of the world.

Perhaps no other oriental country offers such a wide and at the same time such an imperfectly studied field for research; yet we look in vain for a sufficient number of younger scholars to follow in the footsteps of those who have placed the British in the front rank of sinologues. I am sure that the Royal Asiatic Society would wish to take the lead in fostering a renewed interest in things. Chinese, and in maintaining the supremacy of our nation in this department of oriental scholarship. An important step in this direction might be made by the individual enterprise of members by recruiting for the Society more of those interested in the Far East.

In this connexion I would like to mention how fortunate we are in gaining as a new member Dr. Laufer, whose work on Chinese archæology and Tibetan subjects is so well known. Let us hope that he will soon become a regular contributor to the Journal.

The Society is also to be congratulated on the addition to the Council of such a distinguished Chinese scholar as Mr. Hopkins. As everyone knows, Mr. Hopkins is the recognized authority on ancient Chinese script, and I am

sure we all look forward to a continuation of his important contributions to the Journal

May I venture to suggest that there is another method, apart from the Journal, by which the Society might advance the study of East Asian subjects. It is by enlarging the scope of its Monograph Fund. And this brings us to a question of money. I understand that the fund is at present not in very affluent circumstances; in fact, it consists of some £50 only.

Would it not be possible to obtain help from the Government? The India Office recognizes the work of the Society by giving an annual grant, and surely the Colonial or the Foreign Office would do the same if only the matter were suitably represented.

British possession of Hong-Kong and of Wei-hai-wei and of the Straits Settlements, together with our vast commercial interests in China proper, should be reasons sufficiently strong to obtain for us official recognition. The lack of such help seems extraordinary, especially when we realize what is being done by governments of other countries with interests in China fewer than our own. The Dutch Government has shown us an example by subsidizing the publication in English of Professor De Groot's great classic, *The Religious System of China*.

So far as I know, there is no instance of the publication of a scholarly work relating to China, except museum catalogues, having been aided by a subvention from Government. Nor have our universities undertaken this important duty. Intending writers are naturally discouraged from embarking upon projects which after years of toil may involve them in serious financial loss, even if they are even lucky enough to find a publisher.

I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

SIR MORTIMER DURAND said: The remarks that we have heard from Dr. Yetts are valuable, and we shall think over them carefully.

So far as I am able to judge, the state of things this year is on the whole fairly satisfactory. I think the number of new members who have come forward is altogether what we should have wished to see except, as has been pointed out, in the matter of Resident Members. Both classes of members are really necessary for the work of the Society, and the want of more Resident Members has a bad effect upon our funds. I hope that any one of you who is able to do so will induce other people to join as Resident Members.

With regard to the Journal, I think we have had this year a very large number of extremely interesting and scholarly articles. It is quite true that we have not had as much with regard to the Far East as we should have liked to have, but we have had a certain number of articles about China. We have had articles from Professor Chavannes, Mr. Hopkins, and from Dr. Yetts himself, and we may hope that in future years a larger proportion of articles will be devoted to the Far East.

We have also had valuable articles from Mr. Fleet, Professors Sayce and Chavannes, Dr. Pinches, Colonel Waddell, and Mr. Blagden on inscriptions, and we have had an especially valuable paper from Dr. Marshall in regard to archæology. And as I am on that point I may as well mention, what some of you know, that the Society did its best to prevent a little while ago the threatened abolition of the Archæological Department in India. I am happy to say that the Archæological Department has not been abolished; it would have been a great misfortune if it had. Our experience went to show that handing over archæological work to the Local Government, having nobody really in charge at head-quarters, was fatal. If the Department had been abolished, undoubtedly the study of archæology in India would have suffered. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Government of India have not carried out the proposal, and the Department continues as before under the superintendence of Mr. Marshall.

We have had some interesting papers from M. Gauthiot, Prof. Poussin, Dr. Hoernle, and Mr. Cowley with regard to the discoveries of Dr. Stein in Central Asia. They are very important discoveries, and I am glad so much interest has been taken in them not only in this country but elsewhere.

Our funds unfortunately are not in a very wealthy condition; we really have extremely little money in hand for the publishing which we should like to undertake, and it would be no doubt a desirable thing to increase our funds. Whether it would be possible to get some grant from a Public Department, as Dr. Yetts suggested, I do not know; I should much like to think it was. But my experience of Government Departments is that they do not rush forward in matters of this kind, that they require a good deal of persuasion. I quite agree that it would be an excellent thing to try for; but whether we shall succeed is another matter. However, with the small funds that we have at our disposal we have done everything we can in the way of publishing. I think we have done and are doing a great deal, and we hope to do more. If we had more money there are any amount of things we should like to publish.

As the Report has pointed out, we have to deplore the death of a considerable number, over twenty, of our members; and I am sure that everyone here will feel that several of those are men we could ill spare: Mr. Irvine, for instance, Sir Charles Elliott, Lord Stammore, and others. Mr. Irvine was one of the most regular frequenters of this Society, and he did a great deal for us. We deeply deplore his death.

I have spoken to you already about the subject of Resident Members, and I will not say more except to ask you to think over what Mr. Dames has said. We cannot get along unless we have the proper number of Resident Members; but if any of you by personal exertion can increase that number we shall be extremely grateful to you.

There is only one other matter I had better touch upon before sitting down. I am sorry to say that our Annual Dinner has had to be given up this year. It has been carried on now a good many years, and last year it was particularly successful. But this year we have had so few applications for tickets that we have decided to give it up. I hope, however, that in future years we shall be able to revert to our old practice, and that the dinner will be as great a success as before. I have also to announce to you that the Public School Gold Medal has been awarded to Mr. H. F. A. Keating, of Eton, for a remarkably good paper on Lord Lawrence; and it will be presented to him on the 18th June by Lord Harris.

With these few words, ladies and gentlemen, I put the adoption of the Report.

The Report was adopted unanimously.

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Kirby (R. J.). Ancestral Worship in Japan. Hall (J. Carey). Japanese Feudal Law. VI. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.
Vol. XXXIV, Pt. ii.

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VII. EPIGRAPHIA INDICA. Vol. XI, Pt. i.

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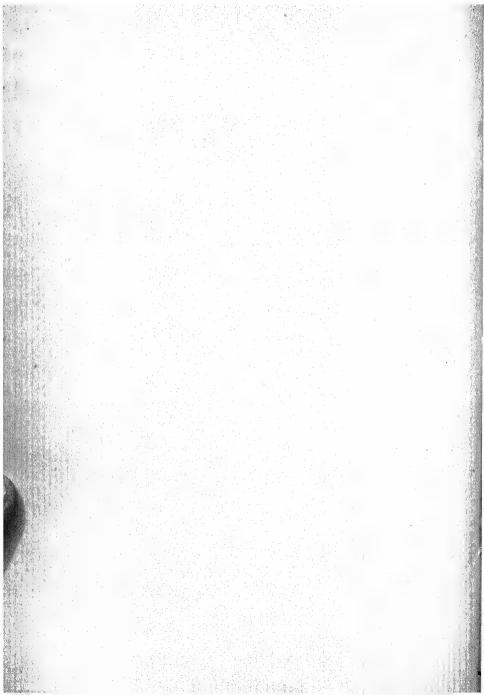
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1912

XXIII

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS, IN PERSIA, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE MS, OF IBN-AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY G. LE STRANGE

(Concluded from the April Journal, p. 339.)

THE QUBAD KHURAH DISTRICT

Arrajān.¹—This city was first founded by King Qubād, the father of Chosroes Anūshirwān. It was a great city, with many dependencies, but during the troublous times when the Assassins held sway in the land it fell to ruin. It has a warm climate, and the city lies adjacent to the Thakān Bridge, where it spans the great river called the Nahr Ṭāb, which flows down from the neighbourhood of Sumayram. Further, many other streams flow past near here, with much water, whereby the land in this neighbourhood is most productive, growing all kinds of fruit. Groves of date-palms and of pomegranates abound, especially of the kind called mīlasī,² which is most excellent. There are also many aromatic plants. The districts round and about Arrajān are very numerous, and a mosque for the Friday prayers stands in the city.³

JRAS. 1912.

 $^{^1}$ The ruins of Arrajān lie near a place called Sih Gunbadān ("the Three Domes"), a short distance to the north of Bihbahān (FNN. 275, 276).

² Variant malīsī, a name not given in the dictionaries.

³ The MS. here repeats the text in the opposite column, and apparently a paragraph has been omitted.

Jallādjān, Nīv, and Dayr.¹—These are all districts of Arrajān, with climate and general conditions the like thereto, so that it is needless to say more. Of this district too is the hamlet called Chahār Dīh, "Four Villages."

<u>Khabs</u>, Furzuk, and Hindījān.²—These are districts lying between Arrajān and the inner districts of Fārs. <u>Khabs</u> was a post for the customs, and all these places in climate and general conditions exactly resemble Arrajān in all points.

Rīshahr.3—A small town lying on the seashore, near by o the castle of the Amīr Firāmurz ibn Handāb.4 The climate here is extremely hot, so that the men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. By reason of the dampness and the unwholesome climate no one who is not a native of the place can stay out the summer here; all others go up to Diz Kilāt and the castles that belong to the Amīr Firāmurz, and there they remain [during the hot months]. In this district nothing is to be had except sea-borne goods that are brought hither in

¹ In one place spelt Jallājān. None of these three places, nor Chahār Dīh, now appear on the map, but they are mentioned by the Arab geographers. Nīv (printed without points) is given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 111), who names Dayr Ayyūb and Dayr 'Omar (Iṣṭ. 112, 113) as of this region.

² Common variants are Jins, also Jīs in place of Ḥabs or Khabs. Neither this place nor Furzuk occurs on the map, but they appear in the Itinerary. Hindījān, which Muqaddasī (p. 422) writes Hinduwān, is now known as Bandar Hindiyān (FNN. 239). See above under Bilād Shābūr.

³ Probably to be identified with the modern Zaydūn (FNN. 278), for this Rīshahr cannot be the small town of that name lying 1½ leagues and to the south of Būshahr, though this last is stated to be "one of the ancient cities of Fārs" (FNN. 210).

 $^{^4}$ The name of his father is uncertain. It may be read Nadāb, Hadhāb, or Badāb. Not given in Ibn-al-Athir.

⁵ The MS. may be read Diz Kilāb or Gulāb, and there exists a Qal'ah Gulāb or Kilāb, this castle standing 6 leagues south of Bihbahān and 4 east of Zaydūn (FNN. 278, 336).

ships, for nothing except fish, dates, and Rīshahrī flax is to be come by in this place. The people are almost entirely occupied with the sea trade, but they have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature. The town stands on the frontier line between the Arrajān District and Khūzistān. The men here are honest, occupying themselves with their own affairs, but they have been mishandled by one tyrant after another, fate having been against them. Further, some of the districts near by are far more populous than that round Rīshahr.

Junnābā.¹—A small town lying on the seashore, and in Persian they call it Ganfah, which signifies "Stinking Water". Now, a city that has "Stinking Water" for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and therefore there is no occasion to speak of its condition. Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place, and all that can be said is that it lies on the road of one going from Mahrūbān to Sīrāf.

Sīnīz.²—A little town lying on the seashore. There is here a small fort. The place lies between Mahrūbān and Jannābā, and they weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and these are known as Sīnīzī stuffs. They, however, do not wear well. Nothing else is produced excepting dates and oil for lamps. The climate is good.

Mahrūbān,³ with its District.—Mahrūbān is a place lying so much on the seashore that the waves of the sea beat on the houses of the town. It has a warm, damp, unwholesome climate, worse even than that of Rīshahr. It is a seaport that all ships come into that sail either from Fārs going towards Khūzistān, or that set out by sea from Baṣrah and Khūzistān. Likewise all the ships from

¹ The ruins known as Gunāvah lie somewhat to the north of Bandar Rīg (FNN. 209).

² The name of Sīnīz has disappeared from the map; its site is probably near modern Bandar Daylam, the chief town of the Qirāvī District (FNN. 279).

³ Now written Māh Rūbān (FNN. 239).

the sea that have cargoes from, or for, the districts inland come and go from Mahrūbān, whereby its custom-dues from these ships are very considerable. Except for dates they grow no fruit here. They breed sheep, however, in great numbers, and likewise goats; also they raise calves, which are for size like those they breed in Baṣrah, for it is reported that some weigh as much as 80 to 100 ratl in weight, or even more. Linseed and flax are grown here abundantly, being exported to neighbouring parts. In the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers. The people of Mahrūbān are weak in character.

The Islands which belong to this district of Qubād Khūrah are as follows: Jazīrah Hangām, Jazīrah <u>Kh</u>ārik, Jazīrah Ram [or Dam], and Jazīrah Balūr.²

The description of the towns and districts of Fārs being completed, we shall now proceed to notice all the great rivers and the lakes, and then the meadow-lands and such castles as are still in good repair. These, therefore, are the great and celebrated rivers other than those of which a part only [lies in the Fārs province].³

RIVERS

Nahr Tāb.—This river takes its rise in the neighbourhood of Sumayram,⁴ increasing in size till it reaches

¹ The Baghdad ratl was under three-quarters of a pound avoirdupois: hence 4 to 5 stone-weight.

² An Island of Hangām (FNN. 318) lies to the south of the Long Island (Jazīrah Tawīl), near Hurmuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, but this Hangām Island could not be counted as of the Qubād Khūrah district. The Island of Khūrik is well known (FNN. 315), but Ram (or Dam) and Balūr cannot be identified.

³ In FNN., pp. 322-30, an alphabetical list of 109 of the rivers and streams of Fārs is given. Each of these now for the most part takes its name, section by section, from the district through which it flows; hence one river during its course goes by many names, and the 109 enumerated do not stand for that number of distinct streams.

⁴ The Tāb-Kurdistān-Jarrāhi River does not rise near Sumayram, for the upper basin of the <u>Sh</u>ustar River lies in between. Furthermore, its mouth now lies far to the north of Sīnīz, the <u>Sh</u>īrīn River flowing down to the sea here in the intervening country.

Arrajān, where it passes under the bridge called Pūl-i-Thakān. Then it waters the district of Rīshahr and flows into the sea near Sīnīz.

Nahr Khwābdān.¹—The source of this river is at Jūyikān. It waters the district round Nawbanjān, and then flows through Jallādjān until it joins the River Shīrīn, by which its waters reach the sea.

Nahr Jirrah.²—This river rises in Māṣaram, and it waters the district of Naḥast Masjān, thence passing on it waters Jirrah and its district, also part of the <u>Gh</u>undijān District. Beyond this it joins the Bishāpūr River, and thus its waters reach the sea.

Nahr Burāzah.3—The Burāzah River is that of Fīrūzābād, and its source is at Khunayfghān. It irrigates Fīrūzābād, with its district, and then joins the Thakān River, by which its waters reach the sea. This river has its name from Burāzah, the great engineer, who drained the [lake] off from round and about the city of Fīrūzābād [as described above].

Nahr Kur [Cyrus River]. This river rises in the neighbourhood of Kallār, and it is a rebellious stream that will irrigate no lands unless a dam has been thrown across it to raise the level, and thus enable the waters to be led over the surface of the soil. Now the dams that have been built across its stream are the following: The Rāmjird Dam 5 is of very ancient construction, and it gave irrigation to all the villages of the Rāmjird District. It

¹ The Zuhrah-Fahliyan River.

² The Dāliki-Jamīlah River. Māsaram is the name of a village in this district (spelt now with a sīn in place of sād, FNN. 281). The spelling Naḥast Masjān is uncertain; possibly it is a clerical error for Nāḥiyat Sittajān, "the Sittajān District," near the head-waters of the Thakān River (see below in the Itinerary). There is, however, a village in this region still called Dih Masghān, or Masqān, lying I league south-east of Shikuft (FNN. 281), which may be the place indicated if the reading be taken as Masjān.

³ The Dihram-Firuzābād-Hunayfqān River.

^{*} The Kāmfīrūz-Rāmjird-Kirbāl River.

⁵ FNN. 325.

had however, fallen to ruin, and has been restored recently by the Ataber Chauli, who has given it the name of Fakhristan [after himself, he holding the title of Fakhrad-Dawlahl. Next comes the 'Adudi Dam,' the like of which, as is well known, exists nowhere else in the whole world. To describe it it must be known that the Kirbal District [which lies round and about] originally was a desert plain without water. But 'Adud-ad-Dawlah seeing this opined that if a dam were built here the waters of the River Kur would work wonders on this desert land. He therefore brought together engineers and workmen, and expended great sums of money to make side canals to lead off the waters of the river from the right and the left bank. Then he [paved the riverbed], above and below the dam, with a mighty weir $[\underline{sh}\bar{a}durw\bar{a}n]$ constructed of blocks of stone set in cement. Next he built the dam itself with [stones set in] tempered cement and sifted sand, so that even an iron tool could not scratch it and never would it be burst asunder. The summit of the dam was so broad that two horsemen could ride abreast across it without the water touching them, for to carry this off sluices were made. Thus, finally, the whole of the district of Upper Kirbal received its irrigation by means of this dam. The Band-i-Qassār² [the Fullers' Dam] had been built of old to water the district of Lower Kirbal, and it too had fallen out of use; but the Atabeg Chāulī has likewise restored this to working order, and [some distance below it] the River Kur flows out into the Lake of Bakhtigan.

Nahr Masin.3—The source of this stream lies in the hill country near Sumayram and Sīmtakht. It flows down to join the River Tāb.

¹ FNN. 257, the Band-i-Amīr.

Now known as the Faydābād Dam (FNN. 257).

³ The Armish and Zard streams. Its source is much to the south-west of Sumayram.

Nahr Shīrīn 1 [the Sweet-water River].—This river has its source on the frontier of the Bāzrang District, and it flows past Gunbad Mallaghān, giving water to many districts, for besides that of Gunbad Mallaghān it irrigates certain of the lands of Arrajān, finally flowing out into the sea between Sīnīz and Jannābā.

Nahr $Bi\underline{sh}\bar{a}p\bar{u}r$. The source of this river lies in the mountain land about $Bi\underline{sh}\bar{a}p\bar{u}r$. It waters the city of $Bi\underline{sh}\bar{a}p\bar{u}r$ and its district, as likewise the homesteads of $\underline{Kh}\underline{ish}t$ and Dih Mālik, and falls into the sea between Jannābā and the Māndistān District.

Nahr Thakān.3—The source of this river is at a village called Jatrūyah [or Chatrūyah], which same is a well-known village with its district belonging to the Māṣaram sub-district lying round about Shīrāz, all of which lands this stream waters. From here it flows on, passing in turn Kavār, Khabr, Simkān, Kārzīn, Qīr, Abzar, and Lāghir, giving water for irrigation to each in turn, and finally irrigating part of the district round Sīrāf. In its last reach the river passes the village of Thakān, from which same it takes its name. Then finally it flows out into the sea between Najīram and Sīrāf, and in all the province of Fārs there is no stream that is more bountiful for irrigation purposes than is this Thakān River.

Nahr Purvāb.⁴—The source of the river is at a village called Purvāb. This is a most blessed river. Most of the

² The Zīrah, Khisht, and Shāpūr River. Dīh Mālik is no longer

marked on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary.

⁴ Otherwise written Pulvār. The Purvāb-Kamīn River. The village

of Purvāb no longer exists.

¹ The <u>Sh</u>īrīn, Sar Faryāb River. Whatever it may have done in the past, the mouth of the <u>Sh</u>īrīn is now at a place on the Persian Gulf, lying far to the north of <u>Sīnīz</u> and Jannābā.

³ This is the very long river of many names, of which the first portion is now known as the Qārah Aghāch ("Black Wood"), and the last reach as the Mand River of Mandistān. Jatrūyah is possibly identical with the village of Bāndhūyah, lying 6 leagues north of Shikuft and a little south of the village of Māsaram (FNN. 280). The village of Thakān is probably represented by Kākī, the chief town of Mandistān (FNN. 214).

district of Marvdasht is irrigated by its waters, and it flows to join the River Kur. This, therefore, as given above, is the description of the greater and most celebrated rivers of Fārs, and besides them there are many other streams and rivulets of lesser size, but these cannot be noticed lest the matter run to too great length.

SEAS AND LAKES

In regard to the seas and lakes of Fārs, the Persian Gulf [Baḥr Fārs, otherwise called] the Sea of Fārs, is an arm of the Great Sea, which best is known as the Green Sea, being also called the Circumambient Ocean. On the shores of the Green Sea lie the lands of China, Sind and India, 'Omān, 'Aden, Zanzibar, and Baṣrah with diverse other districts; and each particular arm of the Green Sea bears the special name of the province whose lands lie on its shores. Thus we have [one arm called] the Sea of Fārs, another the Sea of 'Omān, and then the Sea of Baṣrah, or the like; hence it comes that the arm [washing the coast of Fārs] is known as the Sea of Fārs.

[And now as to the lakes of Fārs, they are as follows.] Buhayrah Dasht Arzin 1 [the Lake of the Plain of the Wild-almond].—This is a sweet-water lake, and when there has been much rain it is very full, but when there has been lack of rain the lake dries up almost entirely, hardly any water remaining. It measures 3 leagues round and about.

Buhayrah Bakhtigān.²—This lake lies surrounded by many well-cultivated lands. Such are those surrounding the towns of Ābādah, Khayrah, Nayrīz, and Khabraz; further, all these districts lie at no great distance from the lake shore. The waters of the lake are salt, and the circumference of the same is 20 leagues.

² FNN. 321. The places mentioned here have all been noticed above.

¹ More correctly spelt Arzhin or Arjin, Dasht Arjin being now the name of a neighbouring village (FNN. 280).

Buhayrah Māhalūyah.¹—This lake lies between Shīrāz and Sarvistān. Its waters are salt. All the streams from near Shīrāz and its district flow into this lake. Its size round and about is 12 leagues.

Buhayrah Darkhwīd.2—This is a small lake, and a stream flows out of it that is called the Barvāt River.

Buhayrah Mūr.3—A small lake lying between Kāzirūn and [the district of] Mūr-i-Jirrah. It measures 2 leagues in circumference.

MEADOW-LANDS

The most celebrated Meadow-lands of Fars are these.

Marghzār Ūrd.⁴—This is a very rich meadow-land, of the cold region. From end to end it has springs of freshwater and populous villages, and of these last are the hamlets of Bajjah and Ṭaymurjān. There are others too, and their lands are the property of the villages, though they have to pay the Land-tax to the government. This meadow-land measures 10 leagues in the length by 5 across.

Marghzār Sīkān. — This meadow-land lies between Shīrāz and Kavār. It is a very pleasant place, and there is here a great mass of standing water, near which is a forest abounding in lions. The length of this meadow-land is 5 leagues by 3 across.⁵

¹ The name is now spelt Mahārlū, and it is also known as Buḥayrah Namak, "the Salt Lake" (FNN. 322).

² The Darkhwid Lake and River are mentioned by the Arab geographers. They do not give any other name to the river, and the reading Barvāt is uncertain. The MS. may read Purvāb, which is, however, inadmissible. The lake appears to have occupied the position of the present swamp, called Sarāb Bahram, at the source of the Nūrābād River (FNN. 302, 303).

³ The Mūr (in error often given by the MSS. as Mūz) Lake is that now known as Fāmūr, or Daryāchah Parīshān, lying east of Kāzirūn (FNN. 322). Mūr-i-Jirrah has already been mentioned, p. 51.

⁴ For $\overline{\text{U}}$ rd see above, p. 21. Taymurjān is no longer to be found on the map. The name may be read Tamīrjān; it is probably to be identified with Tīmāristān, which Yāqūt (i, 197, 908) gives as the chief town of $\overline{\text{U}}$ rd.

⁵ The name of Shīkān is now unknown.

Marghzār Dasht Arzin. This meadow-land lies beside the Arzin Lake; there is here a forest where lions are found. The length of the meadow-land is 10 leagues by 1 across.

Marghzār Dārābjird.—This is a small meadow-land, measuring only 3 leagues in the length by 1 in the breadth.

Marghzār Qālī.²—This meadow-land lies on the bank of the Purvāb River. It is a most pleasant place, and here [a certain] Baldāhī built the palace of Qālī, with its beautiful garden and a fine tank. This meadow-land is 3 leagues in length by 1 in width. In winter-time the fodder here is excellent for cattle, but in the summer it is noxious for them to eat the grass here.

Marghzār Kālān.3—This lies near the tomb of the Mother of Solomon. It is 4 leagues in length, but has no breadth to speak of. The tomb of the Mother of King Solomon is of stone, in the form of a cube. No one can look into the chamber within the tomb, for, as it is said, a talisman has been laid on it, whereby anyone who shall give a look into it forthwith becomes blind. I myself, however, have never found one who had made the experiment.

Marghzār Rān.4—This is a fine meadow-land, but not so good as that of Ūrd. It is, like the last, of the cold region, and has many springs of water, also villages, that are either the freehold property of the villagers or granted to them in fief for military service. The length of this meadow-land is 7 leagues by 5 across.

Marghzār Bīd and Mashkān.5—A fine meadow-land,

¹ See p. 872, note 1.

² See above under Khabrak and Qālī (p. 22). The reading of the name Baldāhī is very uncertain; he is an unknown personage.

³ Near Pasargadæ, but the name is not to be found on the map. The tomb is in point of fact that of King Cyrus.

⁴ See above, under Run (p. 23).

⁵ Probably near Dih Bīd. The village of Mashkān or Mashkūn, of the Qunqurī District, lies on the Pulvār River, 10 leagues north of Pasargadæ (FNN. 245). In Ḥamd-Allah Rubāt Mashk, in the Itinerary, occupies the position of Dih Bīd. The Arab geographers give Mushkān as the

and the district of Basīrā is of those parts. They report the climate as cold, and it is 7 leagues in length by 3 across.

Margh Bahman.¹—This lies above Juwaym [to the north of] the Shīrāz District. It measures 1 league across by the same in length.

Margh Shūdān.²—This is a very beautiful meadow-land, the equal of which can hardly be met with elsewhere. All round and about it are well-cultivated lands, with many springs of water and running streams. In spring-time water collects here, and being held back forms a lake in the midst of the meadow-land. The length of this land is 10 leagues by the like in breadth.

Marghzār Kāmfīrāz.3—This is a meadow-land that stretches level after level along the banks of the Kur [or Cyrus] River. There is here a forest, which is the lair of lions, and the lions of Kāmfīrūz are noted for their savageness and strength.

Now besides all the above there are many other smaller meadow-lands, which, however, are places not necessary to mention in detail. Moreover, since throughout Fārs, from one end to the other, there are valleys and mountain regions; everywhere, therefore, grazing-grounds for cattle are to be found in an abundance. Lastly, the Marghzārs of Kamah and Sarvāt 4 are meadow-lands, which, though not of the most celebrated, are such that cattle grazing on them soon become extraordinarily fat.

chief town of the Jawbarqān District, which lay at the head-waters of the Farvāb or Pulvār River (Iṣṭ. 121; IH. 192; Yaq. ii, 141; iv, 543). For Basīrā or Lasīrā see above under Kamah and Fārūq (p. 24). Dih Bīd is given below in the Itineraries.

¹ Margh is apparently an abbreviation for Marghzār, "meadow-land." There is a place marked on the map, 2½ leagues north-east of Tall Baydā, which is called Bahmanī. Juwaym, as already said, is modern Jūyum or Gūyum (FNN. 191, 194).

 $^{^2}$ Shīdān was one of the Earthly Paradises (see above, p. 58). Its position is nowhere given.

³ See above, p. 24.

⁴ See above under Khabraz and Sarvāt, pp. 22, 24.

CASTLES

Description of the Castles in Fars

Qal'ah Istakhr.1—In all the whole world there is no castle more ancient than this one, and every governor [of Fars] who has held power has been master of this castle. From the times of the Pishdadian kings this castle with two others standing near by have been known as the Three Domes. The other two are called Qal'ah Shikastah [the Broken Castle] and the castle of Shankavān [or Shakanvān], but these last are now in ruins. [For the castle of Istakhrl 'Adud-ad-Dawlah built a mighty tank, which is known as the Hawz-i-'Adudi. It was constructed in a deep gully, down which the stream that passed by the castle flowed. First, 'Adud-ad-Dawlah with boardings closed the end of this gully, making the like of a great dam, and next inside this he set cement [in forms] with wax and grease laid upon kirbās-stuffs, with bitumen, bringing the whole structure to the upper level all round, and afterwards when it had settled down firmly nothing could be stronger. Thus was the tank made, and its area was a gafīz [a square of 144 ells] all but a fraction, being 17 feet in depth, wherefore if a thousand men for a whole year were to drink therefrom, the waterlevel would not sink more than a foot. Then in the middle part of the tank they built up twenty columns of stone, set in cement, on which they rested the roof that covered over the tank. Further, 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, besides this tank, built here other water-tanks and cisterns. fault of this castle, however, is that it can very easily be taken by assault. Its climate is cold, being very like that of Isfahān. Within its walls are many fine kiosks and

¹ For the Three Castles of Persepolis see above (p. 26) under Iṣṭakhr. The Iṣṭakhr Castle lies 2 leagues to the north of the village of Fathābād. Qal'ah Shikastah (the Broken Castle) is now known as Miyān Qal'ah (the Midmost Castle), and lies 2½ leagues to the north-west of Fathābād. The castle of Aṣhkanvān stands one league south-east of Daṣhtak, the older Abraj (FNN. 332-6).

beautiful palaces, also a broad maydan [or ground for reviews].

Qal'ah Būshkānāt.—This is a strong castle, that at the present day is still in the hands of Siyāh Mīl ibn Bahurast.¹ For he being a good man [the Saljūq Sultan] has allowed him to keep the command here, and has not dispossessed him [as has been the case with other local chiefs], and so this castle remains in his hands.

Qal'ah Khurshah.—This castle stands 5 leagues distant from Jahram.² Khurshah, the man after whom the castle takes its name, was a certain Arab who had been appointed governor in these parts by [Muhammad] brother of [the Omayyad Viceroy of 'Iraq' Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf. Now Khurshah having amassed much money built this castle, and taking up his abode therein rebelled. On account of this, in later times the governor of the [Darabjird] District has never been allowed to be master of this castle as well; for of a surety power and wealth in a governor will breed conceit, and to possess this castle would breed further conceit, and where in a man's head two causes of conceit exist without fail these result in the disorder of rebellion. The castle of Khurshah is so strong a fortress that it cannot be taken by assault. Its climate is that of the hot region.

Qal'ah Ramm Zavān.3—This is a very strong castle which stands near Ghundijān, and it commands that district. The climate here is that of the cold region. Their water is from cisterns.

 $Qal'ah\ Ab\bar{a}dah.^4$ —This is a well-fortified castle, but in all general particulars like many other small castles. The climate is temperate, the water is stored in cisterns, and it would be possible to take the place by assault.

¹ Probably a mistake for Vishtasf (see Introduction, p. 12). He was chief of the Mas'ūdī tribe. And see p. 39.

³ See p. 34.

³ See above, under Ramm Zavān, p. 43.

⁴ Of Tashk, near Lake Bakhtigan. See p. 30.

Qal'ah Khuvār.¹—This is a fortress that is not very strongly fortified. The climate is cold but temperate; and its water is obtained from wells.

Qal'ah Iṣṭahbānān.²—A strong castle that was in the hands of Ḥasūyah. But Atābeg Chāulī went to war with Ḥasūyah, and though he afterwards made peace with him he dismantled this castle. Now, however, recently, it has again been re-garrisoned.

Diz Iqlīd.3—This is merely a village that is well fortified, not a castle.

Diz Abraj.⁴—Above Abraj stands a hill, one half of which is fortified, the other half remaining unfortified, so that it could be surrounded and easily besieged; still, it could not be taken by assault, or quickly invested. There is a running stream that passes along the fortified part of the hill, flowing down thence to the plain, where its waters are used by the people of the village.

Qal'ahā Abādān, or "the Garrisoned Castles".—This is the name of certain castles which are mentioned [in the histories], for in times past there were seventy and odd notable castles in the province of Fārs, all of which the Atabeg Chāulī took by force of arms, and then dismantled for the most part, all indeed but those which are more particularly mentioned in the foregoing section of the present work.

Qal'ah Ispīd Diz, or "the White Fortress Castle". 5— This in the most ancient days had been fortified, but for long years had been dismantled, so that no one could say at what time it had last been garrisoned. Then Abū Naṣr of Tīr Murdān, the father of Bā Jūl,6 during the

 $^{^1}$ See p. 22. Now known as Qilāt <u>Kh</u>ār, lying 1 league to the south-east of Arsinjān (FNN. 174).

² See above, p. 34, and for Ḥasūyah, of the Ismā'īlī, Introduction, p. 11.

³ A Diz is smaller than Qal'ah, a castle. See above, p. 23.

⁴ Now known as Hisār, lying half a league south-west of Dashtak. See above, p. 25.

⁵ Now called Qal'ah Safid (FNN. 334). See p. 58. ⁶ See above, p. 53.

times of trouble [at the end of the Buyid rule] rebuilt the fortifications. Now this is a fortress that entirely covers the mountain-top, measuring 20 leagues round and about, so that it is not a mere castle nor a place to be held by a handful of men. It is a great circular mountain plain, the cliffs below it being of white rocks, but on the upper level of the fortress there is arable land, the soil being red, which they sow for crops. Here too they have vineyards of grapes and orchards of almonds with other fruits: for there are many springs of water, everywhere in the ground, and when they dig down water is easily found. The air here is quite cool and pleasant, the crops too are most abundant. The fault of this castle, however, is that it must be garrisoned by a great company of troops, and that when the rightful sovereign [namely the Saljuq Sultan 1 approaches to take possession thereof, the country folk will steal away [with the needful supplies and the forage]. The White Castle stands at a distance of 2 leagues from Nawbanjan, and below the castle there has been built a small fortress, but one that is well fortified, called Astāk. All round the White Castle there are many hunting-grounds among the hills, and within the castle limits there are numerous fine kiosks, and there is also a broad review ground.

Qal'ah Sahārah.²—This stands on a great hill, which lies 4 leagues distant from Fīrūzābād. The castle was built by the Mas'ūdī Kurds,³ and it is a very fine place. The climate is cold, the water excellent, and it lies surrounded by arable lands that are never let to go out of cultivation, for they are tilled by the Shabānkārah.

¹ Pādishāh-i-mustaqīm: the sense is by no means clear, and the text is probably corrupt. The passage has been copied verbatim by both Hamd-Allah and Hāfiz Abrū. Mustaqīm generally means "rightly directed" by Allah, but it might be taken to mean (the king who) "marches straight" on the fortress.

² Now called Qal'ah Sārah (FNN. 334). See p. 46.

³ See Introduction (p. 12).

It is indeed a great place, and all the year round corn is grown here.

Qal'ah Kārzīn.¹—This is a castle that is not so strongly fortified as some others. The climate here is very hot. It stands on the banks of the Thakān River, and they have constructed a syphon-tube, by which water from the river is brought up to the castle.

Qal'āh Samīrān.²—This is a strong castle standing near by to Juwaym of Abū Ahmad. The climate is hot, and their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah <u>Kh</u>wādān, or <u>Kh</u>wābdān.³—A strong castle standing in the midst of many broad lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah <u>Khurramah.</u>⁴—A well-fortified castle, standing among cultivated lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Tīr-i-Khudā [the Castle of God's Arrow].—This castle is near Khayrah,⁵ and it is a strong place, standing upon the summit of a high hill. It is for this reason that it is called God's Arrow, for it cannot be taken in war. The climate is cold, and their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Iṣṭakhr.6—This is a very strong castle, for the which reason it has been given the name of Iṣṭakhr-Yār, "the Friend of Iṣṭakhr" to wit. Its climate is temperate, and for water they have springs here, also cisterns.

¹ See above, p. 40.

² Now known as Qal'ah 'Uthmānlū, standing 2 leagues south of Juwaym, or Jūyum, of Abū Ahmad; see above, p. 35 (FNN. 335).

³ Muqaddasī (p. 453) spells it <u>Kh</u>wādhān, but it is probably identical in position with the village, or stage, of <u>Kh</u>wābdān, mentioned below in the Itineraries and standing on the River <u>Kh</u>wābdān, which has been already described (see p. 64). In that case, probably, it is the present Nūrābād, lying 1½ leagues to the south of Fahliyān (FNN. 303).

⁴ See above, p. 30.

 5 See above, p. 29. $\it T\bar{\imath}r,$ "arrow," is also the name of the planet Mercury.

⁶ Probably on the hill above Istakhr, Persepolis, and not one of the Sih Gunbadān; see above, p. 26.

The Castles of Purg and Tārum.\(^1\)—The castle at Purg is very great and strong, it cannot be taken in war. The castle of Tārum is not so strong as the other in regard to its fortifications. Both have a hot climate, and their water is from cisterns.

Qal'ah Ranbah.²—This castle stands in the Ranbah Pass. It is a strongly built and well-fortified place, and the control of the city of Dārābjird belongs to him who holds this castle. The climate is excellent, and its water comes from springs and from cisterns. At the present time it is in the hands of the people of Kirmān.

Qal'ah Gunbad Mallaghān.3—This is a castle that could be held by one single armed man, so strongly fortified is it. Its climate is temperate, and water is plentiful in the cisterns. They keep here a store of corn sufficient for three or four years.

The Irāhistān Castles.⁴—These are so numerous as to be beyond count, for in this district every village has its own fortress, perched either upon a rock or crowning a hill, or again built on the level ground. And in all times the climate hereabout is extremely hot.

ITINERARIES

Distances in Fārs

The distances [along the high roads] all start from $\underline{\mathrm{Sh}}$ $\underline{\mathrm{fraz}}$, because this is the central point in the province. From $\underline{\mathrm{Sh}}$ $\underline{\mathrm{fraz}}$ going towards the Isfahan frontier there are three main roads, namely, the way by Māyin and Rūn, the way by Istakhr, and the way by Sumayram.

Of these, on the Māyīn and Rūn Road it is counted as 52 leagues from Shīrāz to Yazdikhwāst, the frontier stage

² The castle stands 4 leagues to the east of Dārābjird (FNN. 334).

See p. 33.

¹ The eastle near Purg is that now known as Qal'ah Bahman, and it stands 2 leagues to the south of modern Furg. The eastle at Tārum is not given (see FNN. 217, 218). See p. 31.

³ See above, p. 52.

⁴ See above, p. 48.

between Färs and the Iṣfahān District. The first stage is of 6 leagues, from Shīrāz to Dih Gurg in the Shīrāz District; the second stage is 6 leagues to the head of the Bridge over the River Kūr; the third stage is of 4 leagues to Māyīn; the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kūshk-i-Shahriyār in [the plain of] Dasht Rūn; the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Bāsht in [the plain of] Dasht Ūrd; the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Kūshk-i-Zar, also of Dasht Ūrd; the seventh stage is of 7 leagues to Dih Gawz; and the eighth stage is of 10 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.

The road by Istakhr. This also comes out by Yazdikhwāst, and going by Iqlīd and Surmaq it is 69 leagues in length, being longer than [the Māyīn Road]; and this is the Winter Road, which is used when the other roads are impassable [from snow]. The first stage is of 7 leagues from Shīrāz to Zarqān, the second stage is 6 leagues to [Pādust or Pāvdast], the third stage 4 leagues to Iṣṭakhr, the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kamah, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Kamhang, the sixth stage is of 8 leagues to Dīh Bīd, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Dīh Pūland, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Surmaq, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Abādah, the tenth stage is 7 leagues to Shūristān, and the eleventh stage is 8 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.²

¹ Neither Dih Gurg, "Wolf Village," nor the Bridge over the Kur now exists; Shahriyār's Kiosk must have been at or near modern Ūjān; the village of Bāsht (or Māsht) near Aspās; while Kūshk-i-Zar (Golden Kiosk) is now generally called Kūshk-i-Zard, the Yellow Kiosk (FNN. 220). Māyīn and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) have been already noticed. Hāfiz Abrū adds that this last was also known in Arabic as Qariyat-al-Khamīr, "Yeast Village."

² Part of this route is given below, p. 82, in duplicate, in the itinerary for Shīrāq to Yazd. The village of Zarqān exists (FNN. 291). The stage called Pādust, which may also be read Māvdast, is uncertain, and possibly represents the village of Marvdasht. Kamah, as already said (p. 24), stands for Kalīlak. Kamhang (for variants see Işt. 129, Muq. 457, 458) in the other itinerary has, probably, a double, under the form Kamīnak; there given as another stage; it must stand for some place lying between Mashhad-i-Murghāb and Mashhad Mādir-i-Sulaymān, the Tomb of Solomon's Mother, otherwise the Tomb of Cyrus (FNN. 301).

The road to Sumayram; and from Shīrāz to Sumayram it is 45 leagues. The first stage from Shīrāz is of 5 leagues to Juwaym, the second stage, on to Bayḍā, is 3 leagues, the third stage is 4 leagues to Tūr, the fourth stage is of 5 leagues to Tīr Māyijān of Kāmfīrūz, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Jarmaq, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Kūrad: the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kallār, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Dīh Tarsaān, and the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Sumayram.¹

From Shīrāz to the province of Kirmān there are three main roads, namely, the Rūdān Road, the Shīrjān Road, and the road by Purg to Tārum.

The Rūdān Road; and from Shīrāz to Rūdān it is 75 leagues. The first stage is in 10 leagues to the head of the Dam built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the second stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Khuvār, the third stage is 10 leagues to Abādah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Mūrd, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Ṣāhah, the sixth stage is 11 leagues to Rādhān, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Shahr-i-Bābak, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, and the ninth stage is 7 leagues to Rūdān.²

Dīh Bīd, "Willow Village," exists (FNN. 244). Dīh Pūland or Būland, "Long Village," must have stood near the present caravanserai, marked on the map as Karvān Sarāy Khān Khurrah, lying 6 leagues north-west of Dih Bīd. The remaining stages have already been noticed.

¹ The name of Tīr Māyijān, probably the chief town of Kāmfīrūz (see above, p. 24) does not exist on the map, and is not given by the Arab geographers. It must have stood near modern Ardakān (FNN. 172); Tīr Azjān, 6½ leagues to the north of Fahliyān, lies too far to the west (FNN. 304). The remaining stages to Sumayram are not to be found on the present map. Jarmaq may be for Kharbuq, given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 106) as the capital of Al-Aghrastān; and Muqaddasī (p. 447) gives the spelling Kharmaq. Dih Tarsaān would appear to be identical with a stage given by Ibn Khurdādbīh as Tajāb, and by Muqaddasī as Az-Zāb.

² This is the route by the north side of Lake Bakhtigān, and most of the stages have already been noticed. The ruins of Shahr-i-Bābak exist, but Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, "the Passage of Ibrāhīm," is wanting, and for Mashra'ah Ḥāfiṭ Abrū gives Mazra'ah, "the Field of Ibrāhīm," while the Arab geographers put about here Qariyat-al-Jamal, in Persian Dih Shuturān, "Camel Village." Rūdān, too, they give as the name of the district lying between Yazd and Shahr-i-Bābak (see above, p. 18).

The Shīrjān Road; and from Shīrāz to Shīrjān is 80 leagues. The first stage is in 4 leagues to Dih Būdan, the second stage is 3 leagues to the two villages of Dāriyān, the third stage is 7 leagues to Khurramah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Kath [or Kisht], the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Khayrah, the sixth stage is 9 leagues to Nayrīz, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Quṭruh, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Parbāl [or Parbāk], the tenth and eleventh stages are together 15 leagues to Mashra'ah Muhaffafah ["the Passage of the Mirage"], and the twelfth stage is of 10 leagues to the border of the stony [or salt] plain of Shīrjān.1

The road by Purg to Tārum; and from Shīrāz to this last it is 70 leagues. The first stage is in 6 leagues to Māhalūyah, the second stage is 9 leagues to Sarvistān, the third stage is of 9 leagues to the village of Kurm, the fourth stage is in 5 leagues to Pasā, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to the village of Fustajān, the sixth stage is in 4 leagues to the frontier of the Dārābjird District, the seventh stage is in 6 leagues to Dārābjird, the eighth stage is in 6 leagues to Rustāq-ar-Rustāq, the ninth stage is 12 leagues to Purg, and the tenth stage is 10 leagues to Tārum.²

This is the route along the south side of Lake Bakhtigān. The village of Būdan is probably modern Pūdinak, lying a league or more to the east of Shīrāz. The MS. of Ḥūfiz Abrū gives "Two Villages and Dūriyān"; also at the present day there are two hamlets, one called Dū Dih, "Two Villages," the other Dūriyān, lying respectively 7 and 8 leagues to the east of Shīrāz (FNN. 191). Kath (or Kisht) is now known as Khūn Kat, standing 9 leagues to the north-west of Iṣṭahbūnūt (FNN. 178). Here, again, both the places called Mashra'ah, "Pass" or "Passage", are given in Ḥūfiz Abrū as Mazra'ah, "a Cultivated Field"; and neither they nor Parbūl (with other variants, as Sarbūk, etc.) are to be found on the modern map.

² The route along the south side of Lake Māharlū and most of the places have been already noticed. The stage Māhalūyah is modern Māharlū, a village on the southern shore of the lake, 8 leagues to the south-east of Shīrāz (FNN, 194).

From Shīrāz to the frontier of the Khūzistān province is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shīrāz] is to Juwaym in 5 leagues, the second stage is 5 leagues to Khullār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Kharrārah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Gawz of Tīr Murdān, the fifth stage is 3 leagues to Kūsjān, the sixth stage is 3 leagues to Nawbanjān, the seventh stage is 4 leagues to Khwābdān, the eighth stage is 6 leagues to Kishn, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Gunbad Mallaghān, the tenth stage is 4 leagues to Sāhah, the eleventh stage is of 4 leagues to Habs, the twelfth stage is of 6 leagues to Furzuk, the thirteenth stage is 4 leagues to Arrajān, and the fourteenth stage is of 4 leagues to Būstānak.¹

From Shīrāz to the coast towns (Sāhiliyyāt), namely, Jannābā, Sīnīz, and to Mahrūbān, it is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shīrāz] is 4 leagues to Juzhīrkān [or Jūhīrkān], the second stage is 6 leagues to Dasht Arzān, the third stage is 10 leagues to Kāzirūn, the fourth stage is 9 leagues to Khisht, the fifth stage is of 7 leagues to Tawwaj, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Dīh Mālik, the seventh and eighth stages are 10 leagues to Jannābā, the ninth stage is 6 leagues to Sīnīz, and the tenth stage is 6 leagues to Mahrūbān.²

From <u>Sh</u>īrāz to the coast districts (A' $m\bar{a}l$ -i-Sīf), being 39 leagues. The first stage [from <u>Sh</u>īrāz] is in 7 leagues to Māṣaram, the second stage is 6 leagues to the Sittajān river-bed, the third stage is 3 leagues to Jirrah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to <u>Gh</u>undijān, the fifth stage is 6 leagues to <u>Rawā-adh-Dh</u>īwān, the sixth stage is in

² The name Juzhīrkān is uncertain, and not found elsewhere. Ḥamd-Allah gives it as "the Wall of Ḥājjī Qawwām". Dīh Mālik, as already said (p. 67), is no longer to be found. The other places have been noticed.

¹ Kūsjān is modern Kūsingān, 3 leagues to the south-east of Fahliyān, but neither Kishn (which may be read Kathan or Kanash), Ṣāhah (like Ṣāhah near Nīrīz), nor Būstānak are to be found on the map. The other stages have been already noticed, and all are mentioned in the Itineraries of the Arab geographers, from whom this road is copied.

6 leagues to Tawwaj, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to the coast.

From Shīrāz to Najīram, which is 65 leagues. The first four stages [from Shīrāz] to Ghundijān are in total 20 leagues by the road that has just been given. Then the fifth stage is in 7 leagues to Būshtakān, the sixth stage is in 5 leagues to Būshkānāt, the seventh stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Shanānā, the eighth stage is in 8 leagues to [the beginning of] Māndistān, the ninth stage is 7 leagues to the further limit of Māndistān, and the tenth stage is 8 leagues to Najīram.²

From Shīrāz to Sīrāf by way of Fīrūzābād it is 86 leagues. From Shīrāz the first stage is of 5 leagues to Kafrah,³ the second stage is 5 leagues to Kuvār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Khunayfqān, the fourth stage is 5 leagues to Fīrūzābād, the fifth stage is 8 leagues to Simkān, the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Habrak [or Hīrak], the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kārzīn, the eighth stage is of 8 leagues to Lāghir, the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Kurān, the tenth stage is of four days' march from Kurān to Sīrāf, this being of 30 leagues.

From Shīrāz to Yazd it is 60 leagues. The first stage is to Zarqān, in 6 leagues; the second stage [is of 6 leagues to Pādust, and thence on to Iṣṭakhr it is 4 leagues]; 4 the third stage is of 6 leagues to [Kamah], the fourth stage is of 4 leagues to Kamhang, the fifth stage is of 4 leagues to Dīh Bīd, the sixth stage is of 12 leagues to Abarqūyah, the seventh stage is of 5 leagues to Dih Shīr, the

¹ Rūdbāl-i-Sittajān, "the river-bed of the Sittajān," appears to be the river otherwise called the <u>Thakān</u> (see above, p. 65, and cf. Işt. 130, l. 6). Also it seems likely that the stages are inverted, and that Māṣaram should come after, south of, the river-bed. Rawā-adh-Dhīwān is identical with Ramm-Zavān already noticed (p. 43).

² All these places have already been noticed (see above, p. 39).

 $^{^3}$ Modern Kafr or Kafrī, lying 2 leagues or more to the south-west of Shīrāz (FNN, 294). The remaining stages have all been noticed.

⁴ Added from the route already given (p. 78), Kamah, the next stage, is given in the MS. as Kamhang, a repetition.

eighth stage is of 4 leagues to Tumarah Bastar [or Tufarah Basb], and the ninth stage is of 9 leagues to Yazd.¹

[Ibn-al-Balkhī next relates the history of the Shabān-kārah and of the Kurdish Ramms, with a short discussion of the characteristics of the Persians from the point of view of their government. These sections have already been given in epitome in the Introduction. After which follows a succinct account (fols. 89b-90b) of the revenues of Fārs, which needs to be translated in full; and then the MS. closes with the long paragraph, epitomized in the Introduction, relating the closing years of the last of the Buyids.]

REVENUES

In the Histories it is reported that in the days of the early Persian [Sassanian] kings and until the reign of Chosroes Anūshirvān the revenue of these provinces was assessed at one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth of the crop, according to its abundance, and this custom of Fars was similar to that in usage in other parts of the kingdom. When, however, Anūshirvān established his land-tax (kharāj) in all his kingdoms, the land-tax of Fars amounted to 36 million [silver] dirhams, equivalent to 3 million [gold] dīnārs.2 In the early days of Islām, after Fars had been conquered [by the Arabs], for a time there was nothing but massacre and pillage and all things were taken by force, but at length matters quieted down, and the ruin and disorder that had overspread the land began to be amended. Then finally, in the reign of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik, Hajjāj [Viceroy of 'Iraq] dispatched

² The gold Dinar was equivalent to about ten shillings, and the silver Dirham to about ten pence.

¹ The first half of this Itinerary as far as Dih Bīd is a duplicate of that already given (p. 78). Dīh Shīr, "Lion Village," is marked on the map between Abarqūh and Yazd, but Tūmarah Bastar (with variant) is uncertain, not being mentioned by the Arab geographers, or to be found on the modern map, where, in the position indicated, now stands the village of Taft, possibly the same name corrupted.

his brother Muhammad to be Governor of Fars. who founded Shīrāz and built many towns throughout the province: at this time the total revenue from the customs 1 of Fars, which included the one-tenth on the sea ships, amounted in all to three million dirhams. Next, in the geography of Qudamah 2 it is stated that the land-tax of Fārs in the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd was registered at two million dinars. Then during the troubles of the reign of Amin, with the massacre of the people and the disorders, all the registers were carried off and burnt; but as soon as Māmūn found himself firmly established in the Caliphate he ordered new assessments to be drawn up, when it was established that the total of the revenue of the provinces of Fars, Kirman, and Oman was to amount to 2,600,000 This assessment was effected in the year 200 (815). Next, in the reign of the Caliph Mugtadir [295 to 320 (908 to 932) the Wazīr] 'Alī ibn 'Īsā made a [new] general assessment, and the copy of the portion relating to Fars, with which province Kirman was also reckoned, is as follows: The total revenue of Fars, Kirman, and Oman, in regard to the yearly receipts from the customs, amounted to 2,331,880 red gold dinārs. Of this total the portion paid over by Fars with its dependencies, including the customs collected at [the port of] Sirāf and the one-tenth levied on the sea-shipping, amounted to 1,887,500 dinars. And of this last total Fars with its dependencies, excluding the Sīrāf customs, paid in 1,634,500 dīnārs, while Sīrāf, with the one-tenth levied on the sea ships, paid 253,000 dinārs.

[Of the grand total first given] Kirmān and 'Omān together paid 444,380 3 dīnārs, but of this sum Kirmān

¹ The word used is mu'āmalāt.

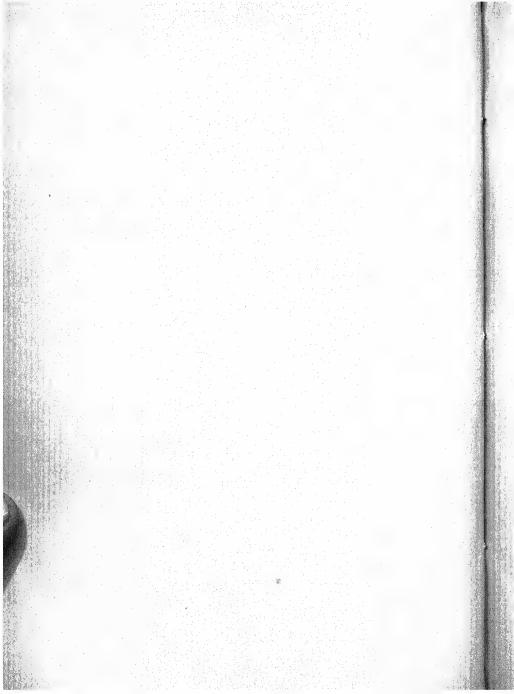
² Cf. text of Ibn Khurdādbih, p. 237, and the translation, with notes, pp. 6-11. Our MS. gives the name as Ja'far ibn Qudāmah; it should be Qudāmah ibn Ja'far.

³ The MS. in error gives 4,044,380 by a mistake of hazār for şad; the addition of the two items gives the sum as above.

with its dependencies contributed only 364,380, this being reckoned as excluding the revenues of [the towns of] Fahl and Fahraj, and also not counting the [revenue of] districts collected in the name of individual Amīrs by their agents, and further not including the revenues set aside for the two sanctuaries [of Mecca and Medina] and which Mūnis the chamberlain [of the Caliph Muqtadir] was responsible for collecting. [The sum therefore above given is] the net remainder which is paid over to the Divān. But taking the places in 'Omān by themselves, these paid 80,000 dīnārs.

In [early] times the Amīrs [of Fārs] called themselves the Sons of the Caliph, for none would call himself merely Amīr. Further, they had seized, on their own behalf, upon much property that of right belonged to the State, and this mostly by force of arms; then those parcels of land which had now come to belong to them were ever afterwards reckoned to be their own fiefs, those who had come into possession taking for themselves the revenues, though before these had all belonged to the State. At the time when 'Adud-ad-Dawlah came to power he made buildings [and constructions] without number, such as dams [on the rivers for irrigation which watered] the lands he brought under cultivation. Wherefore in his days the sum-total of the revenues of Fars, Kirman, and Oman, including the one-tenth derived from the seaports at Sirāf and Mahrūban, amounted to 3,346,000 dinārs. Of this sum Fārs, with the one-tenth levied on the ships which sailed from Sīrāf and Mahrūbān, paid 2,150,000 dīnārs; while from Shīrāz and [the new suburb of] Gird Fanā Khusrū came 316,000 dīnārs. Then Kirman with [the port of] Tiz and its districts gave 750,000 dinars; while the towns in 'Oman, not including Fara', paid in 130,000 dīnārs.

¹ The reading is uncertain, and what place is meant unknown. The MS. might be read Maza' or Maragh, with other variants.



XXIV

NOTES ON A KURDISH DIALECT, SULAIMANIA (SOUTHERN TURKISH KURDISTAN)

By E. B. SOANE

THE short sketch of the Sulaimania dialect of Kurdish here presented is part of the result of a study during residence of several months in and about that town.

The dialect is closely allied to, and its grammatical forms identical with, that of the Mukri, a widespread tongue probably meriting the title of the main Kurdish language. The dialect used in Sulaimania is spoken with slight variations by the Kurds of Shūān, Qaradāgh Bāna, Sardasht, the Qarachūlān district, and Shahr-i-Zūr (Gul'anbar or Khulmar), whose lands lie around the Sulaimania plain. The language of the bazar is somewhat more developed than that of the district, but as it is only by the addition of technical words imported from the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, which stand as foreign words, the Kurdish is not affected, nor do words of the native tongue appear to have dropped out to give place to importations. Certain of the Turkish words, which are the same as those adopted by most of the other Kurdish dialects, may be considered almost as a part of the tongue of the district, and have entered from the time of the settlement of Turks in the districts of Kirkuk and Altun Keupru on the plains to the west of this part of the Kurdish mountain system.

Sulaimania is the most southerly point at which the northern and middle—or true type—of Kurdish is spoken. Farther south and east, over the Persian frontier, the correct Kurdish form becomes replaced by

the old Persian and semi-Lurish dialects of Aorāmān, Gūrān, Kalhur, and Zangana, which are separated from the Sulaimania and allied Jāf dialects by the River Sīrwān and the considerable mountain systems of Aorāmān and Jūānrū.

Sulaimania, as a centre of the present district, has only existed some 230 years (it was founded by Sulīmān Bābān in A.D. 1677) since its rebuilding upon an ancient site by the founder, who was of the Pishdir district of the Bābān tribe (still found near Erbil), which itself was allied to the Hakkārī race, once the most powerful and authoritative of all Kurdish races, and still a famous tribe and country. By this means the secondary tongue of the Mukrī (above referred to) was extended as far south as Shahr-i-Zūr, a little district previously inhabited by peasants speaking the Aorāmān (or sedentary Gūrān) dialect, that also spoken by the old Ardalān dynasty of Sina in Persian Kurdistan.

The Mukrī language above indicated is spoken in the districts around Sauj Bulāq, and to the east as far as the Turk tribes, north-west to the borders of the Hakkārī Kurds, whose tongue is similar, north to Lake Urumia, and south to Ardalān, the old dialect of which has been driven out by Kurdish, to linger still in Pāva, Palangān, Rīzho, and Aorāmān.

Generally speaking, it is the Sunni tribes of Kurds who use the true Kurdish language, and the Shī'ah tribes whose dialects are those with an admixture of Lur forms in verb, noun, and grammar.

It will therefore be readily understood that the Sulaimanian will comprehend with little difficulty a Kurd of Bitlis or Erzerum or Bayazid, while he is put to some pains to understand the language of the Aorāmānī or Gūrān, who live but a few days' journey away.

The corruptions due to mispronunciation are numerous in Sulaimania, but have been quoted in the following

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notes in some instances, as they are not without value in affording comparisons with words in Persian, which have developed along the lines of change usual in that language. Some of the bad pronunciation of the townspeople is due, they themselves assert, to the large number of Jews and Chaldeans who were converted to Islam and became Kurds in dress and language after the change, influencing to a small extent the general pronunciation of the place and introducing Arabic and Syriac words.

The local dialect has become fixed, to a certain degree, by the large amount of poetry written by the extraordinarily large number of Kurdish poets who have flourished there. A considerable literature exists, but there is no prose amongst it, and as is usually the case in Kurdistan a large number of poems have been written in Persian and some in the Horām or Aorāmī dialect, formerly the Court language of the old Valis of Ardalān, to which reference has already been made.

The Sulaimanian is often termed Kurmānjī, like that of the Hakkārī and Northern Kurds, and can be counted, as has been indicated, to be a part of the general "Kurmanj" language.

In passing it may be remarked that the dialect quoted by de Morgan in his *Etudes Linguistiques*, tome v, as that of Sulaimania is not that of the immediate district, but of the villages beyond Qara Dāgh, which partakes of the idiom of the Jāf tribe. The Jāfi described in the book is not that of the Jāf tribe at all, but merely that of one of the alienated subsections speaking degraded Kermanshāhī. The true Jāfi is very different from that quoted by him, and is nearer to Sulaimanian.

The pronunciation of the Sulaimanian is remarkably ill-sounding. As in most dialects many fundamental

¹ There is a popular interpretation of this word among the Kurds themselves, who say that it is "Kurdmanj", meaning the "people of Kurds". It is still applied to all peoples of undoubted Kurdish origin.

consonants have entirely disappeared, medial d suffering most, giving such examples as

māin. for mādyān. a mare. ,, aidam I give. ayam ,, laida laiya strike! " kudām which. kām a Jew. jū. ., jūd ,, baidaq baiākh a standard.

d occasionally changes to l, as in

kilīlaka, for kilīdaka, a key

or even to $\tilde{n}g$ (pronounced like -ng in English wrong),

tuñg, for tund, speedy ziñga ,, zinda alive paiwañg ,, paiband a shackle

unless the $\tilde{n}g$ be simply the result of losing the final d and making the n nasal.

b has, as in so many Kurdish and Persian dialects, undergone the usual change to w, as in

duwāl, for dumbāl, a boil. qurvākh ,, qurbāq a frog. arawa ,, arab an Arab.

In wafr (Persian barf, bafr) the w is not a change, but merely a preservation of v in Zend vafra; gh, which exists in Persian words, often disappears, as in

dū, for dūgh.
rūn ,, rūghan.
dru ,, durūgh, etc.

st often softens to z, as in

daz, for dast.

The initial h often appears where Persian does not possess it, but it would seem that the Kurdish h is not necessarily redundant, but a preservation of the initial h in the Zend, to which Kurdish lies much closer than does

Persian. On the other hand, there is a great tendency to add an h, as will be seen in the following words:—

hanjuman, against Persian anjuman; Zend hanjuman.

hagar ,, ,, agar.
hangwin ,. angabīn, cf. English h in "honey",
the same word.

hātin ,, ,, āmadan.¹
haor ,, ,, abr.
hushtr ,, ,, ushtur.
hailāna ,, ,, lāna.

In some dialects, notably that of Sina, there is a tendency to add h wherever possible, such recently imported words as avval appearing as hawal.

s has been preserved where Persian has changed to h, as in

māsī, against Persian māhī; Zend masya. āsen ,, ,, āhan; Sanskrit ayas.

As in many other dialects, words presenting kh in Persian occur with h or k, as

kar, against Persian khar. hishk ,, ,, khushk. hawir ,, Arabic khamīr.

g changes often to $\bar{\imath}$, as

tayar, for tegarg. maish ,, migas.

There are two vowel sounds which are very difficult to indicate adequately on paper; these are the two forms of , met with in such words as—

(1) کولکه, where \underline{i} is represented by a \bar{u} so narrow as to be almost \bar{i} , and followed immediately by an almost imperceptible sound of e as in bet. This diphthong will be represented here by \dot{u} .

¹ The common rule of consonant change covers this apparent incongruity. Amadan becomes $\bar{a}wadan$ (cf. Bakhtiari, Mamaseni owaidan), the d hardens. The initial h needs no further explanation.

ريست كُل (2) درست كُل, where the zamma or $v\bar{a}v$ is represented by the same narrow u, very short, followed by o short, the two forming a diphthong difficult to pronounce. This sound will be represented here by u.

Apart from these there is the \ddot{u} sound, as of the similarly marked letter in German, and the w value of $\dot{}$, which, following Kurdish use I have written $\dot{\dot{}}$ where its value is w.

The long $\bar{\imath}$ sound, or $_{\mathcal{S}}$, is, in nearly all cases where the same peculiarity exists in obsolete Persian, pronounced ai, as

سيف saif, an apple, مير shair, a lion,

where شمر, meaning "milk", is pronounced shīr.

The Mukri, Sulaimania, and allied dialects are notable for the liquid pronunciation of the letter l, exactly as in Russian, which will be indicated here by l.

The marked $\tilde{n}g$, or nasal, has been noted above.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

It is probable that the Sulaimania dialect once possessed all the Kurdish forms of inflexion of the noun, some of which appear in the Mukrī, and nearly all in the Hakkārī and Northern Kurmānj.¹ At present, as in Persian, recourse is had to prepositions to form most of the cases.

The plural is formed, as throughout all pure Kurdish, by the addition of $-\bar{a}n$, but the termination (originally a diminutive) -ak is almost invariably prefixed to the syllable, so that words which in some cases hardly admit of a diminutive sense, adopt them in the colloquial (but not in the written) language, which presents often enough

¹ See my "Notes on a Kurdish Dialect, the Shādī Branch of Kermānjī": JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 898-9.

 $^{^2}$ The final -al occurring in Kermanshāhī, Kalhur, and the Persian-adopted Jaf is a Lurish ending.

the pure $-\bar{a}n$. So, in poetry, the plural $pand\bar{a}n$, colloquial $panak\bar{a}n$ = "thoughts", "ideas".

On the other hand, a word ending in a vowel takes -akor -k- as a support for the vowels, as in the plural $gaur\bar{a}k\bar{a}n$ from $gaur\bar{a}$, where $gaur\bar{a}a$ would be feeble.

There is no use of the singular form with a plural meaning as is so general in Persian; the plural sense must be expressed by the plural form.

There exists also in Kurdish a definite singular form, which is seen in Persian in the final form -i—

qātirī kharīdam, I bought one mule. قاطری خریدم قطمی قریدم قطمی آمد

The Kurdish has the particle -ek which it uses in precisely the same manner—

aistr-ek-m kirrī, I bought one mule. بياوک هات pāwek hāt, one man came.

not to be confused with—

aistraka-am kirrī, I bought the mule (dim.). وياوكه ام كرّى pāwaka hāt, the man (dim.) came.

Genitive. This case is formed with the use of $\bar{\imath}$ between the thing possessed and the possessor, as

سنالی کچم *mināl-ī-kichm*, my daughter's child. *rujī hāwīn*, a summer's day.

In Sulaimania the particle -\(\tilde{\epsilon}\)- is sometimes so lengthened as to form the principal sound in the phrase *objective*. There is no case ending or indication of the objective sense.

Prepositional Cases

There still remains in the Sulaimanian dialect the form $-d\bar{a}$, which is a regular rule in Mukrī and Northern dialects, occurring in a noun following a preposition. In Sulaimania

it is occasionally heard in the following senses, in the dative and ablative cases:—

اتم لدددا ماتم hātm la deh dā = I came from the village. $r\bar{a}$ kurdawa bō shār-dā = He has fled to town.

It will be noticed that the word bo = "for" is used in place of ba = "to", and not infrequently the word la = "from" is used in the same sense exactly, a habit still observed by the Kurd when he speaks Persian, it being quite common to hear a Mukrī, Jāf, or Sulaimanian say از کجا میروی, Az kujā mīravī? "To where are you going?" translating from his own language lakū dachī.

Sulaimania possesses a curious diminutive form in $-\bar{u}la$, which is rarely encountered in vulgar Persian of Shıraz (in one or two words, as $k\bar{u}chul\bar{u}$ for $k\bar{u}cheka$), and in Sina of Persian Kurdistan, as in

pchukūla = a small, little one (tiny). maishūla = a little fly, from maish, a fly. mairūla = a little ant, from mūra. kūlaka = $k\ddot{u} + \bar{u}la + aka$, double diminutive. $j\bar{u}l\bar{a}ka = j\bar{u} + \bar{u}la + aka$, double diminutive.

This is very common in Sulaimania.

Below is a comparative list of some of the commoner nouns in use:—1

Sulaimania.	Remarks.	MEANING.
haor هور	Vulgar Persian aor, old form avra	clouds
Ų bā	Deletion of final d	wind
wafr ۋفر	Zend vafra	snow
māngisho مانگشو		moonlight
اران baran	As in Persian	rain
taīr تير	Loss of medial and final g	hail

^{1 &}quot;Northern" and "Middle" Kurdish are used for Hakkāri, Kermanji (North), and Mukrī, Bilbāsī, Rawandūzī, and Pishdir (Middle).

SULAIN	IANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
ساهل	sāhul	As in Mukrī	ice
آ گر	āgir	As in all Kurdish	fire
آگر آگردان	āgirdān	As in all Kurdish of the north	a stove
يليته	plita	Inversion of l and t, cf. Persian	a wick
		fitīla; obsolete Persian, how-	
		ever, gives pilīta; all ap-	
		parently from Arabic فتيل	
آيم	āīm	Deletion of d after $\overline{1}$	mankind
مستأل	āīm mināl	As in Southern Kurdish, d has	a child
		disappeared from mindāl	
ػٞڗ	kurr	As in all Kurdish and in South	a boy
		Persian	
کچ	kich	North and Middle Kurdish.	a girl
		(?) from Turkish قِر	
پياۋ	$p\bar{\imath}\bar{a}w$	As in all Kurdish and in Lurish	a man
ژن	zhin mird		a woman
مرد	mird	"The man," Sulaimania and	a husband
		Mukrī use	
برا	brā	The final syllable -dar does not	a brother
		appear in any of the Kurdish	
		tongues in this or other words	
		like mādar, khwāhar, shuhar,	
		dukhtar, etc.	
خۋشک	khwaishk	The root khwā as in Persian	a sister
		khwāhar minus -ar and with	
		diminutive	
	bāwk	As in all Kurdish	a father
دایک	dāīk	The Southern Kurdish gives	
		دالک	

SULAI	MANIA,	Remarks.	MEANING.
زاۋا	zāwā	Change of m to w and disappearance of final d	a bridegroom
ناۋ	nāw	Change of m to w from	a name
	hatāw		the sun
		h. Southern Kurdish shows	
		only the word khwar	
مانگ	$m \tilde{a} \widetilde{n} g$	As in all old dialects of Persian	the moon, a
		and in all Kurdish	month
استاره	astāra	Sometimes given an initial h	a star
	baiānī	Also in Caspian coast dialects	to-morrow
			morning, the
			morning
سبہینی	subhainī	Mukrī also. From Arabic ينى	the morning
		+ 440	
نيمرو	$n\bar{\imath}mar\bar{u}$	Mukrī also	noon
پاش نیمر	$pash\hbox{-} i\hbox{-} nimr\bar{u}$,,	early afternoon
ايۋارە	iwāra	All Kurdish and obsolete Persian	late afternoon
روج	ruj	Zend raocho, Persian rūz, Persian	the day
		${\rm dialect} r\bar{u}zh$	
شۋ	shaw		night
دؤينه	dwaīna	ینه + yester دی Root	yesterday
پير <i>ى</i>	pairī	Zend para	the day before
			yesterday
يار	pār	Also obsolete Persian; modern	last year
		Persian بارسال	
چور	$ch\bar{u}r$	Also Hakkārī	the face
چۋ	charo	All Kurdish	the eyes
ناوچۋ	nāūchaw		the forehead
دان	dān	Northern Kurdish also	the teeth

SULAIM	IANTA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
,	dam		
عم	uum	Northern Kurdish and	the mouth
ليۋ ليچ	$l\bar{\imath}w$	The distinction between the two	the upper lip
ليپ	$l\bar{\imath}ch$	lips appears only in local	the lower lip
/	7	(Sulaimania dialect)	
نی نوک	nīnūk	Persian في , Sanskrit nakha	the nails
برو	$br\bar{u}$	Sanskrit bhru, other Kurdish برى	the eyebrow
- //-	brzhān		the lashes
پرچ	prch	General Kurdish use; cf. obsolete	a rainbow, curls
<i>4</i> ~		"erooked , پُرچين, "erooked ,	
آگريجه	$\bar{a}girar{\imath}ja$	North and Middle Kurdish	the side locks
			of a woman
قش	qish	Also used by Turkomans of the	tangled hair
		district	
سمير	$sm\bar{\imath}r$	Other dialects, smīl, swīl, etc.	the moustache
سنک	sink	Also Northern Kurdish	the breast
مىل	mil	Middle and Southern Kurdish.	the neck
		Northern has ustū, which is	
		also sometimes used	
اموست	$am\bar{u}st$	Southern dialects use kilk , a word	a finger
		signifying "an appendage"	
ژنی	$zhn\bar{\imath}$	Variation of forms of the same	the knee
		word in all Persian and	
		Kurdish dialects	
سقان	$sq\bar{a}n$	Also isq; Zend asta	a bone
سردل	sardl	그리스 회사는 건가 그렇게 된다.	the heart
زک :	zik	As in all Kurdish and Northern	the belly
		ئكم Lurish. Persian	
لش	lash	" for "a body لاش Persian uses	a body, living
		or "corpse"	or dead

SULAII	MANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
ن ار	dār	Obsolete Persian, also Sanskrit	a tree
.		dāru, Zend dāru	
ت <i>رى</i>	$tirar{\imath}$	As in all pure Kurdish	grapes
ت <i>ری</i> گلا	gla	As in all pure Kurdish, except	a leaf
		when g is hardened to ch	
تروز <i>ی</i>	$trar{u}$ z $ar{\imath}$	Middle Kurdish	a kind of cu-
			cumber, Cassia
			fistularis
نیسک	$n\bar{\imath}sk$	Middle Kurdish	lentils
آلت	alat	All Kurdish, except Northern	pepper
كالك	kalak	All Kurdish. Persian گرمک	a small melon
شوتى	$shar{u}tar{\imath}$	All Northern Kurdish. Southern	a water-melon
		شامی =	
هروسي	$harm \bar{\imath}$	امرود ,ارمود Obsolete Persian	a pear
برسيله	barsiaīla	Sulaimania only	unripe grapes
لاسك	$l\bar{a}sik$	Middle Kurdish	a carrot
دنک	dang	All Kurdish	a noise
آس	āsen	Zend ayanh, Sanskrit ayas	iron
زر	zir	Obsolete Persian) j	gold
ز <i>ر</i> زيۋ	zī <i>10</i>	Obsolete Persian سيم	silver
پاخر	pākhir	Northern and Middle Kurdish	copper
		use also	
منز	miz	Sulaimania and South Kurdish	copper
		use	
خوی	khüī	North and Middle Kurdish. Southern = اڅڅا	salt
برخ	birkh	Pehlevi barak, Persian barra	a lamb
بزنک	bizink	Other Kurdish, bizin, bizinka	a goat
اسک	ask	Preservation of s in Sanskrit	a gazelle

SULAIM	IANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
بيقش	baiqush	Turkish bayaqush	an owl
كلشير	$kalashar{\imath}r$	All Kurdish, "the lion-headed"	a cock
ر ۋى	$rew\overline{\imath}$,,	a fox
هنک	hang	Persian has not preserved the h ,	a bee
		presenting the obsolete \(\simeq \)	
زردۋالە	zardwāla	"The yellow one"	a hornet
مترصلكه	marmilka	Approximately the same in all	a lizard
		Kurdish	
دوپشک	$dar{u}pishk$	"Two claws"	a scorpion
ۋرن	waran	All Kurdish	a ram
پز	paz	All Kurdish (Middle), Zend	a sheep
		pasa	
پسنكة	psinka katka	Northern Kurdish	a cat
كتكه	katka	Sulaimania only	a cat
مىلوشك	malushk	Similar in all Kurdish	a sparrow
	marr	Middle Kurdish	a ewe
كۋراشك	kawrāshk	Middle Kurdish. Southern	a sheep
		Kurdish kāwir	
ساين	mäīn	As in all Kurdish, loss of	a mare
		$\mathbf{medial}\ d$	
ساسى	mūsī	Preservation of Zend and San-	a fish
		skrit 8	
مرشک	mirishk	One of many Kurdish variations	a fowl
		of Zend root word maregha	
ميش	maish	Loss of medial g ; cf. Fr. mouche	a fly
خشى	khishī	Similar in all Kurdish	a centipede
كرۋيش	karwīsh		a hare
ميرول	mairūla	Northern and Middle Kurdish	an ant
		(see text)	

Sulai	MANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
ألاخ	$ul\bar{a}kh$	Middle Kurdish use. Persian	any beast of
		meaning = donkey	burden
ايستر	aistr	Obsolete Persian	a mule
-	karulākh	$Kar + ul\bar{a}kh = donkey + beast$	an ass
		of burden	
ۋر 📆	wirch	Cf. other Kurdish, birs, birch,	a bear
		etc. Persian خرس	
چولیکه	chulaika	"The inhabitant of wilds"	a sparrow
براز	birāz	Zend varaza	a hog
بوق	$bar{u}q$	Cf. vulgar Persian غوق (from	a frog
		the sound of the creature)	
قالونچه	$q\bar{a}l\bar{u}ncha$	Kurdish also فلچه , etc.	a beetle
ميشوله	$maishar{u}la$	Diminutive of maish	a gnat
ميش	maish	Northern and Middle. Southern	a fly
		gives maias	
باوش	baush	Northern and Middle	the side of the
			body
لوت		Northern and Middle	the snout
قاچ	qāch pāzhna	Turkoman use	the foot
		Northern Kurdish. Pers. پاشنه	the heel
خوری	khūrī	All Kurdish, used to name a	wool
		woollen cloth in Persia about 300 years ago	
مچير	machīr	All Kurdish	thread
رقاله	ragāla	Middle Kurdish	the ankle
تشي	tishī	All Kurdish	athread spindle
	māl	All Kurdish and Lurish use	a tent or a
			residence
خانو	khānū	Northern and Middle only	a house (built)

SULAIM	IANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
حوش	haush	Mid. Kurdish. From Ar. حوش	a court
بير	<i>bā)</i> ·	بير ,,	
ۋ ير	$zh\overline{\imath}r$	Middle Kurdish (= that which	
		is underneath)	
كراس	kerās	All Kurdish except Kermanshahi	a shirt
دريي	darpai	Middle and Mukrī	trousers
كثوا	kawā	قبا All Kurdish. From Arabic	a tunic
سلته	darpai kawā salta	From Arabic salta	a waistcoat
گريفان	$girar{\imath}far{a}n$	All Kurdish; cf. obsolete Persian	a pocket
		a collar, from "the	
		edge being sewn"	
چاير	chāir giluwanka	Loss of medial d	a veil
كلوۋنكه	giluwanka	= gelu + band + aka	a necklace
ملۋنكه	milwanka	= mil + band + aka	,,
جلک	jilik	All Kurdish; cf. Persian use of	clothing
		jul for "horse clothing"	
برز	barz	All Kurdish. Zend berez	a high place
برد	barz bard	Northern and Middle; cf. برى in	a stone
		a place in South , بردستان	
		Persia, a stony promontory	
كانى	kānī	"An excavation," all Kurdish	a well
كانى كيۋ رىگە	$k\bar{\imath}\imath v$	All Kurdish	a mountain
ر يگه	raiga		the road
چم	cham		a river
تم	tam	,, also Persian	mist
چم تم ق <i>ور</i>	$q\bar{u}r$		mud
كولم	$k\bar{u}lam$	Middle Kurdish. "Blind water,"	a lagoon
1		the word kulaw, where w has	
		not changed to m , is also used	

SULA	IMANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
کل	kal	All Middle and Northern dialects	a high peak
مل	mil		a pass, or neck
ھاۋىس	$har{a}war{\imath}n$	Northern Kurdish also. Old	summer
		Persian āf, Sanskrit ābhā,	
		formed by addition of initial	
		$h + \bar{a}v + in$ (attributive affix)	
		= the sun season	
گلاۋىۋ	$gl\bar{a}waizh$		the star Sirius
قصه		All Kurdish use; ? for Ar. قصّه	a word
درو	$drar{u}$	Disappearance of gh. Zend	a lie
		draugha	
سۋنگ	swang	Northern and Middle Kurdish.	an oath
		سوگند Obsolete Persian	
زاۋاۋنك	zāwāwang	Zāmād-band	a wedding
بوک	$b ilde{u} k$	Middle and Northern Kurdish	a bride
ایش	aish	Middle and Northern Kurdish	an ache
		(ژَن Southern has)	
شيت	$shar{\imath}t$	All Kurdish. Old Persian شيد	a madman
فير	shīt fair shārazā	Middle Kurdish	habit
شارزا	shārazā	"Free of the town," Mukrī	acquainted
		and Hakkārī (Middle and	with a
		Northern)	country
خزوره	khazūra	Middle Kurdish	a mother-in-law
تام	tām maishik	From Arabic	taste
میشک	maishik	Similar change to that in maish	the brain
ىاۋراز	nawrāz	Mukrī nawrās = "right in the	the centre
		middle"	
نۋخا	nawkhā	Cf. Persian naodān	a spout for
			water

SULAIM	IANIA.	REMARKS.	Meaning.
خۋى	$khw\bar{\imath}$	Similar in all Kurdish	salt
وير	$v\bar{\imath}r$	All Kurdish	memory
هناس	hinas	,,	breath
باورشه	$b\bar{a}r\bar{u}sha$	Middle and Northern Kurdish	a fan
		"wind-sweeper"	
اۋرشينى	aōrishaīnī	Middle and Northern Kurdish "water-pouring"	sprinkling
هۋير	hawīr	Arabic خمير, change kh to h and m to w	dough
چیشت	chaisht	Persian چاشت very seldom used	food cooked
هلکه	hilka	Northern Kurdish gives hek, Southern khā	an egg
چرم	charm	Old v of charva changed to m (to b in Persian)	grease
چور	chaur	Same as above	a greasy thing
قزان	$qazar{a}n$	Local use of Turkomans also	a cooking-pot
	$r\bar{u}n$	Disappearance of gh , all Kurdish	clarified butter
رون کوچ <i>ک</i>	kauchik	تاشتی Turkish	a spoon
هلوشه	halūsha	Initial h. Persian آلوچه. Kurdish	a plum
		gives initial h in all compounds of آلو ; also cf. Persian گلو, "a peach"	
گلچیله	gulchīla	Other Kurdish <i>gurchī</i> , Lurish <i>gurdāla</i>	kidneys
ديزه	dīza	Obsolete Persian ديزو	earthen pot
	shwīna	Middle Kurdish	a large basin
بيژنک	baizhink	N. Kurdish, from root بير "sift"	a sieve
هيلک	hailak	Northern Kurdish	a small sieve

SULAIM	IANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
بتال	batāl	بطال From Arabic	emptiness
در یک	$dar\bar{\imath}k$	"What tears"	a thorn
قو ژاله	qirzhālā	خرزهره Persian گرژهره Mutilated	colocynth
ٔ درزی	$dirz\bar{\imath}$	All Kurdish; root زرز, "sew"	a needle
کناً	kunā	All Kurdish; cf. Persian كون	a hole
مزگوت	mizgut	Arabic Arabic Remarkable	a mosque
,,,		example of mutilation and	
		consonant change	
نۋيژ	nwaizh	Softening of m to w	prayer
كأبرأ	nwaizh kabrā	Middle Kurdish	"so-and-so,"
			a fellow
برین	$br\bar{\imath}n$	Middle Kurdish and Northern,	a wound
		from root, "cut"	
هرق	haraq	Erroneous initial h; Arabic عرق	sweat
هاجزى	hajizī	Erroneous initial h; from Arabic	fatigue
		عاجز	
ایش	īsh	Mid. and North. Turkish ايش	work
هشک	hishk	Middle and Northern Kurdish;	thought
		cf. Persian هوش	
سام	8ām	All Kurdish and obs. Persian	fear
سام خریک	kharīk	Middle and Northern Kurdish	employed, busy
گر <i>ک</i>	gerek	Middle Kurdish, also Turkish	necessary
پرت	prt	Northern Kurdish	a bridge
كلك	kilk	Obsolete Persian and modern	
		Southern Kurdish meaning =	
		"a finger". Sulaimania and	
		Mukrī use it with the	
		meaning of	a tail
رشؤاله	ra shwāla	"The black fellow"	a swift

SULAIN	IANIA.	Remarks.	MEANING.
كله	kulla	Northern and Middle Kurdish	a locust
بازرگان	bāzargān	Obsolete Persian	a merchant
	$jar{a}nbar{a}z$	***	a broker
چرچی	$chirchar{\imath}$	Mid. Kurdish and local Turkish	a pedlar
	$dra\bar{u}s\bar{\imath}$	Mid. Kurdish, "him at the door"	a neighbour
	tanisht	Middle Kurdish	alongside
شین	$sh\bar{\imath}n$	Other Kurdish hashīn, obsolete	blue
		Persian khashīn	
سور	$s\bar{u}r$	All Kurdish	dark red
ال	$\bar{a}l$	Middle and Northern Kurdish	full red
		and Turkoman	
رش	rash	Middle and Northern Kurdish	black
رش سپی	$sp\bar{\imath}$	Middle and Northern Kurdish	white
		(Southern Kurdish = $charmu$)	

THE VERB

The Sulaimanian verb presents features of great interest and is here quoted fully, and a moderately complete list of its verbs is given. These impart to Kurdish generally (for the Sulaimanian are very little different from those of Hakkārī, Kurmānjī (North), and Mukrī) that character which allows it at once to stand as a different language from Persian, and not a corrupt dialect.

Every sense that the Persian can obtain with its verb forms can be expressed by the Kurdish by its own very dissimilar forms, which may be compared by students with those of old Iranian tongues.

The verb "to be" demands first attention, and one is confronted immediately with its similarity to the verb "to become", a feature common to Kurdish and Lurish; cf. Bakhtiari $b\bar{\imath}a=$ "it has been", $b\bar{\imath}a=$ "it has become", and other examples. The similarity is so great as to at

first engender a belief that they are one and the same verb, but examination shows otherwise.¹

I place the two verbs side by side here, showing only the simplest moods, which are most used.

The infinitives are—

بین $b\bar{\imath}an$, to be $b\bar{\imath}an$, to become

as in all Kurdish dialects.

Present Indicative

"To be" "To become"

FFIRMATIVE. NEGATIVE. NEGATIVE. NEGATIVE.

The dual form in the affirmative of "to become" is due to the loss of initial d (the sign of the present indicative in Kurdish verbs), which is replaced in the more southerly of the true Kurdish dialects by initial a, and in either form provides one of the truest signs of a Kurdish or Lurish tongue, for the latter uses no prefix in this place except the Southern dialects (Bakhtiari, Mamaseni, Kuhgelu, etc.), where an initial $\bar{\imath}$ occurs, corrupted from Persian $m\bar{\imath}$.

In the negative form of the verb "to become" we have probably $n\bar{a} + bim$, for in dialects using only da- in the

¹ See my "Notes on the Shādī Branch of Kermānjī": JRAS., October, 1909.

affirmative it is replaced by $n\bar{a}$ in the negative, such a form as nādabim never occurring.

The verb "to be" shows here an irregularity which does not occur in Mukri, etc., which shows , bīm, etc. For note on the formation of preterite with initial pronominal forms, see after.

Perfect"I have been," etc.

	Affirm	ATIVE.				NEGATIVE.	
	1	2			3		
بومته	$b\bar{u}ma$	ممي	$b\bar{\imath}ma$	ام بُوه	ambūa	نم بود	nambūa
ROMANA	-	- Manager		ات بُوه	atbūa	ذت بولا	natbūa
بولا	$b\bar{u}a$	_	_	ب ُود	büa	نبي بود	naibūa
			_	امان ئود	amān būa	نمان بود	namānbūa
- Milessen		تان بيه	tān bīa	تان ڳولا	tān būa	نتانبوه	natānbūa
	Mercenta	ایان بیه	ayān bīa	ايان بُود	ayān būa	نيان بود	nayānbūa

The two verbs here are in such similarity that it is necessary only to indicate that form 3 of "to be" is the regular form for "to become", the negatives being identical.

The imperfect sets, Nos. 1 and 2, are met with in their entirety in other allied dialects.

Conditional Form

(Equivalent of Persian باشم and بشوم)
"To be"
"To become"

With hagar =" if"

اهگر بیم hagar bīm هگر بیم hagar bībim هگر بیم hagar bīt هگر بیت hagar bi biait هگر بیت hagar bi biait هگر بی hagar bābaya هگر بین hagar bibin هگر بین

Imperative

" Be!" "Become!" $b\bar{\imath}$! بى ba! بى ba! بى bin! بىن

Past Participle

لية būa يوه būa

The Infinitive

This is formed, as in all Kurdish dialects, by -n, -in, or -din.

In connexion with infinitive terminations it may be noted that most of the Persian verbs ending in -khtan have their root ending in z, as—

 $b\bar{a}khtan = b\bar{a}z$ $s\bar{a}khtan = s\bar{a}z$ $\bar{a}m\bar{u}khtan = \bar{a}m\bar{u}z$, etc.,

and Kurdish has in every case where it uses the same root formed its infinitive from it direct, as—

sāzin, from sāz, bāzin ,, bāz, etc.

¹ There is a form bibiaitin which follows Lurish use, and is very occasionally heard in Sulaimania.

The Present Indicative

The regular Kurdish verb forms the present indicative on the model of $da + \sqrt{} + \text{pronominal particle}$, but in the southern forms ai or a takes the place of $da^{\,1}$ (the d having been weakened and dropped, as is so common), and a little variation may occur in the pronominal terminations, particularly in the second person singular, where -it often takes the place of $\bar{\imath}$, as aizhit for $aizh\bar{\imath}$. Again, by a coincidence, the same confusion may occur in the 3rd singular, where the Kurdish $\bar{\imath}$ = "he" may be replaced by the Persian -ad hardened to -it. It is therefore possible for—

aizhī to mean "thou speakest", or "he speaks", or aizhit ,, ,, ,, ,,

owing to the similarity of form but difference of meaning of the purely Kurdish and the Kurdo-Persian suffixes. This confusion, however, occurs as a rule only in dialects where a proximity to Lurish or Gūrān tongues has led to the interchangeability of form.

In Sulaimania town as a regular thing it may be said that the ai- prefix in the present indicative is heard as often as the da-, which was formerly universal. A kind of custom has thus sprung up by which certain verbs are constructed with da- and others with ai, which distinction will be shown in the verb tables.

The following is the present indicative of a regular verb:—

From kaotn, "to fall"

Affirmative. Negative. اكثوم اكثوم dkawam اكثوم , etc. اكثوم akawī اكثوى akawī or akawa

¹ This is particularly noticeable in the modern dialect of Sina of Ardalan, Persian Kurdistan.

JRAS. 1912.

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AFFIRMATIVE.

اكۋن	akawan
: اكثون	akawan
أكۋن	akawan

From iln, "to speak"
Both prefixes are equally used.

ايلم	ailm	دلم	dalim
ایلی	$ai ar{l} ar{\imath}$	دلی	$dal\bar{\imath}$
بله or ایلی	ailī or aila	دله or دلی	daļī or daļa
ايلن	ailn	دلين	dalain
ايلن	ailn	دلن .	daln
أيلن	ailn	دلن	daln

Negative = نيل nailm, etc., for both forms.

The liquid l makes this a very difficult verb to pronounce properly, ln becoming a peculiar concrete sound.

A very large number of verbs have prefixial words (adverbs, etc.), such as hal, par, tai, lai, $d\bar{a}$, which are so closely connected, and so easily form junctions with another word, as to appear at first sight an integral part of the verb. So closely are they joined that the modifying letter of the verbal tense is lost in many cases, e.g.:

- 1. laikhistn = to strike hard.
- 2. $laid\bar{a}n = to pulverize$.
- 3. feradān = to cast away.

Present Indicatives

1.	3.
laikham. laiam.	ferayam.
laikhī. layī.	feraiyī.
laikha. laia.	feraya.
laikhin. layan.	ferayin.
laikhin, layin.	ferayin.
laikhan. layan.	ferayan.

Preterite

The Sulaimania tongue follows the proper Kurdish use here. The regular form is (from kaotn = "to fall", "I fell", etc.).

There is a form which serves all purposes to Lurish and Southern Kurdish, but which is, among the pure Kurdish, only used when the verb itself forms a complete sentence, and in the affirmative only. It is—

This is necessary, as the regular form required some letter before the pronominal prefix of the regular form, even if it be only the negative, as namkaot = "I fell not", for which it is not permissible to use the Lurish and South Kurdish nakaotm, the negative of the alternative form. The use of the alternative is therefore very limited, as any sentence with a word in front of the verb provides the necessary support for the regular form. Example of both uses: $la\ barz\bar{\imath}m\ kaot = "I\ fell\ a\ long\ way"$, equivalent to $la\ barz\bar{\imath} + am\ kaot$, the pronominal prefix joining itself to the preceding word.

Kaotm could only be used if no other words were uttered.

The answer to such a phrase might be: $Chl\bar{u}nit\ kaot? =$ "How didst thou fall?" not $chl\bar{u}n\ kaoti?$

Past Imperfect

This form, in Persian, constructed of $m\bar{\imath} + \sqrt{} + \text{pronominal}$ nominal affix, in Southern Kurdish $\sqrt{} + \bar{\imath}\bar{a} + \text{pronominal}$

affix, occurs but rarely, the preterite or perfect form being usually employed. Occasionally, however, the Southern Kurdish form is heard—

"I used to fall," etc.

كۋتيام	kaotīām	كۋتىيان *	kaotīāin
كۋتياي *	$kaotar\imathar aar\imath$	كۋتيان 🖈	kaotīāin
كوتيا	kaotīā	كۋتيان	$kaot\bar{\imath}\bar{a}n$

* The Kermanshāhī کۋتيانى ,کۋتياسى ,کۋتياسى are never used.

Perfect

"I have fallen"

This is quite regular, and follows the pure Kurdish usage = pronominal form $+\sqrt{+awa}$, as follows:—

A managara meneral

TYPEIL	ALEGAIIVE.	
ام كۋتۋە	am kaotawa	نم كۋتۋە
ات كۋتۋە	at kaotawa	نات كۋتۋە
ای کوتوه	ī kaotawa	ىي كۇتۋە
امان كۋتۇد	amān kaotawa	نمان كۋتۋە
اتان كۋتۋە	atān kaotawa	نتان كۋتۋە
ايان كۋتۋە	ayān kaotawa	نيان كۋتۋە

In the case of verbs with a prefixial word with the infinitive as *laikhistu* (see before), the form becomes naturally—

any— Affir	MATIVE.	NEGATIVE.
ليم خستۋه	laim khestawa	ليم الخستوه
ليث خستؤه	lait khestawa	, etc. ليت نخستوْه
لى خىستۇە	laī khestawa	
ليمان خستؤه	laimān khestawa	
a name population in the company of the	laitān khestawa	
لييان خستؤه	layān khestawa	

The negative changes position from its place before the pronominal prefix (see simple verb) owing to its place being already occupied

Perfect Past

This is seldom used, and has three forms, the first of which is most heard—

			2		3
ام كۋتىۋد	am kaotūwa	كۋتو بوم	kaotū būm	كۋتوملة	kaotūma
ات كۋتوۋە	at kaotūwa	كۋتو بوي	kaotū būī	كۋتوتە	$kaotar{u}ta$
اى كۇتىۋد	etc.	كۋتو بو	$kaotar{u}\ bar{u}$	كوتوود	kaotūwa
امان كۋتوۋە		كۋتو بون	kaotū būn	كۋتونه	kaotūna
اتال كۋنوۋە		كۋتو بون	$kaotar{u}\ bar{u}n$	كۋتونه	kaotūna
ايان كۋتوۋە			$kaot\bar{u}$ $b\bar{u}n$	كۋتونه	$kaotar{u}na$

The third form is that commonly heard in Sina of Ardalan (Persian Kurdistan) and Kermānshāh, and the first is the purest Kurdish. The compound infinitive verb shows—

laim khestūwa لم خستوۋد lait khestūwa
etc. etc.

THE CONDITIONAL

Present

"That" or "if I fall"

SIMPI	E VERB.	COMPOUND INFINITIVE VERI			
بكثوم	bīkawam	لی بیخم	lai bīkham		
بيكۋى	bīkawī	لی بیخی	lai bīkhaī		
بيكۋد	bīkawa		lai bīkha		
بيكون	bīkawin	لی بیخن	lai bīkhin		
بيكۋن	bīkawin	لی بیخن	lai bīkhin		
بيكۋن	bikawan	لى بېخن	lai bīkhan		

Past

"That" or "if I should fall"

SIMP	LE VERB.	COMPOUND IN	FINITIVE VERB.
	bim kaotūwa	ليم بخستوۋه	laim bikhistūwa
	bit kaotūwa	لبت بخستوۋه	$lait\ bikhistar{u}wa$
بى كۋنوۋە	bī kaotūwa	لى بىخستوۋە	lai bikhistūwa
بمان كوتووه	bimān kaotūwa	ليمان بخستووه	laimān bikhistūwa
بتان ئۇتوۋە	bitān kaotūwa	ليتان بخستوؤد	laitān bikhistūwa
بيان كُوْتُووُه	bīyān kaotūwa	لييان بخستوۋد	layān bikhistūwa

This is seldom heard, but it is encountered in poetry, and occasionally in oral translation of Turkish or Persian where the Kurd is rendering with exactitude the sense of the foreign language.

Imperative

بيكۋه	bīkawa		المخا	laikha
بيكۋن	$b\bar{\imath}kawin$		ليخن	laikhin

The imperative may also take an initial $d\bar{a}b\bar{\iota}$ a word common to Sulaimania and Mukrī only, and renders the imperative more emphatic.

It also may be added to the conditional in the sense of certainty of occurrence of the action, as—

 $d\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}\ b\bar{\imath}kawam = {
m that}\ {
m I}\ {
m shall}\ {
m certainly}\ {
m fall}.$ $d\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}\ b\bar{\imath}b\bar{\imath}stm = {
m that}\ {
m I}\ {
m shall}\ {
m certainly}\ {
m hear}.$

Such a phrase also has a purely future signification.

Future

The future is usually formed by (1) use of $ab\bar{\imath} =$ "it will become", (2) -awa, or (3) with both—

- (1) $ab\bar{\imath} b\bar{\imath}g\bar{u}ra = \text{he will change it.}$
- (2) daitawa = he will come.
- (3) abī birūwa = he will go.

The second is most generally employed. It is the present indicative + -awa, and is not heard in Hakkārī and Northern Kurmānjī.

They are all three obviously purely Kurdish uses, as there is no parallel to them either in Gūrān, Persian, or Lurish.

Past Participle

There are two forms of this: (1) in $-\bar{u}$ or w, (2) in $-r\bar{a}$; the latter being a peculiar and novel feature of this branch of Kurdish.

One verb may use both these forms, as appears most convenient euphonically; for instance, from the verb $d\bar{a}n$ appears $d\bar{a}w =$ "given", and in the perfect, "I have given," it would and does naturally occur as -m $d\bar{a}wa$, but the second form may be, and often is, made use of, in some of which cases the pronominal particle is placed after the root thus: $d\bar{a}mr\bar{a} = d\bar{a} + m + ra$, a formation of great peculiarity.

This occurs in a great many instances, and it may be taken that in the case of a verb whose root terminates in a vowel, the pronominal consonant precedes the $-r\bar{a}$ for the sake of avoiding a weak word like $d\bar{a} + r\bar{a} + m$, though this is quite a regular rule with all verbs whose roots end in a consonant; thus, from kuzhdu, past part. $kuzhr\bar{a}$, perfect = $kuzhr\bar{a}m$, not $kuzhmr\bar{a}$.

This formation in, and use of, $r\bar{u}$ appears to exist only in Sulaimania, for I never heard it in Hakkārī, Erbil, nor Mukrī.

The verb tables will show the verbs usually taking $-r\bar{a}$ in the past participle.

Infinitive Prefixes

These are, as above remarked, so essential to many verbs, and have so little use apart from them, that they may be quoted here. The commonest are—

hal,	giving the meaning	back, up.
lai	,,	destroying, crushing.
tai	,,	in it, to it.
$r\bar{a}$,,	movement.
$d\bar{a}$	"	away, down.
par	r far ",	out, away.

Of these *hal* (the equivalent of the Persian *bar*) is by far the commonest.

Causative Form

The Persian forms the causative by the insertion of $-\bar{a}n$ before the infinitive ending. The Mukrī and Sulaimania form by the same method, using the syllable $-\bar{\imath}ain$, as irsiainin, "to affright," from tirsin, "to fear," and so on.

Certain Peculiarities

- 1. The language has almost lost the use of the verbs $d\bar{\imath}n$, "to see," $pa\bar{\imath}a$ krdu, "to find," and uses the first only in the 1st person singular preterite and perfect, $md\bar{\imath}=$ "I saw", $md\bar{\imath}wa=$ "I have seen", otherwise using the phrase $chao\ pa\bar{\imath}\ kaotn=$ "the eyes falling upon". This signifies both seeing and finding.
- 2. In common with all Kurdish tongues, the verb "to have" does not exist, the sense being conveyed as in Turkish and Arabic = "to be", "to . . . ", as—

pāra hayya la lāt? = Hast thou money? Is there money to thee? (lit. at thy side). Na, pārām niyya = No, I have no money. No, money to me is not.

3. There is only a relic of the verb "to want", "to wish", which is complete in Northern Kurdish, which gives *khāzin*, wāzin, etc.¹ Sulaimania, in colloquial language,

¹ As an example of how often Kurdish has produced, by its consonant and vowel changes, a word closely resembling English, we have the verb *vissin*, "to wish," in a middle dialect.

possesses no such verb, expressing its meaning by haz krdn = "to be pleased to".

4. Owing to the position and nature of the pronominal particle certain curious forms occur, where an objective pronoun is introduced; thus, in colloquial Persian the word bibaram has a meaning "take me away" or "take me", and can also be interpreted "I may take". Kurdish, however, avoids this ambiguity by a transposition, presenting for the first meaning—

 $b\bar{\imath}mba$ = "take me". $b\bar{\imath}$ = imperative prefix. -m- = pronominal particle. -ba = root "take".

Bībam would mean correctly and only "that I take". This use leads to such complications as—

 $tad\bar{a}\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}$ = thou gavest it to me. ta = thou. $d\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ = gavest. m = me. $\bar{\imath}$ = it.

Persian would have to use the analytic form $t\bar{u}$ $d\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ $\bar{a}nr\bar{a}$ bi man.

It will be noticed that the Kurdish by this means produces a highly synthetic form. In the phrase woutīshī another peculiarity is observed—

wout- = he said. $-\bar{\imath}sh$ - = also. $-\bar{\imath}$ = to him.

Persian presents guftish ham, but ish in Persian means "to him", not "also" as in Kurdish. This form in Kurdish is produced by the necessities of euphony, as woutī-īsh (the regular form) would allow the sense "to him" to disappear.

LIST OF VERBS

The 1st person singular of the various moods is quoted.

Past Part. English.	is to create	to fire a cannon	to ache	to jump	to call	to rain	to gamble	to pluck off	to excuse or grant	, to take away	is to eut	fly to release	to exchange or give back برزيرو
PRETERITE. IMPERATIVE.	آفری	T2, 24 T2, 214	اُیشی	see دان being prefixed	see 2,5, bang being prefixed	-j^	ب	المريدات المريدي	بى بخشه ام بخشى	بي به احبره	لمجارير العربيري	بريه بريمدا	بثريوه الم ببريرى
TRANSLITERATION. PRES. IND.	دافره (Srdpers. sing) متربين	TZ, 24 TZ, Juntan	أيشي (aishn (3rd pers. sing.) أيشي	الله see الله المقطم الإدان		اباره (srd sing.) عربين	bāzīn D. J.	bichirrin Cont.	Jean's bakhshin	birda	birrin ping	barīān	Dzhairin
Infinitive.	آفرين	آگریان	ايش	1:60	مانک کردن	ى كارىپى	ے: خ	(A. 7.5)	رخشن	ر بري م	, ,	اريان	<u>ي.</u> ئېز:

Past Part, English,	to bind	s, to become	to be	ginning to hear	to sift بیژدا	to push	in to ask	to lie down	to suffer loss or indignity	special to twist	to patch	to shave the beard	in to fear	to affright	to shake تكانيؤ	to fire a cannon
Pres. Ind. Preterite. Imperative.	بى نست ام نست ايبستم	الم	3		بي ليبيره الم بيبيرى البينوم	see نیان see بریان see	ری پرس ام پرسی ایپوسم	see 💘 , par being prefixed	see کوتن see کوتن see	البيكيم المبلكيم	see ως, pina being prefixed	see see start heing prefixed	بي ترسه ام ترسي اترسم			
INFINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION.	bastn imic	būn	bran	history bistn	بئيرن بالمقال بالميران	שמחשת בלוצ נבוני	pirsin	par kaotn پر کؤتن	yak kaotn	paichin paichin	pina kindn	tavāsh kirdn تراش کردن	الانائة ترمس	tivisiainin tivisiainin	تكانى takānin	نقان لهمان المراس

Infinitive.	INTINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION. PRES. IND.	PRES. IND.	PRETERITE, IMPERATIVE.		PAST PART.	ENGLISH.
ئالي الم	دتکی (Srd sing.) متله تکین	دتکی (.gn	اي تكى		37.5	to drip نکیو
ترشين	دترشي (ard sing.) منامعها ترشين	د ترشي (gn.	ايي ترشي		ترشيؤ	to become sour
يزيل	دبرژه (Srd sing.) مندرژان	cicit (gui	اي برژا	1.	31.6	to be roasted
برزيس	birzhiainin	ديرژيينم	بى برژيبنه ام برژيب	ىي برژيد	برژيننو	to roast
تلاشين	ليسين talāshīn	دتلاشم	بيتلاشه امتلاشي	بيتلاشه	تلاشرا	to shave wood
3	twanin نزانی	1.00	المتؤاني			to be able
ټرريان پريان	turian توریان	ايتورم	توريام	1	تورياؤ	to quarrel تورياؤ
تى كرەن	tai kirdin تي کردن	see دکردن ase	see ركردن see ركردن see			to pour out
tai khistn تى خستن	tai khistn	see . خستن 998	see خستن ea being prefixed			to pour, or throw into
نی کیشتن نی کیشتن	tai gaishtn	see رکیشتن see	see کیشتن see کیشتن			to understand
tai yek birdn تي يک بردن	tai yek birdn	see رندن es	see with tai being prefixed			to stir or mix
	jūīn	TX:	14 465	بالمجود	¥.	to chew
ڄڙين	ستست جؤين	\[\frac{1}{2}\]	1×16.	بالجؤه		to shake
iush kirdn جوش کردن	jush kirdn	بنر ، کرکس eee	see کردن eing prefixed بناز, کردن	p		to boil
who spin sh dan	jush dan	see ols, ji	being prefixed	73		to cause to boil
itā kirdn	jĩa kirdn	see was, ju	see was, jia being prefixed			to separate

English.	to leave, to set down جي اشتو												dee	ب		
	to leave, 1	to stick	jung to adhere	to bend	to wink	to go	to cook	to plant چيينو	to irritate	is to scratch	to throw	to soak	to go to sleep	to suffocate	to eat	to want
Past Part.	جي اشتو	jums to stick	Summe	ghi to bend	پو ترکاؤ to wink	os of		المستو			1.5	gous to soak	- prie	خنگو	to eat	1:
PRETERITE, IMPERATIVE.	ایله	بى چېسىنە	ري ري ري	dascu.	چڙ بي ترک	Ą.	efixed	ريست	i	بايخرينه	Į.	1		مارنج الم	بايخؤه	
PRETERITE.	جي ايله جيم اشت	بي چپيينه ام چسپيين	المسيق	بايجمه ام چمي	چۇ بى تىركە چوم تىركى	30	see کردن see کردن see	امرچستی	المخري	الم خريني	「そうか」	¿me ;	امخفت	ام جمکی	しからしい	المخوازي
Pres. Ind.	45)	1 Smarine	اچسپې (.و	- Kars	41.5	1:	ه کردن see	اخسيم	Z. X.	The state of the s	U.Sa U. Suna	(3rd sing.)	دخفم	15:50	L'XX.	دخوان
INFINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION.	jai ishtn	chaspiainin	chaspin (3rd sing.)	chamin	chao tarkīn چۇ تركين	chūn	chaisht kirdn	chīaīnin	khurin	khurainin خریشن		ard sin (3rd sin) عسوتن	khaftn	khankīn	khwardin	khwäsin
INFINITIVE.	ıshtn جي اشتن	چسپييش	رسمتن	چېښې	1. 1.75	chān	چیشت کرد	المجيدين الم	٠٩(٠٠)	خرييس	khistn	خسوتن	لجفش	خنكس	خؤاردن	المحران

A defective verb, its parts are only used with Ja, to give the meaning "asking pardon" or "excusing oneself".

P	to read or sing	to sit	of to give	to put down	to throw down	to light	to orack	to make or put right	to lie	j's to tear	to commence	to drip or leak	was of celle	to milk	is to see (defective)	to speak truth
PRETERITE. IMPERATIVE.	للخيوس المخيوني	,		see nian , יבורי see nian yrefixed	see khistn جني da being prefixed	داكرسيينه داكرم سيينم داكرسيينم	see birdn . i, dirzī being prefixed	see kirdn کردن durus being prefixed	see kirdu کردن drū being prefixed	بيديره امديرى ايدرم	see girth , f, daz being prefixed	, dalaopa being prefixed	بيدورة أم دورى		- 1000	see hirdn . S, raz being prefixed
NSLITERATION. PRES. IND.	unin unin		-				se					irdn	uranin			
INFINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION.	khünin	danishtn	Solution dan	danian	. Aā khistn	dagirsiainin	mbrid isrib C, ; 2, 4,C,	Aurus kirdn	dru kirdn	mīrrīn ڪڙين	aas girtn دز کرتن	ه داويه کردن	ming dyranin	minshin Commo	nih Ciro	rāz kirdn

		$\overline{}$										ıal)			
English.	to be content	to pass away (time)	to fly away	il to stop, halt	to flee	to hunt	o roll	o rot	o spin	vomit	gallop	to stumble (an animal)	to sparkle	to start on the road	080
Past Part.	_	7	4	ا سرا وساو	+	4	lor of راؤشو	ij, to rot	ئے رسیو د	in to vomit	to gallop رنبازیژ	ئا روخاؤ	ţ	روهشتو	, to go
Preterite, Imperative,	red	pe	ed	dui find	red	ced	الراؤشة	1	Lymy	برشه	رنباز	روخم	xed		سرر ر
PRETERITE.	see būn , rāz being prefixed	"ā being prefix	rā being prefix	سرا وسم الرام وسا	"" being prefix	rā being prefix	ترام وشي	رزی	امرسي	امرشي	المرنبازى	رزخا	iniq being prefi	رو هشتم	المروي
N. PRES. IND.	see bun with	see birdn J, rā being prefixed	see farin it, it being prefixed	سًا وسم	see kirdn os, ina being prefixed	see chūn وجون rrā being prefixed	ساؤشم	(3rd sing.)	1	ىرشم	ارنبان	Sing.) 452,	see dan J, runiq being prefixed	(e anda	100
TRANSLITERATION.	ily ras bun	rā birdn	rā farīn	ing rra wusan	rra kirdn	Jy I'm rra chan	ma washin	asin رزین (3rd)	wisin commo	rishān	runbasin (in)	Ciget (3rd sing.) rakhan (gelo	rūnig dan	ny hishtn	กรณีก
Infinitive.	راز بیون	را بردن	را فرین	يرا وسان	ئرا کردی	ار ار چون	سُّ ا وْشبين	رزين	رسين	رشان	رنبازن	روخان	رونتي دان	رو هشتن	, e. e.

Although this is but rra prefixed to wusan, it is given here thus, as wusan is never used alone.

HVE. PAST PART. ENGLISH.	to pour ریزاؤ بر	in to shatter (a house)	[] to give birth	Ly to know	to count	to hang up	to burn موترا بيد	to cause to burn	Lo buy, get	to wash		to unpick شكاؤ	La to break	- to break (intransitive)	to massage or rub	to command
Pres. Ind. Preterite, Imperat	يثره المريثي دريزه	وخينه المروخيني اريو	ال المنزل المزل الزيم	ان المزاني درانه	بازمر امثريبون إرمار	sing being prefixed	سوته امسوتي اسوته	سوتان المسوتان اسوتا	بسيينه المسييني لسيينم	الو شاران			ري شكا المشكا اشكام	شكيا	ام شيناي	
TRANSLITE	raizhin	rükhaini	(L.) sain	J. sanin	Shmirdan	ن sing kirdn see Virdn دنگ کردن	suth	J. Sutanin	siaindn	shin	يىنىم shangainin		shikan	shikīān (3rd sing	lamin strictlin	farman (3rd sing.)
NEINTEIVE.	رئي	ريوخين	() "S	زانی ز		سنک کردن	سوتن	سوتاني	سيبندن	شتن	شرقينن	ځکاژن ځکاژن	يگان پ	شكيان	شييلين	فرمون

T. ENGLISH.	to sell	to fly فرزیو	to throw away	to fold	to wind a watch	to be concerned	ob ot کردو	to open کردوا	to buy) to draw, suffer, sustain	- to open (a bud)	to cook	Just to excavate	to laugh	to fall
PAST PART.	فروشتو	ن ^س ربور فمربور					کردو	کردؤا	* 39. No.	Sand	1	SILE	كندؤ		ېژونو کونو
Preterite. Imperative.	بيفروشه	سمره	xed	red	efixed	red	بيكم	3	7	ئيش	T	بي ميكلا .	ع نا	يكي ا	بيكؤه
PRETERITE.	بيفروشه ام فروشتي	امفترى	see dan old, fara being prefixed	see kirdn کرکن gat being prefixed	irqish being pı	see kirdn ركركن gai being prefixed	10,560	ا کردم آرا کردمو			كشانو	10/5/1	المكنك	ام کنی	ではり
Pres. Ind.	ابغروشم	10	e dan J. fa	kirdn oss, q	kirdn 25, q	$kirdn$ ω_{ζ} , q	\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\		550	ايكشم	کشوا	137	ايّٰکناً	5. Sta	13
TRANSLITERATION.	frushtin	farrin	s fara dan se	qat kirdn see	qirqish kirdn see kirdn , کردن qirqish being prefixed	see أو و عن المردن عن المردن الم	kirdn کردن	Terran ava	kirrin	kishān kishān	Las kushan ava	klanin الانن	kandin kac	kanin ki	kaotn
INFINITIVE.	فروشتن	ن ^م رين فرين	فرد دان	at kirdn	فرفش كردن	ني کردن	کرن کرن	کردس آرا	,	كشان	Salle!	Slive	كندن	كنن	X.6

PAST PART. ENGLISH.	bunod to pound	Size to kill or extinguish	to bite	I, sto rape or spoil	to seize	just to wander	to speak	exchange to exchange	deep (کیریژ) to weep	simis to arrive	to go out	— to take off	to forget	to graze	to cause to graze	to speak
IMPERATIVE.	بن ^ی رفر	بيكوره	ed	<u>J</u> .	سيگرم	رية من	1	اي الم			ре	35	pe		بيلۋاريىم	
PRETERITE. IMPERATIVE.	でき	しる。そのか	z being prefix	12	الم گرت	المكرى	ام گون	امگوری	المكيري	المكيشت	ā being prefix	35	a being prefix	15/00	The Cart	してい
on. Pres. Ind.	ايكوم	ايكون	see girtn قونی, هو	الكلم الحكا	T.	12.		ايگون	انگین		see chun op, , la being prefixed		see chān رچوں see chān	ludrin (3rd sing.) (3rd	الؤارينم	7
TRINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION.		in	2			20	gūtin گوڌي	Section Section	gīrīn	gaishtin	Inchum Inchum	Javan lawan	labir chun	lwārin (3	lwārainin	in or iin
TEINITIVE.	kūtin	کوژدن	21. Z.c.	گاهن گاهن	_گ رتی	گریان	گوتن گوتن	گورن گورن	و گيرين	ۇ گېشتى	لاجون	لا لازان	ليرجون	تزرن	ا الزاريس	<u>_</u> .

¹ Now obsolete.

														overturn	
English.	to strike	to strike very hard	to press	to mix	to die	remain	to wish 1	to recognize	write	sleep	allow	send	to return	to cause to return, to overturn	speak
PAST PART.	ţ,	to	to	to	of occe	to remain	- to	od ilme	fund to write	to sleep	to allow نیاد	to send نیردو	to	to	وتر و پرتو
IMPERATIVE.	q ,	q	'''	fixed	بميرة	dimen	-	ر بی تاس ریا	يى نوس	بسنسؤه	3.	4.	d	P	ديثره
PRETERITE. IMPERATIVE.	lai khistn see khistn أي خستن	see dan olo, lai being prefixed	see kirdn with lai being prefixed	lai yek kirdn see kirdn کردن lai yek being prefixed	ميرقم	4	La . Cimi	ام راسی	ام نوست	ام نؤست	3	ام نیری	see <i>hātin أنى wā</i> being prefixed	see girtn کرتی see girtn کرتی	امؤوت
. Pres. Ind.	khistn ishin	see dan www.	, کردن kirdn عه	و کردن kirdn	174.0	- Trime	1.65	اليناسم	انوسغ			-35	e hatin سانی e	ه ,کرتن airtn فه	-35
TRANSLITERATION.	lai khistn see	lai dan	s lai kirdn se کردن	lai yek kirdn s	mirdin	māvn	$mw\bar{i}stn$	ทนิธยก	nūisan	nwistan	ทริสัท	nairdin		s wā girtn s	wātn
INFINITIVE.	لي خستن	لی دان	لی کرمن	لی یک کردر	مرکن	•	* و يسنى	: 17mg	نوسان	ئۇسىن ئۇسىن	نيان	نيرص	و هاس	ئا گرت <u>ی</u>	(CO)

							ect								
r. English.	in to come	and to allow	to scatter about وشيينو هل وشيينه هلم وسييني	to roll up cloth	al بچم هال بچم هال بچمي هالم بچمي هال ابچم	to jump	is to rise on the feet	to take up	to come back	to shake out	to choose	to leap	to hang up فساو	nigs of aging	to bring
. Past Part.	هاتبو	aming.	هل وشيينو	هل پاکيتو	ها کید		های ساو					to leap على پريو	هل وساو	هونيو	
PRETERITE, IMPERATIVE.	8,50	Lila	هل وشيينه	هال پايچيين	چې :پېې		هل شه		pa	pe	ked	هل ډيره	هل وسته	بيهون	دي اينه (ام هينا
PRETERITE.	a) in	ام هشت	هلم وسييني	اهلم بالجييني	مرم ريدي	being prefixed	هل سام هل سم	eing prefixed	l being prefixe	l being prefix	al being prefix	هلم يري	aly on	المهون	امهينا
N. PRES. IND.	Cur	7		مل پيچيينم	های ایچنم	see farrin, hal being prefixed	هل سم	see girtn, hal being prefixed	see garrīān, hal being prefixed	see takānin, hal being prefixed	see bzhārdin, hal being prefixed	هل ایرم	هل اؤستم	اليهونع	(arriva
INFINITIVE. TRANSLITERATION.	Ja hatin	mina hishtin	hal wushiamin	hal prehiainin	hal behin	hal farrin مل فرَزِين	hal sän	hal girtn هل کرتن	hal garrian	الالكاس مال تكاس	hal bahardin هل بزاردن	hal parin	hal wustn مل ژستن	ninin Leio	היותדמות אביביני
INPINITIVE.	die.	هشتن	هل وسيسن	هال إليجينان	As hal behim	دل ن <i>ڙي</i> ي	hal sân حل سان	مل کرتی	هل کریان	هل نکابی	هل يژارين	هار برين ا	على زياني	هرني هر	هيين

PRONOUNS

These are as simple as in Persian, and possess no inflexions for case. Unlike the extreme Northern Kurmānjī the 1st person singular presents the same form as Persian, for the Bayazid and Erzerum dialects give az.

with the reflexives-

Myself خوْم
$$khwam = khwa + am.$$
Thyself خوْت $khwat = khwa + t.$
Himself خوْت $khwa\bar{\imath} = khwa + \bar{\imath}.$
Ourselves خوْدان $khwam\bar{\imath} = khwa + am\bar{\imath}n.$
Yourselves خوْتان $khwat\bar{\imath} = khwa + at\bar{\imath}n.$
Themselves خوْيان $khway\bar{\imath} = khwa + ay\bar{\imath}n$

The possessive is formed by adding one of the words $-\bar{\imath}$, $h\bar{\imath}$, or $h\bar{\imath}n$, usually the last, making—

$$h\bar{\imath}n-\bar{\imath}-m\bar{\imath}n=$$
 mine.
 $h\bar{\imath}n-\bar{\imath}-t\bar{u}=$ thine, etc.

The Persianized form $m\bar{a}l$ - \bar{i} -min is seldom heard.

The dative and objective forms are usually affixed to verbs when possible, as in Persian, and give the following regular forms (though the position may change according to the requirements of euphony)—

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tad\bar{a} + m = thou gavest + to me.

d\bar{a} + t = he gave + to thee.

md\bar{a} + \bar{\imath} = I gave + to him.

d\bar{a} + m\bar{a}n = he gave + to us.

md\bar{a} + t\bar{a}n I gave + to you.

md\bar{a} + y\bar{a}n = I gave + to them.
```

The objective form becomes obscure in such cases as-

 $lai + m + t + d\bar{a}$, thou struckest me. $lai + t + m + d\bar{a}$, I struck thee. $lai + \bar{\imath} + m + d\bar{a}$, I struck him. $lai + m\bar{a}n + \bar{\imath} + d\bar{a}$, he struck us. $lai + t\bar{a}n + m + d\bar{a}$, I struck you. $lai + y\bar{a}n + m + d\bar{a}$, I struck them.

All these, however, show the perfect regularity of the Kurdish pronominal form, as the terminations and prefixes of the verbal forms are identical, except for the last three persons in the present indicative, "we, you, they go," all represented by final n, ach, +n. Here the first syllable of the plural forms has disappeared, leaving only a final -n. This is a distinctive feature of Middle and Northern Kurdish, which presents the same form.

Demonstrative pronouns are as in North and Middle Kurdish, which give أَ and أَ = "this" and "that". Sulaimania has preserved the original m in the first of these words, giving المانية (Zend aem). The plurals المانية give "these" and "those".

Interrogatives , &, , &. The first have the same interrogative and conjunctive use as in Persian. As is the Persian.

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, ETC.

The commonest of these are as follows—

al	la	from, at, a word in use wherever Kurdish
		is spoken
بای	bāī	for, at, as in بای چن, "at what price,"
		a local Sulaimania word
پی	pai	to, as in پيم ژوتى, paim woutī, "he said
		to me "

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for, to, as بوسى, "for me"; كركوك "to
          ьо
                        Kirkūk"
                     with, as ۋرة لگلى خۋم, waira lagalī khwam
    لگل
          lagal
                        = come with me
          b\bar{a}
                     together with
 بى baī بى lanaw لنۋ tuī تى lasar لسر lashīr لرير lapisht لۇر
                     without
                     in, naw being "the interior"
                     in, i.e. "at the bottom"
                     on top of
                     under
                     behind
                     before; war is common Kurdish, now
                        signifying "in front", "forward"
   khwār خوار
                      down, low
     بان bān
                     up, high
    labar
                      by reason of
   paish پیش
                      in front
    ilis duwaw
                     at the back of
   (lashūn لشون
                      in pursuit of, behind
    ( shūn شون
  ان جاران jārān
                     formerly
   jār جار
                      a time
  خارک jārek
                      once
  ايسته 7sta
                      now
āw wakht
                      then
    lawai لۋى
                      here
    laura لوره
                      there
    ميرة haira
                      here
 har jai هر جي
                  wherever
مر جي hamū jai everywhere
```

```
hīch jai هيچ جي
laku?
chlūn چلون
                            nowhere
                            where?
                            how (from Arabic اشلون)
   chūn? چون wā وُا
wā اسجار amjār
مشكه bashki
                            how?
                            thus
                            this time
                            perhaps
                            certainly (Sulaimania town only, from
             qadd
                               Arabic)
  رنگ drang
                            late
   توزک tuzek توزک tuzek بوkjār پکجار chan? چنی chanī?

الله bāsh باش chāk چاک chāk
                            early
                            in a little while
                            suddenly
                            how much? how many?
                            how much? how often?
                            well, good
      مر har
نا nā
                            every, always, ever
                            no
                            ves (often pronounced mbarī)
      barī برى
              lalā
                            towards, with
       وْكو wakū
                            like, resembling
              t\bar{a}
                            as far as
              hanī
                            as yet
    anjākh انجاخ
تقت زور
jārītir جارية
                            hardly (Turkish انجق)
                            very
                            again
           ish
                            also
           buchī?
                            why?
                            why?
              bu?
```

POETRY

The following are some verses by Mustafa Beg, whose pen-name was Hajarī Kurdī, who wrote about 1815-20 A.D.

The verse form is the commonest of Kurdish poetry couplets, the first two or three of the poem rhyming both lines, the subsequent verses rhyming only the last line with the first verses.

There is much more Persian in the verse than in the spoken language, and Arabic words are widely employed.

Tālānī sar u mālim chaoī rash i fattānat Pai bandī diļū dīnim kākul i parishānit.

My head and house are captives of thy seductive black eyes. My heart and faith are bound to thy bewitching coiffure.

 $T\bar{a}l\bar{a}n\bar{\imath} =$ "the captive of a raid".

Kākul i parishānit. The kākul, or cock's comb, is used to denote in poetry the headgear of a woman, which, among the outside people and villagers, is often a large turban of many coloured silk handkerchiefs.

2. Gharamat aya bo am dil ruswām bikai wa girdit. Dassit haligirra laim ītr sā khwat bī wa īmānit.

Thou art enraged against this heart, thou wilt shame me before thee.

Remove, then, thy hand from me; be your own faith to yourself (i.e. keep your love to yourself).

Aya = "it comes"; $\bar{\imath}tr$, Persian $d\bar{\imath}gar =$ "then", "again"; $wa\ girdit =$ "around", "before thee"; $s\bar{a}$, "now."

$$b\bar{\imath} =$$
" be"

Waku khanjar zī jaushan tā ruzhī hashar datakī.
 Khün i dil mazlūwān law nawki mizhgānit.

Like a heart-stabbing dagger, till the last day may there drip The blood of oppressed hearts from within thy lashes.

Datakī is pres. indic. of takīn, "to drip."

Below is one of a few rubāiyāt of Nālī, the most celebrated Sulaimanian poet, a Kurd, of Panjwīn, who died about 1870. His poems cover a great variety of subjects, metre, and form, comprising ghazaliyyāt, a hajw on himself, a very fine marthīyya, a tarjīband, and several qaṣida. He has also written a large number of gūrānī, a Kurdish form, where the first line is sung by one man, and the two or three words comprising the second line are repeated in chorus by the rest of those present.

Lao sāwa nūr i dīdaka chāwam birrīwa min Bụ hātinit laraiwa ki chāwam birrīwa min Hāīl nāmā labarī, pai tū dīda mā Farmū ki pardakai sabalam har birrīwa min.

From then, that my eyes' light was cut from my sight, I wore my eyes awaiting her return from the road,

So that when no screen hid her (i.e. at last she came) my sight for her had lasted.

She said: "I have torn away for ever from thee my life's curtain."

A chorus song or gūrānī. The accented syllables are sung with great emphasis, and are marked '—

- Dastí bīa wa dás i shakáwam ki bi sár chữm Qurbấni vefátm
- 2. Tu Yúsifi no húsn la sar mísir khubắnī Min pốri mufắnī
- Farqiki nakárd nass nasísm bizáyat
 Wahshi la viláyat
- Lam kúshai waīránīa har mámawa wa kábūm Wai sháwam walátm

I give the Persian equivalent of these verses, as supplying a better explanation in a smaller space than English—

From (خمانيدر "to trample down".

هیپه تفاوتی نکردای نفس غزیزم بحالت این وحشی از دور از آن گوشد خراب شده هیشد مانده بودم در جای خودم انها اشب پهلوی توهستم

The following is one of the few specimens of prose encountered, a letter written by a Kurd to the writer while living in Sulaimania as a Persian. English literation is given with Persian under it—

Buzurgavār āmirzā ghulām Husain i fārsī, khizmatm. Buzurgavār agha mirza Ghulam Husain i īrānī, khidmatam.

Pash i arz das busī ahvālakānit, Pas az arz i dast būsī va ahvālat, After kissing thy hand and asking thy health,

khwā shukur wa salāmatm gaisht la Halabja. khudā shukr bā salamat rasīdam bi Alabja. God thanks with safety I arrived to Halabja.

nāzānam o maktūb ī khwam ki nuisrām gaishtawa namīdānam ān maktub i khudam ki navishta am rasīda ast. I know not that letter of myself that I have written is arrived

yā na. Dīyār ī rūn ī Sayyid Ali Ababailī hātawa. yā khair. Khabar i rūghan i Sayyid Ali Abā 'Ubaidī āmada ast. or not. News of the rūghan of Sayyid Ali Ababaili is come.

Hama wa Makha daln rūnimān niyya, wa Ahmad va Mikail mignyand rūghan nadarim, va Ahmad and Mikail say our rūghan is not, and

Khwāja Mansūrish rūī bo Tawīla. Hagar haz dakai Khāja Mansūr ham raft bi Tavīla. Agar mīkhāhī Khāja Mansūr also went to Tavīla. If you desire

rūnaka bisīainī āgām ka tā bīnuism bo rūghan bigīrī āgāh-am kun ta binavīsam bi rūghan to get advise me till I write to

Khwāja Mansūr, pāra la Makha bisiaīna, wa Khwāja Mansūr, pūl az Mikail bigīrad, va Khwāja Mansūr, money from Mikail may take, and rūnaka bikirra. Ista shash bār rūn lawai rūghan bikharad. Hālā shish bār rūghan injā rūghan may buy. Now six loads rūghan here

hayyatī dafarūshn, walī tama i Makha zūra, hast-ash mifurūshand, valī ṭama' i Mikail khaili ast, it is they sell, but greed of Mikail is much,

wa khwai zūr pīska-a. Itir hīn ī bāzargānīm va khudash khailī mumsik ast. Digar mal i tijārati and himself very mean is. Then that of merchandise I

hainā bīgūram bo rūn yā na, hagar halī āvurdam acaz kunam bā rūghan yā khair, agar brought may I change for rūghan or not, if

bzhairam māl ī chākish hayya, wa pārām
tamīz bidiham chīz-i-khūb hast, va pūlam
I pick out that [which] of goodness also is, and my money

hayya lalāī kābarāek lawai. Mansūr daļai dū so hast pīshi yak kasi injā. Mansūr mignyad davist is with one so-and-so here. Mansūr says two hundred

tahrānīa kaoshakānish zūram furushtī, qazānjish qirān ast kafsh-ha ham khailī furukhtam, manfa'at ham qirāns is The shoes also much I sold, profit too

kirdawa. Ish wakū jārān haira niyya. karda ast. Kār misl pīshtar injā nīst. is made. Affairs like formerly here are not.

khuā bika Hamavand bļao ben bāsh abī. khudā bikunad Hamavand bar taraf shavand khūb mīshavad. God do the Hamavand scatter well it will become.

Itir dānishtm bo farmānit Digar nishastam barāyī farmāyish-at Further I sat for thy commands.

> Hama i Mukrī. Ahmad the Mukrī.

7 Rajab, 1327.

XXV

THE DELTA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A NOTE ON THE BRANCHES OF THE NILE AND THE KURAHS OF LOWER EGYPT, WITH MAP

By A. R. GUEST

Many changes have taken place in the Delta since the Middle Ages, and the former geographical conditions require to be understood in order that the mediaeval history of Egypt may be followed. Besides, the mediaeval geography is of obvious importance as a means of arriving at the state of Egypt in ancient times. An adequate historical map of the mediaeval period is much wanted, and this paper is intended as a contribution towards a map of this kind.

The nature of the material available is such that, if a representation of the country is to be obtained that will give a satisfactory idea of its past character, it will have to be built up bit by bit. Descriptions of various dates will have to be brought together and compared, and indications will have to be obtained by piecing together a number of small facts. No comprehensive and systematic geographical accounts exist that would enable the result to be achieved more readily. The first step seems to be to lay down as accurately as possible such outlines as can be established with certainty. We deal here with the branches of the Nile and with the administrative divisions in force between the seventh and tenth centuries.

THE NILE. In Tables 1-14 at the end of this paper are set out all the itineraries relating to the interior of the Delta in the tenth and twelfth centuries that appear to be forthcoming. With a single exception these itineraries follow branches of the Nile. One column in the tables shows the names of all the places still in existence which

appear to be identical with places mentioned in the itineraries. All these existing places are marked on the accompanying map. By comparison it can be seen that the itineraries, as a rule, are accurate with regard to the names and the order in which they come, but they contain some mistakes due no doubt to copyists, and others that look as if they were original errors.

By following the itineraries on the map, one can establish that—

- 1. In the twelfth century of our era the main arms of the Nile—the Rosetta and Damietta branches—followed almost exactly the same course as they do now. The point of bifurcation at Shaṭânûf was about three miles further north than where the division takes place at present. There was also a difference in the Damietta arm near Damîrah.
- 2. In the tenth century the Rosetta branch ran in the same bed as at present. The point of bifurcation was then at Shaṭânûf, but precise information beyond this as to the Damietta branch in the tenth century is wanting.
- 3. A third arm of the Nile, which was in existence in the twelfth century, still remains open. Khalîj Tinnîs (Table No. 14) is substantially identical with the present El Bahr es Saghîr.
- 4. The other branches of the Nile shown by the itineraries to have been in existence in the twelfth century have disappeared. At least two of these branches led (through lakes) to the sea, viz., Khalîj el Iskandarîyah and Khalîj Shanashâ (Tables Nos. 2 and 13). One could show that the others for the most part were navigable channels.

It can be proved that the minor canal system must have changed almost entirely since the twelfth century, and it seems probable that the alteration has been complete. El Maqrîzi (i,169) cites a detailed account by El Makhzûmî, a twelfth century writer, dealing with the irrigation of the

province now known as El Buhairah, which corresponds with the district formerly called El Hauf el Gharbî, and on examination it appears that the canals of the province were quite different from the existing ones. As to the territory between the Rosetta and Damietta branches, the arms of the Nile described by Idrîsî cut across the lines of all the principal canals of the present day, and the latter cannot, therefore, be as ancient as the twelfth century, except perhaps for parts of their track. The course of the present Tur'at el Fir'auniyah, for instance, is intersected by the branch of the Nile described in Table No. 5, and had this canal in the time of Idrîsî joined the Damietta branch of the Nile with the Rosetta branch, as it does at present, Jazîrat Banî Nasr would have been divided into two islands. That there was such a division is unlikely: it seems thus to be tolerably certain that Et Tur'at el Fir'aunivah was not in existence in the twelfth century, and this deserves special notice, because, owing to its importance as a channel at the present time and the association its name seems to convey, Et Tur'at el Fir aunivah has been supposed to be of great antiquity. 'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak's article in his Khitat (xiv, 70) rather suggests that this channel did not become of consequence until recent times. As regards the region to the east of the Damietta branch of the Nile, one can see that the present Tur'at el Bûhîyah is different from the branch of the Nile that is described by Idrîsî as running by El Bûhât (Table No. 13). The date of the construction of Bahr Abî el Munajjâ, the chief of the southern canals now in existence in this part of the Delta, is known to have been 506 A.H. = 1113 A.D. (Khitat, i, 487). The other existing large canals here appear to be modern, except Bahr Muwais-the so-called Mu'izz canal. This has been identified (Baedeker, 192) with the ancient Tanitic arm of the Nile, but on what ground does not appear.

Khalîj Misr, the ancient canal that once united Fusţât with the Red Sea, is not mentioned in the itineraries, but it would seem, from an allusion by Mas'ûdî (Murûj, i, 147), that in the tenth century this canal still reached as far as Birkat et Timsâh, and a couple of centuries later its termination was not far from this lake, for Abû Şâlih states (Quatremère, Mém. Géogr. i, 62) that the canal ended at Es Sadîr, and Es Sadîr was a village near 'Abbâsah. The exact course of this canal does not seem to have been retraced. Part of it appears, according to 'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak (xviii, 123), to have been followed near Bulbais in making the modern Ismâ'îlîyah Canal, and the two must in general have corresponded. Khalîj Misr is indicated on our map by a line.

A branch of the Nile that it is necessary to mention is Khalîj Saradûs. It appears from Khitat, i, 487—similar passages occur elsewhere—that in the twelfth century this Khalîj was the principal source of the irrigation of Esh Sharqîyah, up to the time that Bahr Abî el Munajjâ was made. Saradûs was a village in the province of El Gharbîyah (Táj, iv, 166, Ibn Jî'ân, and others); the name is vocalized in the Taj. It was a day's journey from both Damietta and Fustât; near it there was a mosque, evidently of some celebrity, called Masjid el Khidr; it was notorious for its crocodiles, and there was a large canal leading from it (these facts are from El Mugaddasî). From the above it can be gathered that Saradûs was on the Nile somewhere to the north of Binhâ el 'Asal, about opposite to which the province of El Gharbîyah begins. There seems, however, to be nothing in the ordinarily accessible sources to show the direction taken by the Khalîj. Ibn Serapion's description of the Nile clears up this point. The Khalij of Saradûs, according to his account, was one of the principal branches of the Nile, and as he shows that it flowed past Bana and Bûşîr it is plain that for part of the way it corresponded with the present

Damietta arm. But the Damietta mouth is not treated by Ibn Serapion as the main outlet of the Nile in this quarter, and towards the sea the arm he calls Khalij Saradûs was probably equivalent to Khalîj Tinnîs. The canal stated to have led from Saradûs is probably the same as a branch of the Nile described by Ibn Serapion as leaving the river at that place, and sending out a second branch after running 30 miles. Both these branches seem to have flowed into the sea between Damietta and Rosetta. not only with regard to these branches that Ibn Serapion differs from our maps. The Pelusian arm of the Nile is briefly traced in his description, and, moreover, is described as being the main stem ('amûd) of the eastern part of the river. This was certainly not the case in the twelfth century, as is shown by the reason for making Bahr Abî el Munajjâ. It may be doubted whether the Pelusian branch was in existence, as a navigable channel at any rate, in the tenth century, when Ibn Serapion wrote, or even a century or two before. Probably Ibn Serapion's description relates to a period a good deal earlier than his own day. It cannot be treated here in further detail, but it deserves to be considered separately. It might throw some light on the Greek authorities, although there is one point in which it is certainly defective, and the text is faulty in several respects.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS. The broader divisions of the Delta were as follows:—

Er Rif and Asfal el Ard. These terms are equivalent, both, according to Ibn Duqmâq (v, 42), denoting Lower Egypt—the part of Egypt to the north of old Cairo. Severus is an example of a writer who uses Er Rîf to signify Lower Egypt, in contradistinction with Es Sa'id, Upper Egypt.

Bain er Rif was the region between the main Nile arms, and El Ḥauf esh Sharqi and El Ḥauf el Gharbi were respectively the territory east and west of the Nile. This

appears from the classification of the Kûrahs which is given in the tables.

The terminology of the Arab writers, however, is not uniform. Er Rîf and El Ḥauf are used by some of them in a different sense. Istakhrî defines (54, l. 11) El Ḥauf as the part of Egypt lying to the north of the Nile below old Cairo, and Er Rîf as the part to the south. The definition appears from Ibn Duqmâq (v, 42, l. 20) to have been copied practically verbatim by Ibn Ḥauqal; but in the printed text of Ibn Ḥauqal (106, l. 10) it comes out in a mangled form. The passage must certainly be corrected to read the opposite of what it says. Er Rîf was the centre and El Ḥauf the margin, instead of the other way round.

El Hauf alone is also used by some of the historians and geographers in a third sense to denote the part of Lower Egypt outside the Nile to the east. This limited application of the term to the district more precisely distinguished as El Hauf esh Sharqî, occurs, for instance, in the history of El Kindî and in the geography of Ya'qûbî (see Table No. 18), and it is evidently the origin of the statement in El Qâmûs that El Hauf is a place (nâhiyah) opposite Bulbais.

Finally, Ya'qûbî's classification of the Kûrahs given in Table No. 18 restricts Batn er Rîf to the eastern part of the country lying between the principal arms of the Nile.

The Kûrahs of Egypt were administrative divisions according to a system which was in force from the time of the Arab conquest up to the Fatimite period. The precise date at which they were superseded need not be inquired into here. They were related to the older nomes, but there were only twenty nomes in Lower Egypt, and the number of its Kûrahs was much greater, so that the Kûrah was a smaller division.

The aim here is to determine the correct names of the Kûrahs of Lower Egypt, and to establish their positions.

Many of the names can be identified at once, but some of them present difficulties. There is little to be got from a comparison of the different forms of the same names which occur in Arab MSS., for quite as often as not the majority is on the side of error. Sometimes a clear authority can be found for the spelling, but the most certain guide, when it can be obtained, is the form of the name in Coptic. Nearly all the Kûrahs were called after the towns which were their centres, and it is in most cases possible to identify the central towns or to give a fairly close indication of their whereabouts. Other lists of Kûrahs occur besides those that have been used. Those given by Ibn Khurdâdbih and Qudâmah (Bib. G. Arab., vi) are examples; the names are so much corrupted in the originals that the lists are not of much service for the purpose in view, and the Kûrahs are arranged, moreover, with little regard to order. The three lists which have been reproduced in Tables Nos. 15-17 classify the Kûrahs generally on the same plan, but there is a good deal of difference in detail between one of these lists and the other two. The two which resemble one another seem to represent the same original, and Khitat for its version cites the authority of El Qudâ'î. On comparing these lists, it appears that the Kûrahs were not stable divisions; some areas in one case are treated as separate Kûrahs and in the other as parts of a Kûrah, and this accounts for the varying numbers given for the total of the Kûrahs by different persons. El Ya'qûbî's list, set out briefly in roman characters in Table No. 18, differs widely from the others with regard to the classification. The first three lists, by including Daqhalah and Nawasâ in Batn er Rîf, seem to treat the mouth of the Nile by Tinnîs as more important than that by Damietta, that is, they regard the arm leading to Tinnîs as the principal eastern arm of the Nile. Why they include Sa and Shabas in El Hauf el Gharbî instead of in Batn er Rîf is a mystery. It may be

suspected that the reason is connected with a change in one of the western arms. Ya'qûbî's arrangement of the central Kûrahs in two divisions (ii, iii) and his description seem to imply that there was a branch of the Nile running north and south down the middle of the Delta. Possibly there may have been a change between his time and that of Idrîsî two centuries later.

As to the map appended, the outlines have been drawn chiefly from the $\frac{1}{100000}$ map of the P.W.D., Cairo. The official volume, called El Qámús el Jughrafi lil Quir el Misri (1899), has, as a rule, been the guide for the rendering of the modern names. This compilation contains a list of all the towns and villages in Egypt, and, except in the case of the smallest villages, the Arabic names are also given grouped under the police districts (markaz) to which they belong and accompanied by a rendering in European characters. The European rendering has not been adopted here as it stands, but it has been used to make a transcription according to the ordinarily accepted equivalents.

The following is a list of the principal books referred to in this paper and in the tables:—

La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte. Par E. Amélineau. Paris, 1893.

Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte. Par E. Quatremère. Paris, 1811.

Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Ed. De Goeje. Leyden, 1870–94.

Maqrîzî's Khitat. Bûlâq, 1270.

'Alî Bâshâ Mubârak's Khitat. Bûlâq, 1306.

Ibn Duqmaq's Intisar. Cairo, 1893.

Ibn Jî'ân's Tuhfah. Cairo, 1898.

Idrîsî, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. Ed. Dozy and De Goeje. Leyden, 1866.

Ibn Serapion's Geography. MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 23379.

Baedeker's Lower Egypt, 1895.

Abul Fedae, Descriptio Aegypti, Ed. Michaelis. Goett. 1776.

El Kindî, Governors and Judges of Egypt. London, 1912.

An indication of the dates of the mediaeval authorities whose names occur may be useful. In the summary below (B.G.) denotes writers of works included in the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. The dates in these cases and in some of the others are taken from Mr. Le Strange's *Palestine under the Muslims*.

		A.D.	A.H.
Ibn Khurdâdbih (B.G. vi) .	wrote $circa$	864	250
Qudâmah (B.G. vi)	,, c.	880	266
Yaʻqûbî (B.G. vii)	"	891	278
Ibn Serapion	,, c.	900	286
Mas'ûdî	,,,	943	332
Istakhrî (B.G. i)	,,	951	340
El Kindî	" c.	951	340
Ibn Ḥauqal (B.G. ii) .	,,	978	367
Muqaddasî (B.G. iii)	,,	985	375
Severus	,, c.	1010	400
Idrîsî	9,9	1154	548
Abû Şâliḥ	,, c.	1210	606
Yâqût	33	1225	623
Abû el Fidâ	32	1321	721
Ibn Duqmâq	,, c.	1400	802
Maqrîzî	,, c.	1417	820
Ibn Jî'ân	,, C.	1476	880

Table No. 1. Itineraries from Misr by the east bank to Zufaitah and by the west bank to Shatânûf.

Idrî	sî, p. 148.	Idrî	sî, p. 159.	PLACE WITH WHICH			
Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	Distance,	Name in text.	IDENTIFIED.			
	East bank.		West bank.	Old Cairo (Misr el 'Atìqah).			
5	المنية			Not identified.			
5	مدينة القائد			El Qâhirah (Cairo).			
		10	جزيرة انقاش	Not identified. A.			
			وانبابة	Anbâbah. A.			
5	شبرة			Shubrâ el Khaimah.			
5	بيسوس			Bâsûs.			
5	النحرقانية			El Kharaqânîyah.			
5	سروت			Not identified.			
		20	الاخصاص	El Akhṣâṣ.			
5	شلقان			Shalaqan.			
		5	ني وة	Darawah. B.			
15	زفيتة			Zufaitah. C.			
		20	شنطوف	Shatânûf. D.			

- A. Described as two towns situated between the two banks of the Nile, i.e. on an island.
- B. It will be seen that Darawah is now between the Nile arms. At the time of the itinerary it appears to have been altogether to the west of the Nile.
- C. "This village is at the head of the island where the Nile divides into branches, and the village faces the town of Shantûf (Shatânûf), which is at the head of the branch leading down to Tinnîs and Dimyât" (p. 149, ll. 4-6). "Opposite to it on the western side is Shantûf, which is a fair town" (p. 150, l. 12).
- D. The identity of Shantûf and Shatânûf is clear from Ibn Hauqal. "At the south end of (a'lâ) Shantûf, the Nile parts into two divisions proceeding northwards (ilâ asfal) and reaching the sea; and from each one of these two divisions there spring off two branches reaching the sea" (Idrîsî, p. 149, ll. 7–8). This description does not seem to agree altogether with Idrîsî's itineraries. They give two branches to the eastern arm, but only one to the western arm, unless the small channel from Samdaisâ (Table No. 4, D) is counted as a branch.

The course of the Nile over most of this section must in the time of Idrîsî have been much the same as to-day. The river seems to have taken a sharp bend to the westward at Shalaqân, which is shown by the distance given thence to Zufaitah and by the position of Darawah.

TABLE No. 2. ITINERARIES FROM SHATÂNÛF TO ALEXANDRIA.

IBN H.	AUQAL, p. 90.	Idrî	sî, p. 159.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.		
Distance, saqs.	Name in text.	Distance, mîl.	Name in text.			
	المُعريشات المُعريشات المُعريشات ترزُنوط بستامة شابور مستامة ترزُنوط منسال مستحدة ترطسا		منطوف المستطوف الم دينار الم دينار الممن جريش المدينة المجريش الموسوط المور ا	Shaṭânûf. Umm Dînâr. Ashmûn. A. Jurais. Not identified. Not identified. Eṭ Ṭarrânah. Bishtâmî. B. Ṭunûb. C. Shâbûr. En Naqaidâ. Dinshâl. Qarṭasâ. D. Not identified.		
12 16 8	ابرشي <i>َق</i> المِكْريون قرية الصِّير الاسكندريّة		الكريون قرية الصبر الاسكندرية	Barsîq. E. Karyûn. F. Not identified. El Iskandarîyah (Alexandria).		

- A. Ashmûn is called in the P.W.D. map Ashmûn Jurais. Juraish in Idrîsî looks like a mistake.
- B. It would appear that both texts are incorrect with regard to this name.
 - C. Tunût seems to be a mistake.
 - D. Qartasâ is now a part of Damanhûr.
 - E. Ibn Hauqal's text seems to be incorrect with regard to this name.
- F. Thus in El Qâmûs el Jughrafî; El Kiryaun according to Bakrî and Qâmûs. The latter is nearer the original pronunciation.

The branch of the Nile followed by these itineraries appears to represent the ancient Canopic arm, which would seem from Ibn 'Abd el Hakam (Magrîzî, i, 71, l. 8) to have been diverted by Cleopatra from a point near Kiryaun to Alexandria. It appears to be clear from Magrîzî, i, 71, 169 seq., that the term Khalîj el Iskandarîyah was limited to the part between Shâbûr and Iskandarîyah. Idrîsî (149, l. 16) indicates that this was called Khalîj Shâbûr, and calls (160, l. 7) the whole branch, from as far south as Tarrânah, Nahr Shâbûr. Khalîj el Iskandarîyah once was the principal channel. It had begun to silt up before 239 A.H. = 854 A.D. Magrîzî gives details with regard to the efforts by which from time to time it was kept open down to his day. It has now disappeared. The other portion of the Nile included in this section is shown to have followed the same course as at present.

Table No. 3. Itinerary from Babîj (Abîj) by a branch of the Nile past Farnawâ to Bilhîb.

I_{BN}	HAUQAL, p. 93.	
Distance, saqs.	Name in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
,	بَيِيج	Abîj. A.
	محلَّه بدیج	Not identified. A.
12	فرنوة	Farnawâ. B.
15	محملته مسروق	Not identified.
6	محمَّلَة ابي خراشة	Abû Kharâsh.
12	فِيشَة	Fîshâ Balkhah.
15	سندبيس	Not identified. C.
15	شنب ان م شنب ان م	Sanâbâdah. D.
10	بِلهِيت	Not identified. E.

- A. These two towns appear to have been close to one another, and to have had portions on both banks of the Nile (p. 92, 1. 16).
- B. Described as on the same bank as Babîj and Mahallat Babîj, with a portion on the west bank.
- C. The editor conjectures that this place is the same as سمديسي (Table No. 4, D), but it will be seen from the map that this cannot be the case, unless the itinerary is incorrect.
 - D. It seems probable that the vocalization in the text is incorrect.
- E. There seems to be no doubt that the correct name of this place was Balhib (or Bilhib): see Butler, The Arab Conquest of Egypt, p. 289, note. Fazârah appears to be the nearest village to the position for the site indicated by the itineraries. Dibî seems to be too far north.

The channel described here has disappeared. The distances given in the itinerary seem to be very incorrect.

TABLE No. 4. ITINERARIES FROM BABÎJ TO RASHÎD BY THE PRESENT MAIN CHANNEL.

IBN ḤA	AUQAL, p. 92.	Idri	sî, p. 161.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.			
Distance, saqs.	Name in text.	Distance, mîl.	Name in text.				
6 10 10 6	بَييج معدلة بَييج بَيَاي الصافية دَوييجِ مُول مِينَدَيُون بِلْهِيت بِلْهِيت	15 20 15 15 20 15 15 (?)	بهج ماه محلّه شكلاً اصطافية محلّة العلوي شرنبي سنديون سنديون سنديون نطوبس الرمان المحديدية المحديدية	Maḥallat Diyâi. B. Es Ṣâfiyah. C. Jamîjûn. A. Mît el Ashrâf. Surunbai. Fûwah. D. Sindiyûn. D. Not identified. D. Not identified. E. Miţûbis. Not identified.			
		1		The same of the sa			

- A. Possibly there is a mistake in the text.
- B. The name in the text of Ibn Hauqal appears to be incorrect.
- C. The name in the text of Idrîsî appears to be incorrect.
- D. At Fûwah, according to Idrîsî, the Nile divided into two branches, which formed an island called Jazîrat er Râhib. Sindiyûn was at the end of this island; from Samdaisâ, on the west bank and opposite to Sindiyûn, a small channel led to a narrow lake. This lake led to another, by which Alexandria could be approached within a short distance.
 - E. See Table No. 3, E.

The Nile here followed the existing channel. It will be observed that the distance from Surunbai to Fûwah which is given by Idrîsî is quite inaccurate, and some of the other distances do not correspond in the two authors. From Remark D and the absence of mention by Idrîsî of a channel running west of this section, it seems likely that the Farnawâ branch (see Table No. 3) had disappeared in his time.

Table No. 5. Itineraries by a branch of the Nile from Abû Yuhannis to Babîj (Abîj).

Ibn Ḥ	AUQAL, p. 91.	IDR	îsî, p. 160.	D			
Distance, saqs.	Name in text.	Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.			
6 16 14 12 10 10 10	ابو يحنس شبر والاو مَنوُف طَئدَتَا فِيشَة بدي سُلَيم البندارية محلة المحرّوم تُنيب العُمّال تبيج	Not given	منوف السفلي ثنا فيشة	Neither identified. A. Not identified. B. Manûf (el 'Ulyâ). C. Not identified. Titâ. D. Fîshâ Sulaim (?). E. El Bindârîyah. Not identified. Maḥallat Marḥûm. Qulaib Ibyâr (or Abyâr). Abîj.			

- A. The mouth of this channel according to Idrisi (p. 160, l. 16) was near Rimâl es Sunaim, and Ibn Hauqal (p. 92, l. 2) takes the first distance from Abû Yuhannis. The latter, which was probably about opposite to the former and on the east bank, was some miles above Tarrânah (Tarnût): see Table No. 2. The statement made by both geographers that the channel began opposite Tarnût is to be taken merely as a general indication.
 - B. Cf. شبرا بلولة, a village about four miles north-east of Manûf.
- C. Idrîsî's itinerary seems to be wrong here. The other Manûf, called by him (see Table No. 6) Manûf el 'Ulyâ, appears by the distances to have been considerably to the north of this one; but the name in Coptic, as well as in Arabic, indicates that Manûf el 'Ulyâ must have been to the south of Manûf es Sufiâ. The place is in any case the existing Manûf, and our map follows Amélineau (p. 251) in identifying it with Manûf el 'Ulyâ.
 - D. The text seems to be incorrect.
 - E. Fîshâ Sulaim comes on the line, but not in the right place.

The island formed by this branch and the main western arm is called by Idrîsî Jazîrat Baiyâr, no doubt a variant of Abyâr, a name for the district given by Ibn Jî'ân, who, like Ibn Duqmâq, calls the island Jazîrat Banî Naṣr. The branch as shown on the map is drawn by taking a line between places given by these two authors as belonging to the Jazîrah and those they assign to the adjacent provinces. The result agrees well with the itineraries.

Table No. 6. Itineraries of the land route from Shatânûf to El Iskandarîyah (Alexandria), as far as Rashîd.

IBN I	HAUQAL, p. 89.	Idri	îsî, p. 158.	PLACE WITH WHICH			
Distance, saqs.	Name in text.	Distance,	Name in text.	IDENTIFIED.			
12	شطنوف سُبک العبید	Not given	شنطوف سَكاف	Shatânûf. Subk el Ahad (?). A. Not identified. A.			
16	مَدُوف		مئوف العليا	Not identified. B.			
16	محلّمة صرب		محلة صُرت	Surad.			
16	صنحا		صنحا	Sakhâ.			
16	شبرامية		Ends here	Not identified.			
16	مسير			Misîr (?). C.			
, 16	سنهور			Sanhûr el Madînah.			
16	البُّحُوم			Not identified. D.			
20	نَسْتَرُوْه (على بحيرة البُشْمُور)			Not identified. E.			
10	البَرَلُسُ			El Burullus. F.			
10	إخْنا			Not identified.			
30	رُشِيد			Ra <u>sh</u> îd.			

- A. Probably the two names represent the same place. The distance given in the first itinerary makes the identification doubtful.
- B. According to Table No. 5, C, Idrîsî's itinerary should be corrected here to read Manûf es Suflâ, instead of Manûf el 'Ulyâ. Amélineau conjectures (p. 251) that Manûf es Suflâ is the same as Mahallat Manûf. The distance from Surad given in the itinerary offers a difficulty. Shibîn el Kaum, as an ancient and important town on the route, suggests itself, but there is a difficulty with regard to the distances here also.
- C. The text is doubtful, and the present Misîr is not in the right place.
 - D. See Table No. 16, H.

T. .

- E. In Qâmûs, Nastarû. Amélineau mentions that it was in existence as late as the end of the seventeenth century. It appears to have been on an island (Ibn Hauqal and Ibn Duqmâq, v, 113), approachable when the water was low by causeways. Khalîl az Zâhirî ('Alî Bâshâ, M. xvii, 7) and Abû el Fidâ (Descr. Ægypt., p. 30) both place Nastarâwah between Burullus and Rashîd. Abû el Fidâ indicates that it was by the seashore. The P.W.D. map shows for each place given in our map for Ikhnâ. It is hardly likely that can be the site of Nastarâwah, although the names are clearly connected with one another. Buhairat el Bushmûr was called later Buhairat en Nastarâwah (Tarikh Kanîsat el Iskandarîyah, cited by 'Alî Bâshâ, M. xvii, 7), and Khalîj en Nastarû (Bib. G. Arab., vii, 339) would seem to have been a name for the Rosetta branch of the Nile near the estuary.
- F. Thus vocalized in Qâmûs in accordance with the present pronunciation. The name occurs at present only in connexion with the lake, district, and strait, or Bûghâz. The position given in our map for the town is taken from Mr. Butler's map in *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

Beyond Sakhâ this itinerary is hardly intelligible. The route seems to double back over the same ground in coming from Burullus. Possibly the Sanhûr referred to may have been some place other than Sanhûr el Madînah. Tur'at Bulqînah (Table No. 10) would then have led in a much more probable direction to Burullus, and En Nastarâwah would be placed on a line between Sakhâ and Burullus on one of the islands of the lake. The distance from El Maḥallah (el Kubrâ) to Sanhûr would agree better with that mentioned in the note to Table No. 10. There seems, however, to be no evidence that there was a town called Sanhûr in the required position.

Table No. 7. Itinerary by the Nile from Zufaitah to Mît el 'Aţţâr.

IDI	rîsî, p. 150.	
Distance, mîl.	Namé in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
	رُفَيتة مُناف	Zufaitah.
25		Shatânûf. A. Shanâwâi. B.
10	قرية الشاميين } طنت	Not identified. Țanț.
15	شنوان	Shanâwâi (?). C.
12	قشيرة الابراج	Not identified.
		Asrîjah. D.
10	الصالحية	Es Sâlihîyah.
Not given	مُنية العَطف	El 'Aţf.
10	شيوجة	Asrîjah. D.
15	جدوة	Ţaḥlat Dijwâ. E.
20	منيه العطار∫	Mît el 'Aţţâr.
20	انئوهي ﴿	Not identified.
	مُنية العَطِف	El 'Atf.
10	شميرق	Mushairif. F.
Not given	انتوهي	Not identified.

- A. See Table No. 1, D.
- B. Possibly the text is not accurate with regard to this name.
- C. This comes out of place.
- D. The text seems to be wrong as to this name.
- E. There seems to have been a transposition of the first two radicals in this name, an easy variation.
- F. Probably the text should read ..., another example of transposition.

It seems clear that in some parts of the distance this itinerary goes twice over the same ground. By cutting it up as above it is made intelligible. The number of places mentioned in the itinerary which can be identified with places now on the river bank show that in general the itinerary follows the course of the Nile as it is now.

Table No. 8. Itinerary by a branch of the Nile from Antûhî to Shubrâ (el Yaman).

Idrîsî, p. 153.		
Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
	انتوهي	Not identified. A.
20	مليج	Milîj.
15	طنطة (طنطنة)	Not identified.
15	طلطي	Ţaţâ'i B.
	الجعفرية	El Ja'farîyah.
Not given	بلوس)	Not identified.
>1	السنطة	Es Sanţah.
11	ستباط	Sunbâţ.
11	ونعاص	Not identified.
,,,	شبرة	Shubrâ el Yaman. C

A. The position of Antûhî is marked by Mît el 'Attâr, to which it was opposite (Table No. 11).

This itinerary is easily followed. The branch of the Nile it represents has disappeared.

B. The text is no doubt at fault.

C. Stated to have been opposite Damsis.

TABLE NO. 9. ITINERARY BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE FROM NEAR ȚATÂI TO DAMÎRAH (KHALÎJ EL MAHALLAH).

IDR	îsî, p. 158.	
Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.
20	منية غَزال ﴿	Below Taţâi. A. Mît Ghazâl. El Hayâtim (?). B.
15 Not given	ترعة بلقينة	Bulqînah. C. El Maḥallat el Kubrâ. D.
"	سندفة أ محلة الداخل	Sandafâ. E. Not identified.
	دميرة	Damîrah.

- A. The place referred to may equally well have been the unidentified ماعدات , mentioned in Table No. 8.
- B. This place is many miles below Mit Chazal, whereas according to the itinerary the two were opposite one another.
- C. Tur'at Bulqînah is to be distinguished from Khalîj Bulqînah. On p. 155, l. 8, it is stated that Sandafâ was on Khalîj Bulqînah, and perhaps the latter was another name for Khalîj el Mahallah.
- D. El Maḥallat el Kubrâ was also known as <u>Sh</u>arqiyûn (Yâqût, 3, 167).
- E. Idrîsî mentions that Sandafâ was opposite El Maḥallah and on the east side, at the distance from it of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mil. 'Alî Bâsha M. (xii, 58) states that the former is now a part of the latter.

This itinerary follows a branch of the Nile known as Khalîj el Mahallat (Idrîsî, 158, l. 4) and is very clear. The branch has disappeared.

Table No. 10. Itinerary by canal from Bulqînah to Sa<u>kh</u>â (Tur'at Bulqînah).

aîsî, p. 158.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.	
Name in text.		
ترعة بلقينة	Bulqînah.	
دآر البقر	Dâr el Baqar. A.	
المعتمدة	El Mu'tamidah.	
متبول	Matbûl.	
صنحا	Sakhâ.	
	Name in text. ترعة بلقينة	

A. It is mentioned that this village was at the beginning of the canal (auwalih). This description is not very accurate.

This itinerary follows Tur'at Bulqînah, described as leading from the village of that name westward straight to Sakhâ (p. 158, l. 9), and it is stated (p. 158, l. 19) that Tur'at Bulqînah reached Sanhûr, which was 45 ml distant from El Maḥallat el Kubrâ. The canal has disappeared.

TABLE No. 11. ITINERARY FROM MÎT EL 'AŢŢÂR BY THE NILE TO MÎT DAMSÎS.

Idr	îsî, p. 152.	PLACE WITH WHICH	
Distance.	Name in text.	IDENTIFIED.	
ot given	انتوهى	Not identified.	
.,	مىنىية العَطّار	Mît el 'Aţţâr.	
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	منية العسل	Binhâ (el 'Asal).	
	بننه آ	Not identified.	
	اتریب	Kaum Itrîb.	
• •	جأحبر	Jamjarah.	
•	منية ألحوفي	Mît el Hûfîyîn	
	سَنيت	Isnît.	
• •	ٷڔۅڒ	Warwarah. A.	
.,	الحمارية		
,,	منية الحرون	Kafr Mît el Ḥârûn.	
.,	صعرشت الكيري	Şahrajat el Kubrâ	
	صحرشت الصغرى	Not identified. C.	
• • •	منية غمر	Mit Ghamr.	
	منية زفتة		
11	منية الفيران		
.,	دقدوس		
	منية فيماس	Not identified.	
,,	حانوت	Hânût.	
	منية اشنا	Mît Ishnâ.	
	ن مسیس		

- A. This village comes out of place.
- B. This cannot be الحمارية, in spite of the close resemblance in the name. El Hamârnah is some six or seven miles east by south of Sahrajat el Kubrâ, right away from the Nile.
- C. According to the itinerary this village was to the west of the Nile. The existing Sahrajat es Sughrâ, besides being about three miles to the east of the Nile, is a long way below Mit Ghamr, and cannot be the place intended, unless there is a mistake in the itinerary.

It can be seen that the Nile in the above section followed its present course almost exactly.

Table No. 12. Itinerary from Damsis by the Nile to Dimyat (Damietta).

Idrîs	sî, p. 154.	PLACE WITH WHICH
Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	IDENTIFIED.
		with appearable and the second control of th
	دمسیس	(Mît) Damsîs.
2	منية بدر	Mît Badr Ḥalâwah.
10	بيا	Banâ (Banâ Abû Şîr). A.
40	بوصير	Bûşîr (Abû Şîr).
	رحل جراج	Jarrâḥ.
	سمئوں ک	Mît Sammanûd.
12	مدينة سمنون	Sammanûd.
18	الثعبانية	Kafr et Ta'bânîyah.
12	عسّاس	Mît 'Assâs.
	جُوْجَر	Jaujar (Jûjar).
16	ونش الحاجر أ	Awîsh el Hajar. B.
12	طرخنا	Ţal <u>kh</u> â.
10	د ميرة	Damîrah.
18	شرنقاس	Shirinqâsh.
20	شرمساح	Shirmsâh.
20	منية العلوق	Not identified.
10	فارسكور	Fâraskûr.
15	ا بورة	Not identified. C.
13	دمياط	Dimyât D.

- A. It is mentioned that the Nile formed a small island below Banâ, and that Bûşîr was on the western arm and Rahl Jarrâh on the eastern arm. The distance of the latter from the mouth of Khalîj Shanashâ (Table No. 14) is given as 40 mîl.
- B. One of the MSS. has the reading e.g., which is no doubt the right one. Awish el Hajar is far from being, as described in the itinerary, opposite Jaujar.
 - C. Bûrah was destroyed in 620 A.H. (Quatremère, Mémoires, i, 337).
- D. The town referred to was razed in 648 A.H. (1250 A.D.) (*Khitat*, i, 223); it was to the north of the existing town, but the exact position of its site does not seem to be known with certainty (see Baedeker, 220).

The Nile clearly followed almost the same course here as it does at present; but, if the itinerary is to be relied on, it must have departed from the existing bed at Talkha and have taken a sharp bend, bringing its bank to Damîrah, now 4 miles away from the river, and back again to Shirinqâsh.

TABLE NO. 13. ITINERARY FROM MÎT BADR HALAWAH BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE TO TINNÎS.

IDF	rîsî, p. 154.		
Distance, mîl.	Name in text.	PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.	
	منية بدر	Mît Badr Ḥalâwah.	
Not given	شنشا	Shanashâ.	
24	البوهات	Not identified.	
18	سقناس	Not identified. A.	
Not given	بحيرة الزار	Not identified. B.	

A. According to the itinerary, Tanâh, which was on Khalîj Tinnîs—Ashmûn Tanâh is certainly intended—was distant 25 mll by land from this place.

Idrîsî states (p. 151, l. 14) that after the two branches of the Nile which separated below Antûhî had reunited at Shubrâ and Damsîs they flowed together a little way and then divided again, the eastern one running to Tinnîs and the western one to Dimyât. This eastern branch is clearly the one followed by this itinerary. He calls it (p. 154, l. 3) Khalîj Shanashâ. It does not seem possible that El Bûhât can be either of the two existing places called Bûhâ, or that with a can be identified with Shinfâs. One gets, therefore, only the general direction of the stream. The branch of the Nile in question has disappeared.

B. The lake referred to is described as being close to Faramâ and connected with Buhairat Tinnîs. Buhairat ez Zâr was, therefore, the eastern part of the present Lake Manzalah and Buhairat Tinnîs the western part. Abû el Fidâ (Quatremère, i, 334) alludes to this division of the lake, of which the map now shows no trace; but he calls the eastern division Buhairat Tinnîs and the western division Buhairat Dimyât.

TABLE NO. 14. ITINERARY BY A BRANCH OF THE NILE FROM TALKHÂ TO TINNIS.

Idrî	sî, p. 155.			
Distance, mît. Name in text.		PLACE WITH WHICH IDENTIFIED.		
and the state of t	طرخا	Ţal <u>kh</u> â.		
Not given	منية شهار	Shuhâ. A.		
5	محلة دسينة	Maḥallat Damanah.		
12	قباب البازيار	El Qibâb el Kubrâ		
16	قباب العريف	El Qibâb es Ṣughrâ (?). B		
15	د	Dumûh		
2	طماخ	Not identified.		
10	شموس	Ashmûn (Ṭanâḥ). C.		
20	قرية الانصار	Mît en Nașârâ.		
20	وبيدة	Not identified.		
20	بَرْمْ مَلِين	Birimbâl.		
40	غسنس	Es Satâ'itah (?).		
15	بحيرة تنيس	Not identified.		

A. Shahar appears to be a mistake in the text.

The branch of the Nile followed by this itinerary is called by Idrisî (154, l. 9) Khalîj Tinnîs. It is the present El Bahr eş Şaghîr.

B. This village comes out of place.

C. The text of the itinerary is obviously wrong here. The place intended is Ashmûn Tanâh or er Rummân, or Ashmûn (Abû el Fidâ, Descr. Ægypt., p. 31). It is mentioned by Abû el Fidâ that Ashmûn Tanâh was the principal town of the province of Daqhalah and also of El Bushmûr. The latter name is still preserved in the neighbourhood in the Maṣraf el Bushmûr shown on the P.W.D. map.

Table No. 15. Kûrahs of El Ḥauf esh Sharqî.

	•	Parallel lists (from El Qudà'i).		
Кнітат, i, 73, first list.				
		KHIȚAȚ, i, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMÂQ, v, 42.	TRANSCRIPTION.
Number of Qaryahs.	Name in text.	Name in text.	Name in text.	
65		عين شمس	عین شمس	'Ain Shams. A.
108	اتريب	اتريب	اتريب	Itrîb. B.
87	بنو	بنی	تمي	Natau or Natâ. C.
150	نما	تمى	بنا	Tumai. C.
39	بسطة	بسطة	بسطة	Bastah.
28	طرابية	طرابية	طرابية	Turâbiyah. B, D.
18	طهربي	هربيط	فرنيط	Hurbaiţ. E.
46	صا وابليل	صا وابليل	صا	Şâ wa Iblîl. F.
	(منها سنهور (?)	الفرسا	الفرما	El Faramâ.
	والفرصا	والعريش	العريش	El 'Arî <u>sh</u> .
	والعريش)	والجفارا		El Jifâr.

- A. 'Ain Shams seems to have dropped out of the first list by accident.
 - B. Thus vocalized in Qâmûs.
- C. Natau and Tumai are grouped together in El Qudâ'i's list of the Kûrahs and also elsewhere. They were clearly adjacent to one another. Natau was either the same as Şahrajat or closely connected with it (see Amélineau, 269). There are two Şahrajats not very far apart. Probably Şahrajat el Kubrâ is the one meant (see Amélineau, 409).
- D. Qâmûs adds "or Durâbiyah". The first list mentions that among its Qaryahs or villages were (a) Es Sadîr, which (Qâmûs) was near El 'Abbâsah; (b) El Hâmah: this appears from El Kindî (99, 1, 12) to have been in Sinai, and to have included in its surroundings the mountain of 'Ulâq. The mountain is mentioned in Qâmûs; (c) Fâqûs. Amélineau, p. 483, gives "Tarabia, "".
 - E. Identical, it would seem, with Pharbait (Amélineau, 330).
- F. Şâ must be Şân el Hajar. Iblîl (Ieblîl) occurs as an unidentified place mentioned by Amélineau.

El Hauf esh Sharqî contained eight, nine, or ten Kûrahs, according to the different enumerations given by the three versions. All the Kûrahs can be identified.

Table No. 16. Kûrahs of Baţn er Rîf.

Кнітат, i, 73, first list.		Parallel lists (from El Qudâ'î).			
		<u>К</u> нітат, і, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMÂQ, v, 42.	Transcription.	
Number of Qaryahs.	Name in text.	Name in text.	Name in text.		
		المجزيرة من اسفل الارض	المجزيرة من اسفل الارض	El Jazîrah min Asfal	
104	د مسیس)	دمسيس)	دمسيس	Damsîs, and	
104	ومنوف ا	ومىنوف ا		Manûf. B.	
72	تاطورة سنوف	طود ومسنوف	منوف	Tuwah wa Manûf. C.	
115	سنح	اخس	سنحا	Sa <u>kh</u> â.	
23	بيدا والافراحون	وبيدا والافراحون		Tîdâ wa El Afrâjûn. D	
24	البشروب	البشرود	البشرود	El Basharûd. E.	
12	نفرا	مقين وديصا	بقيرا	Naqîzah (wa Daişâ). F	
88	ببا وبوصير	ببا وبوصير	بوصيربنا	Banâ wa Bû Sîr.	
128	سمنون	سمنون	سمنود	Sammanûd.	
21	نوسا	بوسا	نوسا	Nawasâ.	
40	الاوسية	الاوسية	الاوسية	El Ausiyah. G.	
40	النجوم	النحوم	النجوم	En Nakhûm, H.	
		دقهلة	دقهلة ا	Daqhalah.	
13	تنيس ا	تنيس	تنيس	Tinnîs.	
10	ودمياط	دسياط	دسياط	Dimyâţ.	

- A. Presumably = Jazîrat Banî Naşr (see Table No. 5, note).
- B. The Manûf referred to must be Manûf es Suflâ, conjecturally identified by Amélineau (p. 251) with Mahallat Manûf.
- C. The town of Tuwah seems to have been the same as Talanau (Amélineau, p. 521); and the latter seems from its name to be identical with Talâ. The Manûf in question here will have been the existing town, formerly known as Manûf el 'Ulyâ.
 - D. See Amélineau, p. 504, for the spelling.
- E. The name of the town was Pisharaut (see Amélineau, p. 349). The reading adopted seems, therefore, more correct than Bashrûd or Bushrûd given by Bakrî, 179. One finds also the Arabic form البشروط By comparing the accounts of El Kindî (191-2) and Severus (ed. Seybold, 276-82) of the rebellion in the Delta at the time of El Ma'mûn, one can see that the people of El Basharûd in the one case are identical with those called by Severus the men of البسروطين, and one of the MSS. of Severus reads البسروطين for the latter. El Basharûd and El Bushmûr, if not actually identical, were closely connected with one another. It is clear from Ibn Hauqal (90, 1. 2) that Buhairat el Bushmûr represented at least the western part of the lake of Burullus; and it seems that the name may have been applied to the whole of the lake. The Kûrah of Basharûd may have been to the north and east of the lake of Burullus, which is the position indicated by Amélineau (351) for the district of Pisharaut.
- F. Naqizah is given in Qâmûs as a Kûrah of Egypt, so that the right reading seems to be established. A doubtful reading in Bib. G. Arab. (vii, 338, l. 8) indicates that عصن نقيرة was on the seashore between Damietta and Burullus. Daisâ may be the same as Daisah, which (Ibn Jî'ân, 53) was in the province of Daqhaliyah. This Kûrah has been omitted from the map.
 - G. El Ausiyah = Damîrah (Bib. G. Arab., vii, 337, 1. 11).
- H. En Nakhûm is given in Qâmûs as one of the Kûrahs of Egypt. Amélineau does not give any near equivalent. One may look at Pakhnamûn, the exact position of which is not defined, but which seems to have been in the same quarter. From the itinerary in Table No. 6 it appears that the Kûrah must have been situated between Sanhûr and Burullus. In the one mention by Kindî (116, l. 13) the men of Basharûd, En Nakhûm, and El Ausiyah join the Copts in revolt at Sakhâ, and one may conclude that it is likely that the first three Kûrahs were grouped together.

Bath er Rîf contained twelve, fourteen, or fifteen Kûrahs, according to the three different lists. Their names can all be identified, and except in one case one can determine the position more or less exactly.

TABLE NO. 17. KÛRAHS OF EL ḤAUF EL GHARBÎ.

Кнітат, i, 73, first list.		Parallel lists (from El Qudâ'î).		
<u>KHITAT, 1, 10, 11150 1150.</u>		KHITAT, i, 73, second list.	IBN DUQMÂQ, v, 43.	Transcription.
Number of Qaryahs.	Name in text.	Name in text.	Name in text.	
73	صا	صا	صا	Sâ.
22	شباس	شباس	شباس	Shabâs. A.
43	اليدقون	اليدقون ك	البتنون	El Badaqûn. B.
29	حيز اليدقون	حيزاليد قون [Ḥaiyiz el Badaqûn. C.
Not given	الشراك	النحيس) والشراك (النحيس } والشراك	El <u>Kh</u> ais wa E <u>sh</u> Shirâk, D.
8	ترنوط			Tarnûţ
62	خربتا	خربتا	خربتا	Kharibtâ.
22	قرطسا	قرطسا)	قرطسا	Qarțasâ.
49	مصيل ١	ومصيل	مصيل	Maşîl. E.
49	المليدس	والمليدسا		Malaidis. E.
	احنور	اخنا	اخنا	Ikhnâ.
17	رشيد آ	رشيد	رشيد	Rashîd.
	البحيراً)	والبحيرا	(من البحيرة)	El Buḥairah. F.
	والمحصص بالاسكندرية			(El Ḥiṣaṣ bil Iskandarîyah.)
	والكرومات			(El Kurûmât.)
	والبعل			(El Ba'l.)
124	ومدينة الاسكندرية	الاسكندرية	الاسكندرية	El Iskandarîyah.
	ومريوط	مد روط	مر يوط	Maryûţ. G.
	ولوبية ا	ارر لدىية	ر بر لونیه	
Name of the second seco		ista.		Marâqiyah. H.

A. The centre of the Kûrah has been taken as \underline{Sh} abâs \underline{esh} \underline{Sh} uhadâ', the most important of the villages called \underline{Sh} abâs, and one that is in the most likely position.

B. The name is doubtful; the transcription here follows *Bib. G. Arab.*, vi, 82. One may compare "Pidrakon" (Amélineau, 345), the nearest name to it that seems to occur. One of the towns of the Kûrah was Janbawaih (Kindî, 209, 1. 16).

C. This was evidently, from its name, adjacent to El Badaqûn. Haiyiz means annexe. There is no guide to the exact position of the Kûrah.

D. El Khais (occasionally pronounced El Khîs) is given in Qâmûs as a Kûrah of El Hauf el Gharbî. One may compare (the existing) Mahallat Qîs, Markaz Shubrâ Khît; this place does not seem to be shown on the P.W.D. map. Esh Shirâk is so vocalized in Bib. G. Arab. According to the description of the canals in Khitat, i, 170, Esh Shirâk would appear to have been situated close to the existing villages of El Quhûqîyah and Abû Kharâsh. There is a village in the Markaz of Damanhûr called El Ashrâk, but the position is not shown on the P.W.D. map. Esh Shirâk is stated by Ibn Duqmâq to be identical with Es Şafsâfsah. The latter is no longer known, but there is a village in the same Markaz called Es Şafsâfs. This also is omitted from the map.

E. See Amélineau's article, p. 243. The town of Maşîl was evidently near Fûwah. Mr. Amélineau appears to consider that Maşîl and Malaidis were identical, and that both represent Metelis of the Greeks, but the combination in Arabic of the two names seems to leave little doubt that Maşîl and Malaidis were two different towns, and Malaidis is the name that corresponds with Metelis. With this name one may compare Kafr Malît, shown on the P.W.D. map not far from opposite to Fûwah. By the description in *Khitat*, i, 170, it can be seen that Maşîl was close to Zarqûn.

F. Presumably so called from Buhairat Idkû. Amélineau's article on (El-)Beherah, p. 90, requires consideration. The name had at first a restricted signification, although it covers at the present time the whole of the region to the west of the Nile.

G. The town of this name had already been destroyed in 1376 A.D.; its ruins are still visible on the borders of the lake (Amélineau, 242).

H. Lûbiyah and Marâqiyah occupied a tract along the coast now desert, which once was inhabited and fertile. The former adjoined Maryût (Bib. G. Arab., vii, 339), and from the description of the road (Bib. G. Arab., vii, 342) it can be seen that Lûbiyah did not begin until a little west of El Kanâ'is. Marâqiyah extended up to the territory of Barqah, and to within about two barids, say 20 miles, from Sîwah (Khitat, i, 183).

El Hauf el Gharbî comprised eleven or twelve Kûrahs, according to the different enumerations. The Kûrahs can be identified fairly well, though one or two cannot be placed exactly.

Table No. 18. Kûrahs of Lower Egypt, according to the Classification of Ya'qûbî (*Bib. G. Arab.*, vii, 337–9).

I. El Ḥauf.

Atrîb (Itrîb). Bastah. Sân. 'Ain Shams. Turâbiyah. Iblîl.

Natau. Qurbait (Hurbait or Farbait).

Tumai seems to be omitted by accident. The text indicates that there were nine Kûrahs.

II. Batn er Rif to the east [sic] of the Nile.

Banâ. Sammanûd. El Ausiyah. Buşîr. Nawasâ. En Na<u>kh</u>ûm.

III. Area between <u>Kh</u>alij Dimyat and the Western ¹ <u>Kh</u>alij.

Sakhâ. El Afrâjûn. Manûf es Suflâ.

Sakhâ. El Afrâ Tîdâ. Tûwah.

The text indicates that the number of these Kûrahs was seven, so that two names are wanting.

IV. Coast Towns.

Faramâ. <u>Sh</u>atâ. Bûrah. Burullus. I<u>kh</u>nâ.

Tinnîs. Dimyâț. Naqîzah. Rashîd. Iskandarîyah.

V. Kûrahs of Khalîj el Iskandarîyah.

El Buḥairah. Maṣil. Țarnûţ. Kharibtâ. Malaidis. Qarṭasâ.

VI. Kûrahs of Khalîj en Nastarau.

Sâ. El Ḥaiyiz (Haiyiz el Badaqûn). Shabâs. El Badaqûn. Esh Shirak.

VII. Outlying Kurahs of Iskandariyah.

Maryûţ. Marâqiyah. Lûbiyah.

¹ The reading "Western" is uncertain.

XXVI

THE SECRET OF KANISHKA

(Concluded from p. 688.)

By J. KENNEDY

II

The Coinage of Kanishka

WE have considered Kanishka, so far, only as an Indian king, whose existence is revealed to us through the incidental mention of him in inscriptions and the accounts of the Yue-che (Tokhāri) given by the Chinese. And we have found that his permanent achievements were twofold. A barbarian prince, he became a convert to an alien faith, and set an example which was followed by his tribe; he also instituted an era which, although essentially Buddhist, was accepted by the Brāhmans and the Jains, and has endured to the present day. So far we might regard him merely as a prototype of many a barbarian chief of the West in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. We have now to consider him as an important figure on a much larger stage, a connecting link in the history of the earliest commerce between China and Europe. I have already brought forward direct evidence to prove that he flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C. I shall now show by two independent lines of research that he cannot be assigned to any other period. The basis of our study is the coinage of Kanishka and his successors, more particularly of Huvishka. This coinage is quite striking in its novelty.

1. These Kushans mint gold—a thing practically unknown in India since the days of Euthydemus and

Demetrius and the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.) 1—and they mint no silver, which formed the usual currency.

- 2. The growing scarcity of gold had reduced the value of silver from the middle of the second century B.C., so that the exchange had fallen to something like 11 of silver to 1 of gold. But the new gold coinage, although gold has suddenly become abundant, is struck at a still lower rate, the rate of 1 of gold to 12 of silver.
- 3. All this is startling enough; but more wonderful still, these Kushan coins have only Greek legends, although the kings who minted them held no lands outside India, and although from the time of Demetrius and Eukratides, that is to say from the commencement of the second century B.C., Greek and Scythic kings alike had put bilingual inscriptions on their coins.
- 4. As if this were not sufficient, Kanishka and Huvishka engrave the figures and the names of some thirty deities, a motley group—Hindu, Buddhist, Greek, Elamite, possibly Babylonian, mostly Zoroastrian.²
- 5. Moreover, they use for their legends a cursive Greek alphabet which was a new feature on Indian coins,
- 1 "With the exception of two or three gold coins of Eukratides, one of Menander, and, perhaps, one of Taxila, and another coin of uncertain attribution, no specimens which can possibly have been struck in India, during the two centuries previous to the date of Hima (Wema) Kadphises, are to be found in the collections of the present day" (Rapson, Grundriss, "Indian Coins," p. 17). Wema Kadphises' father, Kozoulo Kadphises, struck only copper coins.

Rapson makes Kanishka succeed Wema Kadphises, whom he dates c. 30-78 A.D. As to Kanishka he says, "The Saka era has usually been supposed to date from the abhiseka of Kanishka at Mathurā in 78 A.D.; and to this era the dates found in the stone inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva have usually been referred." Although the supposition that Kanishka instituted the Saka era has now been completely disproved by M. Boyer, a latent belief that Kanishka followed Wema Kadphises is still very general. Messrs. Fleet, Francke, and S. Lévi have always rejected it, and Cunningham originally did so, although he afterwards adopted another theory.

² Cunningham (*Coins of the Kushans*, pt. iii, p. 23 of the reprint; *Num. Chron.*, ser. iii, vol. xii, pp. 40-82) gives a list of thirty-three types.

and was further remarkable by including a certain antiquated letter to be noticed later.

The singularity of this coinage is equalled by its diffusion; it is found not only throughout Northern India and the Gangetic Valley as far as Ghāzīpūr and Gōrakhpūr, but also in countries far to the west of India: solitary specimens have been found buried in the ground in Scandinavia and Wales. Clearly all these facts have an organic connexion; we require, not a separate key to each, but a single key which will explain the whole.

Three things are obvious at the outset of our inquiry—

- 1. This coinage was struck, not to supply local wants, but for the purposes of foreign trade. For 150 years before Kanishka the local currency had been in silver and copper. The Indo-Parthians, who were contemporaries of Vāsudeva, strike silver and copper. The Satraps of Mathurā follow the rule. Before, during, and after the times of Kanishka and his group, a bilingual silver currency prevails; silver is the local currency of the bazars.
- 2. The foreign traders, for intercourse with whom this gold currency was minted, used Greek as a lingua franca; they were not supposed to understand Prākrit. Where a bilingual currency is in vogue, it is a proof that buyer and seller belong to two nationalities and speak two different languages. But where three or more different languages are concerned, it is usually impossible to represent all of them upon so small a field as that of the coins. As a rule, that language alone will find a place which is the general medium of communication; and that language in this case was Greek.

¹ There is an exception, to a certain extent, on the coins of Nahapāna: these bear Greek legends on the obverse, and on the reverse Brāhmī and Kharoshthī legends which represent two separate dialects, though not exactly two distinct languages: see, e.g., JRAS, 1907, p. 1044. In this case the arrangement was made practicable by the brevity of the legends.

3. The abundance of gold must be ascribed to a sudden and great revolution in trade. Such a revolution took place at the commencement of the first century B.C., when, for the first time in the annals of the world, the trade of China made its way to the West. The history of that trade will form the subject of a special inquiry; I shall confine myself at present to the briefest outline of so much of it as bears upon our subject.

Up to the time of the great Han emperor, Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.), the Hiung-nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, were overlords of all Central Asia from Sogdiana to Manchuria. The twenty-six "bowmen nations" of the nomads owned their supremacy; the settled peoples of Chinese Tartary were subject to them; and they pastured their herds in three out of the seven provinces of China. Wu-ti, the real founder of the Chinese Empire, engaged in a series of lifelong campaigns against them. By 121 B.C. he had driven them north of the Gobi Desert, and in twenty years more by war and diplomacy he brought all the petty states of Chinese Tartary under his authority. The "settled peoples" of Chinese Tartary were keen traders; they sent commercial embassies every year to China, and a lively trade soon sprang up. This trade followed one of two routes: it went either by Khotan across the Himālayas to Kashmir, Gandhāra, and Kābul; or the goods were carried to Kashgar and Yarkand, and thence to Sogdiana and Bactria. The former route was always open, and was the principal channel of the silk trade in the first century B.C. In the following century Kashgar and Yarkand took the lead. Whichever route the silk might take, it ultimately found its way to Syria, where it was reworked

¹ Reinaud (Relations, etc., de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale, p. 172) says: "Bien que d'origine chinoise, c'est en grande partie par l'Inde, surtout en temps de guerre, qu'elle (la soie) arrivait dans l'empire." But I think it can be shown that M. Reinaud is mistaken. It was only during the first century B.C. that the bulk of the silk trade passed through India.

for the Roman market; and silk was first seen at Rome in the last days of the Republic. Virgil, Horace, and Propertius are among the first to mention it. But although all the silk found its way to Syria, there was a great difference in the intermediaries by whom it was brought. The Iranian Bactrians and Syrians had a monopoly of the caravans which went overland between the Pamirs and the shores of the Mediterranean Sea; while the silk from Kashmir and Kābul found its way to the head of the Persian Gulf, and was then either carried overland across the desert by way of Palmyra to Syria, or transported by water to Leukē Cōmē at the head of the Red Sea. The chief traders between India and the Persian Gulf were the Mesenians. They are the principal figures in our story, and I shall speak of them at length anon.

At this point someone will probably interpose with the question: why should the silk have gone by land to the Persian Gulf, when it might have gone direct by sea to Alexandria? The history of this sea trade is the answer.

Down almost to the end of the second century B.C. the trade of the Indian Ocean was entirely in the hands of Indians, Arabs, and peoples of the Persian Gulf. Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes planted colonies on the western littoral of the Red Sea, and attempted to open out commercial relations with the African interior. But the first attempts of these Alexandrian Greeks to sail direct to India were due to private enterprise, and date from about 120 B.C. The later Ptolemies were supine and indifferent, and down to the conquest of Egypt by Augustus the trade was insignificant. "Formerly," says Strabo, "not even twenty vessels ventured to navigate

¹ Under the Empire the chief market for Indian and Chinese goods at Rome was close to the Temple of Pax.

² It was the making of Palmyra, which was already a considerable town in the latter half of the first century B.C. when Marc Antony besieged it.

³ Strabo, xvii, p. 798.

the Arabian Gulf, or advance to the smallest distance beyond the straits at its mouth." Augustus inaugurated a revolution in the trade when he conquered Egypt (30 B.C.). He seems to have devoted especial attention to the matter; he did his best to suppress piracy; and although the Arabian expedition of Ælius Gallus was unsuccessful, under the protection of the Romans a considerable trade speedily sprang up. When "I was with Gallus", says Strabo, "at the time he was Prefect of Egypt (25 B.C.), I found that about 120 ships sail from Myos-hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely anyone would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies."2 What Wu-ti had accomplished for the land trade of China with the West, Augustus accomplished for the sea trade between the Roman Empire and India. But this trade did not receive its full development until Adana or Aden, the Arab emporium, had been destroyed, probably in the reign of Claudius. It was only from the time of Claudius and Nero that the sea trade of Alexandria with India attained the dimensions of which Pliny speaks when he says: 3 "At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres, and the Arabian Peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million of sesterces, so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women." But this trade was mainly a trade in Indian commodities; silk, both raw and in the shape of yarn, was exported, it is true, according to the merchant-mariner who wrote the Periplus, from Barygaza and Barbarikon at the mouth of the Indus, but apparently

The Arabian Gulf is that portion of the Indian Ocean which lies between Arabia and India, now called the Arabian Sea.

² Strabo, ii, p. 118.

³ Pliny, xii, 84 (c. 18); McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 125. On the Roman policy with regard to this trade and the means by which it was encouraged, see an admirable account in Mommsen's chapter on Egypt in the Provinces of the Roman Empire (Eng. trans.), ii, pp. 298-302.

only in small quantities. At all times the silk trade was mainly a caravan trade by land.

The history of the silk trade is the key to the coinage of Kanishka. Kanishka's coinage shows no sign of Roman influence. Huvishka, who lived till the commencement of the Christian era, introduces the Alexandrian Serapis among the other deities on his coins. The influence of the revolution inaugurated by Augustus was just beginning to be felt. Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, who lived in the latter half of the first century of our era, show the unmistakable influence of Rome. Nahapāna, who flourished at its close, 1 confounds the Roman alphabet with the Greek.2 It is now time to turn to the traders who did affect Kanishka's coinage, the traders who spoke Greek, and who brought with them the gold, the rate of exchange, the deities, and the cursive Greek script, a script better adapted for commercial purposes than either capitals or uncials, and in common use in daily life.

In the centuries immediately preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era, two petty and semi-independent states occupied all lower Babylonia south of Apamea, and extended along the littoral at the head of the Persian Gulf. Mesene and Characene, afterwards known respectively as Iraq Arabi and Sawad, and conjointly to the Greeks and Romans as Parapotamia, had arisen out of the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire in the early days of Parthian rule. Adjoining them was Elymais or

¹ The date of Nahapāna is connected with that of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. The Periplus was written some time after the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-53) and before Trajan's conquest of the Nabatæans (A.D. 105). The opinion which dates it between 80 and 100 A.D. appears to me the true one. Compare Fleet (p. 787 above) for the bearing of the Indian data.

² Fleet, JRAS, 1907, pp. 1043-4. Dr. Fleet's detection of the presence of the letter h on Indian coins, first shown in the case of the money of Kharaosta, Kharahostes (ibid., pp. 1029, 1041), must be ranked, along with Dr. Stein's brilliant recognition of the letter san on the coins of Kanishka, among the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of those times.

Elam, part mountain and part plain, which in the early morning of the world had been the rival and frequently the conqueror of Babylonia, and which preserved its rude independence under the Parthians, as it had done more or less completely under the Seleucids and Achæmenids. Through the passes of the Zagros range, held by the Elamites or Elymæi, lay the route to the upland valleys of Persis, and so by way of Carmania to Herat, Arachosia, and the Panjab. This was the route by which Alexander the Great and Antiochus III returned from India; and it had one great advantage, for Persis, like Elymais, was generally independent of the Parthians. Thus the whole route to the south of the great desert of sand and saline marsh which occupies the central plateau of Iran, lay outside the Parthian dominions. It escaped the custom houses and the commercial jealousy of the Arsacids. Pan-ku, the historian of the Elder Han, describes the whole stretch of country from Kashmir and Kābul to Mesene as a single kingdom under the name of Wou-yishan-li.1 In civilization, manners, and the matter of coinage, he says it resembled Ki-pin, or Kashmir. Although Pan-ku is wrong in describing it as a single kingdom, he is probably right as to its general character. The hot and humid alluvial plain of lower Babylonia, where the Euphrates and Tigris unite their streams with that of the Euleus (Karun) to form the mighty flood of the Pasitigris, was a country of wheat and millet and rice, abounding in pools, and intersected by canals, where dense groves of date-palms stretched in continuous succession along the banks of the rivers to the sea.2

¹ See a note on Wou-yi-shan-li, p. 991 below.

² According to Ammianus Marcellinus these groves of date-palms were so thick that they gave the country almost the appearance of a forest. "In his regionibus agri sunt plures consiti vineis varioque pomorum genere; ubi oriri arbores assuetæ palmarum per spatia ampla adusque Mesenem et mare pertinent magnum, instar ingentium nemorum" (xxiv, 3). The Shatt-el-Arab below its junction with the Karun still has the same character: "During the remainder of its

Always densely populated, it had been the cradle of Babylonian civilization, and its earliest inhabitants, the Sumerians, and after them the Chaldwans, had for more than two millenniums carried on a rich commerce throughout the waters of the Persian Gulf. In the process of time the population became very mixed, as mixed probably as that of Babylon, which Æschylus calls a πάμμικτον ὄχλον; but at the commencement of the Christian era it was mainly Semitic - Semitic in culture if not in race. Nabatæan princes ruled the country, and Aramaic was the common speech. "Shem, the third son of Noah," says Josephus,1 "had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean." This Semitic element extended even as far as the Köphen (Kābul) River. The classical writers make Mesene to be part of Arabia, probably because the kings were Nabatæans. Mesene is the first province of Arabia, says Strabo.2 Pliny calls Pasines (or Spasines) an Arab king, "rex finitimorum Arabum." 3 And the Roman emperors assumed the title of Parthicus and Arabicus when they reached the waters of the Persian Gulf.4

But although the prevailing culture was Chaldæan or Semitic, Greeks had been settled in this region from the seventh century B.C., and Greek towns were numerous. There were two Alexandrias near the coast, a Seleucia on the Erythræan Sea, another, an important town, on the course it passes many large villages, and almost continuous belts of date groves" (Chesney, Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i, p. 61).

¹ Josephus, Antiq., i, c. 6, § 4.

³ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 139; cf. 138.

Strubo, xvi, 767: ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς ᾿Αραβιᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶν ἡ Μαικήνη. Cf. 739: μέχρι ᾿Αράβων τῶν Μεσηνῶν.

⁴ The best account of these little states is to be found in Drouin's papers in the Revue Numismatique, iii me série, vol. vii, pp. 211 ff., 361 ff., 1889; also in the Rev. Archéologique, Oct. 1884, pp. 227 ff. Pliny's Nat. Hist., Josephus' Antiq., and Lucian's Macrob. are the chief classical authorities for their history.

Hedyphon, and a third on the Eulæus. Apamea was the northernmost town of Mesene and close to Seleucia on the Tigris. Even the Elamite plain, which extended from the Zagros Mountains to the reedy swamps and mud banks of the Persian Gulf, had its Seleucia and Sosirate, Greek foundations. Throughout the country Greek was understood and still in common use at the commencement of the Christian era. In its immediate neighbourhood was Seleucia on the Tigris, the centre of Greek life in the Parthian dominions, and the greatest emporium in Asia. Not far from Seleucia were Artemita and Chala, autonymous Greek towns. Dionysius and Isidore, younger contemporaries of Augustus and famous authors of their day, were, the one certainly, the other probably, natives of Charax, the capital of Mesene, and they wrote in Greek. The coins of Characene (for only a few stray coins of Mesene and Elymais are known) bear Greek legends, and down to the time of Attambelus I (29 B.C. - A.D. 5) the Greek is good.

The main occupation of these two little maritime states of Characene and Mesene was commerce, as it had been the occupation of the Chaldeans before them. They were the Hollanders of the East, the chief carriers and intermediaries of all the world which could be reached by their ships and caravans. Their maritime trade exceeded that of Alexandria prior to its conquest by Augustus. Their ships visited the mouths of the Indus on the one hand; and they also conveyed costly cargoes to Leuke Come on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, enriching the Idumean and Nabatæan caravaners who carried this merchandise to Phœnicia and Syria. Their trade by land was scarcely inferior to that by sea; it contributed to the rise and the opulence of Palmyra. That caravans from Mesene also traded to Herat and India is not only suggested by the circumstances of the case, and by the settlement of

Semites in the country of the Kābul River, as Josephus tells us; ¹ it is clearly indicated by the fact that the coins of Characene, especially those of Hyspaosines (124 B.C.), imitate the tetradrachms of Euthydemus, while later coins of this region imitate those of Heliokles. ² The commercial connexion between the two countries was therefore of old standing; but the best illustration of the trade is to be found in the coins of Kanishka.

The chief town of this region was Mesene or Maisān. Josephus makes the Armenians, the Bactrians, the Nabatæans of Damascus, and the Mesenians—the four great trading peoples of the East—to be the sons of one common father, who was a son of Shem.³ Even in the first century B.C. the fame of Mesene, or Tiao-che, had reached the Chinese, and that at a time when no Chinaman had travelled further west than Kandahar or Herat, and very few so far. Mesene was the goal of Kan Ying's travels in A.D. 97, when Pan Tch'ao dispatched him on his famous journey to explore the western regions. It took Kan Ying over a hundred days' riding from Wou-yi-shan-li (which we may provisionally identify with Herat) to reach Mesene, and he describes its situation almost in

¹ Josephus, Antiq., i, c. 6, § 4.

² v. Sallet, Z. für Num., vol. viii, pp. 212 ff., 1881.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, i, c. 6, § 4.

^{*} Wou-yi-shan-li was the name given by the Chinese in a vague way to a large extent of country. The history of the Elder Han makes it to reach from Ki-pin to T'iao-che, i.e. from Kashmir and Kābul to Mesene, and says that in population and troops it equalled a large kingdom. The history of the Later Han says that it embraced several thousand li in superficial area. M. Chavannes conjecturally identifies it with Herat, and I have for convenience sake adopted this nomenclature. But Wou-yi-shun-li evidently included part, perhaps the whole, of Arachosia. Isidore makes the town of Alexandropolis (of which more anon) the capital of so much of Arachosia as belonged to the Parthians; and Alexandropolis was close to the Parthian boundary. When I talk of Herat I merely mean to indicate Wou-yi-shun-li, with Alexandropolis for its capital, without committing myself to any theory regarding the identification of these localities except in a very general fashion.

the words of Pliny. 1 Mesene was better known to the Roman world as Charax or Charax Spasinou.² It was one of the numerous trading towns which arose at the head of the Persian Gulf, and which decayed as the sea retreated from them.³ The immense quantity of alluvial soil brought down by the united streams of the Tigris and Euphrates causes the land to encroach upon the sea at a rate which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere.⁴ Mesene, more fortunate than most of its neighbours, lasted down to Arab times. It was "built on an artificial elevation, having the Tigris on the right, and the Eulæus on the left, between the confluence of the streams where they widened to a lake".5 Alexander selected it for the site of an Alexandreia when it was only 10 miles from the sea; and it had so many Macedonians that one-quarter of the town was named Pella.⁶ The town was frequently destroyed by the encroachments of the river. Antiochus III rebuilt it, and called it after himself Antiocheia. Nabatæan chief named Spasines or Hyspaosines refounded it permanently about the year 124 B.C.: from which time it commonly had the name of Charax or Charax Spasinou, and became the head-quarters of a Nabatæan dynasty. In Bardaisan's great Hymn of the Soul, Maisan is the place of departure for Egypt, the place of departure and of return—

"I passed Maishān, the mart of merchants of the East, And stood upon the foreign soil of Babylon; Egypt I reached."

And returning, the young Prince proceeds upon his homeward way—

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 138.

² Charax = Nagara or "town".

³ e.g. Teredon, Vologesia, Apologos (Obolla), and Hira.

⁴ It aroused the astonishment of Pliny (Nat. Hist., vi, 140).

⁵ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 138.

⁶ Ibid.: "Militum inutilibus ibi relictis Alexandriam appellari jusserat, pagumque Pellæum a patria sua, quem proprie Macedonum fecerat."

"Till Babylon was past, and I had reached Maishān, The haven of the Eastern merchants by the sea."

Maisān was still the centre of this brilliant Eastern traffic, the Alexandria of the Persian Gulf, although in Bardaisan's day the sea had retreated far away.

Between these Mesenian merchants and the Chinese. the people of Kashmir, Kābul, and Arachosia acted as intermediaries. According to the Chinese the civilization of these countries was all one; they were all given to trade; but the people of Kābul were pre-eminently traders: "ils sont bons marchands et ont des richesses privées considérables." 2 The population was Indian throughout, with a large proportion of Yavanas, especially in Kābul. The vulgar speech was Prākrit, but Greek was spoken in the bazars in the first century B.C. We have already seen that the Greeks reigned in Kābul until the closing years of that century. Alexandropolis, the capital of Arachosia, was, according to Isidore, a πόλις έλληνίς, an autonymous Greek city, in the first years of the Christian era. In its neighbourhood was another Greek town, Demetriospolis. In the Panjāb and the kingdom of Kanishka, Greek was also spoken. Had Greek not been spoken, the legends on his coins must necessarily have been bilingual. It is true that the Greek of the bazars was not of the best: it would have offended Plato's ears; there are grammatical mistakes. But a man who makes grammatical blunders is not ignorant of a language; he knows it, but he knows it badly. If, then, we find such phrases as BACIAEYC BACIAEWN KANHPKOY, we infer not that the framer of the legend was ignorant of Greek, but that his Greek was bad. We shall find 4 a similar mistake repeated sixty or seventy years later at Seleucia.5

¹ The *Hymn of the Soul*, rendered into English by F. Crawford Burkitt, pp. 18, 23.

² Chavannes, op. cit., p. 46. ³ Isidore, Mans. Parth.

⁴ See p. 1014 below.

Even Mr. Tarn, who, with the caution of a Scotchman and a lawyer, JRAS. 1912. 64

We have therefore two large commercial communities, among the most important of their time, with an ancient connexion dating from the time of the Bactrian Greeks. The one of these communities spoke Aramaic, the other Prākrit, while settlements of Greeks were common in both, and the Greek language was generally understood. Thus Greek naturally became the lingua franca, the language of commerce. We shall now see how this trade with the Greeks and Arabs of the Persian Gulf explains all the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage. I take them in order.

1. Whence came the sudden influx of gold? The gold was clearly not indigenous. In China gold was fairly abundant; the great Emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) on one occasion sent 1000 ounces of gold to the king of Ta-wan (Fergana), and 20 lb. of gold frequently formed a part of the presents conferred on the Hiung-nu. But it was silk, not gold, which the caravans brought from China. Nor did the gold come from Alexandria. All

usually admits nothing, admits that Greek was understood in Kanishka's time (JHS, 1902, p. 286). Unfortunately he adopts some speculations of Tomaschek which appear to me rather wild; and his remarks on the supposed deference paid to women in a polyandrous community will raise a smile in anyone who has seen polyandrous communities at work.

1 It is noteworthy that the incidental notices of Seneca and Plutarch, although highly rhetorical in form, confirm the view taken above as to the perpetuation of the Greek language in the Southern country between Seleucia and the Panjāb; neither of them makes the mistake of saying that it was current in Bactria or north of the Paropamisus. Speaking of the mutability of things Seneca exclaims: "Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus Græcæ urbes? quid inter Indos Persasque Macedonum sermo?" (Ad Helviam, c. 7). And he goes on to instance other Greek cities in Scythia and on the Euxine. Plutarch (De Fort. Alexandri, Moralia, ed. Didot, p. 403) says that after Asia had been conquered by Alexander Homer was everywhere read, and the children of the Persians and Susanians and Gedrosians recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides: Περσών και Σουσιανών και Γεδρωσίων παίδες τάς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλεοῦς τραγωδίας ήδον. Now all the other statements made by Seneca and Plutarch in the course of these particular declamations have a substratum of fact, and Plutarch knew a good deal about the East, and mentions the Indian king Menander. Ælian, too, had some knowledge of things Indian, and confirms this view.

the gold which came from Alexandria to India came in the shape of coin; and very little of it had reached India by the commencement of the Christian era. According to the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, the only places which exported pure gold to India were Omana and Apologos; 2 Omana, which "belonged to Persis" 3 at the mouth, and Apologos (Obolla) "situate near Pasinou-Kharax and the River Euphrates" 4 at the head, of the Persian Gulf. The gold of Arabia, whencesoever obtained, was famous in antiquity, and is celebrated both in Scripture and by the Romans and the Greeks. Gerrha, opposite the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, is supposed by some to have been a Chaldean colony, and Strabo says: 5 "The Sabæans and the Gerrhæi have become the richest of all the tribes and possess a great quantity of gold and silver: the doors, walls, and roofs are variegated with inlaid ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones." Of Havilah we are told that in that land "there is gold; and the gold of that land is good".6 The Arabians were at that time probably the richest people in the world in uncoined gold, and the only people, so far as we know, who exported gold to India.

2. Gold, because of its great value in small bulk, forms the most convenient medium of international exchange. The Mesenian traders brought gold, and this gold they were ready to exchange for silver at the rate which prevailed in Babylonia. We have no direct evidence as to what that rate might be. But we know that in matters of coinage the Arsacids, or rather the Greek towns which

¹ Roman coins, of course, are found in abundance along the western and south-eastern coasts of India, but the coins of the early emperors are not very frequent in the Panjāb. They are chiefly to be found in the topes, and appear to have been regarded rather as curios than as current coin. None of these Kushans ever restrike Roman coins; nor do I see any reason to believe that even in the time of Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises any considerable amount of Roman money reached the Panjāb.

² Periplus, c. 36.

³ Ibid., c. 36.

⁴ Ibid., c. 35.

⁵ Strabo, xvi, p. 778.

⁶ Genesis ii, 11-12.

struck coins in the name of the great king, adopted the usages of Syria.1 Now, in Syria and throughout the Roman Empire, for about two centuries, from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100, the proportionate rate of exchange between pure gold and pure silver stood as one to twelve.2 We are justified, therefore, in assuming that this was the standard rate to which the Mesenian merchants were accustomed. On the other hand, in monetary matters the decimal system had prevailed from immemorial times throughout these regions.3 The Achæmenids had adopted it and Alexander had followed their example. Twenty Medic sigli went to one gold daric; twenty silver drachmas to one gold stater. Gold, as we have seen, had disappeared from the coinage of the Greeco-Bactrian and Indian kings, but the traditional reckoning remained. Now, Cunningham fixes the weight of the didrachmas (double drachmas) issued by Menander and his successors at 148 grains.4 The gold stater ought therefore to be worth $148 \times 10 = 1480$ grains; and if the bazar value of gold was one of gold to twelve of silver, 1480 grains of silver would fetch 123.33 grains of gold. The actual weights of the best preserved Kushan gold coins are as follows: 5—

¹ Mommsen, Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, 322; also his Provinces of the Roman Empire, Eng. trans., ii, 12.

² For the relative values of gold and silver in Italy and the empire, v. Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, ii, 111 ff.; Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 299. For Greece, Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, Eng. trans., p. 27 (ch. vi). For Babylonia, Hultsch, op. cit., pp. 399 ff.

³ Hultsch, op. cit., p. 400. The history of the Later Han says that in *Ta-ts'in* or *Li-kien* (these names are synonyms and denote Syria) "avec de l'or et de l'argent on fabrique des monnaies; dix pièces d'argent valent une pièce d'or" (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 38).

⁴ Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, pt. i, p. 19. (I quote the reprint from the Nunismatic Chronicle, ser. III, vol. viii, pp. 47-58, 199-248; ix, pp. 268-311; x, pp. 103-72; xii, pp. 98-159.)

⁵ Ibid., p. 20. It is true that Cunningham elsewhere says (p. 61 of the reprint): "I refer specially to the gold coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, which agree in weight with the early Imperial aurei of Tiberius and Nero." According to Hultsch, op. cit., p. 309, n. 2, the

2 of Wema Kadphises average 123:1 grains.

11 of Kanishka 123.125 of Huvishka 123.4 21 of Vāsudeva 123.359 coins of the four kings .. 123.2

Thus bimetallism was established between the Kushan gold coinage and the silver coinage current in the bazars.

This is Cunningham's explanation, and it is obviously

correct.

But, granting this, two difficulties remain to be resolved. Why had the value of gold in proportion to silver risen from 1 to 10 to 1 to 12 since the time of Alexander? And what relation, if any, had the weight of Kanishka's coins to the Roman aurei? I shall answer each of these questions in turn.

It happened that at the time when Alexander established his gold and silver coinage, the ratio between the two metals was unusually low. Herodotus tells us that in his time silver stood to gold as 13 to 1; the Persian daries show us that the exact proportion was 13¹/₃. By 400 B.C. it had fallen to 12, by A.D. 300 to 10 to 1.2 Originally, the chief gold-mines were in Asia and Africa, and gold was in common use commercially only in Asia and Egypt. From the Greek towns of Asia the use of gold as a medium of exchange had passed to the Greeks of the

aurei of Tiberius range from 7.78 to 7.74 grammes, about 119 to 120 grains, and Nero's earlier aurei from 7.81 to 7.70 grammes, or 119 to 120.5 grains. But when Cunningham comes to determine the weight of the Kushan gold piece he selects the heavier and less worn specimens, with the result which I have quoted. Thus the only approach to identity is between the heaviest of these early Imperial aurei and the lightest of Kanishka's.

¹ Herodotus, iii, 95; Hultsch, op. cit., pp. 404, 484.

² Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, Eng. trans., pp. 27 ff. Hultsch's Metrologie gives an excellent account both of gold and silver, and of the coins current not only in Greece and the Roman Empire but in Western Asia and Egypt; v. more especially for gold pp. 172-3, 223 ff., 240 ff., 304 ff., 404 ff. See also Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, ii, pp. 108-19; iii, pp. 42-8.

mainland; but elsewhere in Europe, down to Alexander's time, its use was practically unknown. With the Roman conquest of Greece and Asia at the commencement of the second century B.C., all this was changed. After the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.) the Romans levied a crushing tribute upon Syria. In 189 B.C. the Ætolians paid onethird of their tribute in gold, being unable to pay it in silver. After this the drain of gold from Asia to Rome was never ceasing. Vast quantities were stored up in the Roman treasury, and withdrawn from circulation. 91 B.C., the year before the commencement of the civil war, 1,620,829 Roman pounds' weight of gold were thus stored in the Capitol; 2 in the time of Julius Cæsar the storage was still larger.3 Immense sums of gold also found their way into the coffers of the great nobles who acted as the patrons of the client kings and states of Asia. Despite the occasional discoveries of new gold-mines in Noricum and elsewhere, there was an increasing scarcity of gold in circulation. By the beginning of the first century B.C., the proportional value of gold had risen from 1 to 10 to 1 to 12; and at this figure it stood for the next 200 years.4 But even before the Roman conquest of Asia another cause was at work, although on a much smaller scale, to raise the price of gold. Alexander's conquests had greatly widened the area over which a gold

¹ Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine*, trans. Blacas, ii, p. 113. For the vast amounts of gold stored up in the Ærarium of the Capitol v. ibid., p. 109, and Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 300, n. 3.

² Pliny, Nat. Hist., xxxiii, 55; Dureau de la Malle, Economie Politique des Romains, i, p. 91.

^{3 &}quot;Il se montait alors à 2 milliards de francs" (ibid., p. 91).

^{4 &}quot;Das faktische Wertverhältnis zwischen Gold und Silber hat be. Griechen und Römern, soweit wir die Spuren verfolgen können, ziemlich konstant dem Zwölffachen nahe gestanden" (Hultsch, Griechische und Römische Metrologie, 2nd ed., p. 403). The standard maintained by the Roman mint from the time of Julius Cæsar down to Trajan was 1 to 11 91 (Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 42). By the time of Constantine it was 1 to 13 88. The present coinage of France and Germany is based on a proportion of 1 to 15\frac{1}{3}.

coinage was used. The gold coins of the Seleucids are comparatively rare.¹ Diodotus and Euthydemus may have obtained some gold from Siberia and Central Asia; but we have seen that after the battle of Magnesia gold practically disappeared from the coinage of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks. To prevent the growing depreciation of the silver didrachma, Menander and his contemporaries and successors raised its weight from 134.4 to 148 grains.² But even this was insufficient to tempt back the gold, which by the time of Kanishka had risen to the ratio of 1 to 12, the rate at which he struck his gold stater.³

2. The relation between the weight of Kanishka's staters and the weight of the Roman aurei, although remote and indirect, is not wholly imaginary. Julius Caesar instituted the Roman aureus. The Roman Senate minted only silver and copper. But Roman generals, like Greek commanders,⁴ occasionally paid their troops in gold, and for that purpose struck gold pieces outside Rome. The earliest coins of the kind date from 207 B.C. Sulla struck gold coins at $\frac{1}{30}$ and $\frac{1}{36}$, Pompey at $\frac{1}{36}$ of the Roman pound. In 46 B.C. Julius Cæsar as Imperator first struck gold coins in Rome itself. He fixed the legal weight of these aurei at $\frac{1}{40}$ of a pound, = 8·18 grammes, or slightly over 126 grains; and, by coining them in vast numbers, he put an immense amount of gold in circulation.

Augustus went a step farther. In the year 15 B.C. he took from the Senate the right of coining silver, and put the imperial coinage on a bimetallic basis.⁵ At the same

¹ Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 299.

² Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, p. 19.

³ We do not know the name by which the Kushan gold pieces were called. Cunningham proposes to call them gold dīnārs; but as the Kushan coinage is related to the Macedonian and not to the Roman currency, I have preferred to retain the Greek name for them.

⁴ Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, Eng. trans., p. 29; Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, ii, pp. 118-19.

⁵ Under the Julian and Flavian emperors the reduction in the weight of the aureus was always accompanied by a proportionate alteration of the denarius.

time he gradually reduced the weight of the aureus to about $\frac{1}{4^{12}}$ of a pound. His aurei therefore fluctuate. Before 27 B.C. they average from 7.95 grammes, and over, to 7.85 grammes (i.e. from a little below 123 to a little below 121 grains). After that they gradually fall to 7.80 grammes (about 120.5 grains), and this is the maximum weight down to Nero. In A.D. 60 Nero made the aureus $\frac{1}{45}$ of a pound or 7.4 grammes (115 grains=7.452 grammes); and at this it remained down to Trajan. After Trajan, gold became the only standard money of the empire; it appreciated in value; the size of the aureus was still further reduced, and the attempt to maintain a bimetallic basis was abandoned.

From this summary I draw certain conclusions. (1) The weight of the Roman aureus from its introduction in 46 B.C. down to A.D. 60 was in constant fluctuation. It varied from 126 grains to 115 grains, and except for a few years in the early part of the reign of Augustus, when there was practically no trade worth speaking of to India, it was never a close approximation to the fixed Kushan standard of 123.3 grains.

(2) The aurei of the emperors before Nero, being heavier and more valuable than those of their successors, speedily disappeared and are rarely found; whereas those of Nero and his successors are abundant.² But we have seen that Wema Kadphises lived in the latter part of the first

¹ For the history of the Imperial gold coinage v. Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, pp. 19-26; Hultsch, Metrologie, pp. 304-18. The writer in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, s.v. aurum, says: "The average of the gold coins of Julius Cæsar is fixed by Letronne at 125.66 grains, those of Nero at 115.39 grains. Though the weight of the aureus was diminished, its proportion to the weight of the denarius remained about the same, namely, as 2:1 (or rather perhaps as 2:1:1). Therefore, since the standard weight of the denarius, under the early emperors, was 60 grains, that of the aureus should be 120. The average weight of the aurei of Augustus in the British Museum is 121.26 grains; and as the weight was afterwards diminished, we may take the average at 120 grains."

² Mommsen, Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 49.

century A.D. Now, had he been the first to strike the Kushan gold stater, and had he taken the aureus for his model, he would assuredly have adopted the weight, not of the early and rare Augustan, but of the Neronian aureus. He, therefore, cannot have been the first to introduce this coinage.

(3) The weight of the Kushan gold stater remained unchanged for at least 130 years. But this was possible only as long as the ratio between gold and silver remained unchanged. And this is true only of the two centuries from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. After this the weight of the Kushan coin, supposing bimetallism still to obtain, would of necessity become gradually less, as silver fell in value.

Kanishka's gold coinage is, therefore, prior to that of Julius Cæsar. But between the two there existed a real relation, although a distant one. The Kushan coinage was based upon the Macedonian, the only alteration being that the weight of the gold stater was determined by the market value of the gold. Something of the same kind had happened in the Western world. Down to Cæsar's time the Macedonian philippos was the gold coin chiefly used for commercial exchanges. Now Mommsen,1 speaking of the aureus introduced by Julius Cæsar, says: "Son poids normal est, d'après Pline, 1/40 de livre ou 8 gr, 185. Ce poids rappelle le philippe d'or dont le poids légal était 8gr, 73, mais qui à cette époque avait déjà subi une diminution de 0gr, 2 à 0gr, 5 (about 3 to about 8 grains). On a evidemment voulu, dans l'intention de le lui substituer, rapprocher l'aureus romain de cette pièce si repandue en Orient."

"Surely," says Cunningham, "the Indian Greeks and Indo-Scythians might be allowed the faculty of adjusting the weights of their coins to suit their own wants." ²

It was not the rate of the Kushan coinage which was

¹ Hist. de la Monnaie Romaine, trans. Blacas, iii, p. 20.

² Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, p. 23.

the novelty, it was the gold which the Mesenian merchants brought; and with it they necessarily brought the ratio between gold and silver that obtained in the west of Asia.

The history of the Kushan coinage is, therefore, perfectly clear. The Achæmenids and Macedonians had coined gold, and in imitation of them, and to meet the demands of trade, Kanishka restored gold to the currency. Kozoulo Kadphises coined no gold and was never master of Kanishka's dominions. Wema Kadphises conquered them, and continued, like Kanishka, to issue gold. But to coin gold was always an imperial privilege, reserved for the monarch; and the Panjāb was ruled by Tokhāri viceroys, who, as long as they were subordinate, issued no gold. When they became independent, and struck their own coins, all knowledge of Greek had disappeared, and the die-engravers confined themselves to senseless imitation.

I would make one remark here before going farther. I have said that the coinage of gold was an imperial privilege, an assertion of supreme authority. This idea, which arose with the Achæmenids, had become the universal rule throughout the Græco-Roman world, and the Roman emperors regarded the coinage of gold as one of their most important prerogatives. Similar ideas prevailed throughout the East, The Arsacids, strictly speaking, did not coin at all; and the Greek towns in the Parthian Empire minted only silver or copper. In India the Kushans alone, and after them the Guptas, issued a gold coinage; and both Kushans and Guptas claimed and exercised a supreme overlordship.

Now, the coins of the Kadphises dynasty illustrate how closely the minting of gold was connected with a claim to imperial power. Of Kozoulo Kadphises we have only copper coins, and the only title which they give for him is one which is presented, in the genitive, as yavugasa, yaüasa, in the Kharoshthi legends, and as ZAOOY in one of the Greek legends: this title, yavuga, yaüa, is

the Turkish title which on p. 669 above I have given, from Chavannes, as *jab-gou*, but which is better transliterated by *žab-gu*: it denotes a 'chief' or 'prince', something less than a supreme king.¹ On the other hand, Wema Kadphises, from whom we have gold as well as silver and copper coins, takes the full imperial titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Trātāra, and BACIΛEVC BACIΛEWN MEΓAC, sometimes with CWTHP added before MEΓAC.

3. It was from Babylonia and Mesene that Kanishka derived the greater part of his pantheon—a pantheon perhaps without an equal, until Heliogabalus in his youthful extravagance assembled all the gods of the empire on the Capitol at Rome to do homage to the black stone of Emesa. This pantheon of some thirty deities is confined to the medals of Kanishka and Huvishka.2 Vāsudeva figures only the goddess Nanaia or Nana, Ardokhsho, and the Indian Oesho or Siva. The decline of the Hellenic and the increasing preponderance of the Oriental element are apparent throughout the series. Kanishka has Helios, Salene [sic], and Hephaistos on his coins; but these have lost their Hellenic significance, and are obviously Greek names for Babylonian or Iranian deities, since Selene is represented as masculine.3 Herakles is the only Greek

² For notes on these deities v. Stein, IA, 1888, pp. 89–98; Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans* (reprint), pt. iii, pp. 75 ff. For other references, Rapson, op. cit., p. 18, par. 73.

I For the identification of yaruga, yaüa, with žab-gu, see Marquart, Ērānšhahr, p. 204. I am indebted to Dr. Fleet for this. He recognized the identity of the two titles from my mention of jab-gou on p. 669: but, thinking that amidst all that has been written on these subjects someone would probably have already pointed it out, he consulted Mr. Allan, who gave him the reference which he has passed on to me. The identification seems to have been made partly by Hirth, partly by Gutschmid, and then fully by Marquart. As Marquart wrote in 1901, it is surprising that this interesting point has passed unnoticed in later works dealing with the Indo-Greek coins and their Indian legends.

³ Sin, the great Babylonian moon-god, is masculine, and is called Lunus by the Latin writers. Caracalla was murdered on his way to pay his respects to the god Lunus at Carrhæ: "Cum... Carras Luni dei gratia venisset" (Spart. Carac. 6).

deity who figures on the coins of Huvishka, and Herakles is the commonest type on the silver coins of Characene. Both Kanishka and Huvishka have Mithra and Mao or Manao Bago, the Persian gods of the sun and moon, as well as various Iranian gods of the elements—earth, air, fire, and water; Huvishka adding largely to the number. Huvishka also gives us Sarapo, i.e. the Alexandrian Serapis. The Elamite Nanaia or Nana has a prominent place on the coins of all the three; so has the Indian Oēsho (Śiva). Kanishka, as the patron of the Buddhists, has Buddha the Śākya Muni, and Huvishka adds Śiva's son, Mahāsena or Skanda-Kumāra. Various other deities, with uncouth names not easily identified, figure on the coins.

It is obvious at a glance that this pantheon had nothing to do with the religion of the Kushans. Like the Hiung-nu and other members of the Turki race, the Yue-che were doubtless animists when they pastured their flocks on the borders of China; they must have abounded in shamans and diviners, as did all the Turki tribes from the Black Sea to Manchuria; and when they moved westwards they were ready, like their neighbours, to adopt any higher religion that they met with. At an early period of their history Buddhism took possession of them. But so far as I know, none of the Tokhāri tribes, even in Bactria, were ever Zoroastrian. Nor were Zoroastrians numerous in the Panjāb. Alexander found a colony of traders at Taxila who exposed their dead to the vultures,2 and who must have been Bactrians, since at that time this practice prevailed only north of the Hindu Kush. A similar colony existed in Kābul. But Zoroastrianism never took root in these regions, and the exuberant Zoroastrianism of the Kushan coinage had no reference to local cults.

Nor had it much reference apparently to the Zoroastrianism of Bactria. For, considering the medley

² Strabo, xv, 714.

¹ Sarapis is a common variant for Serapis in inscriptions.

of the gods on the coins, we should have expected Scythic as well as Zoroastrian deities, if Kanishka had taken over any northern mythology. Instead of this being the case, Sapal and the other Scythic gods are conspicuously absent.

On the other hand, the Zoroastrianism of these coins is at once a popular and an old-fashioned religion. We have no representations of Ahura Mazda, or of fire-altars, or any other mark of official Zoroastrianism. The gods are often obscure: they cannot always be identified: they are occasionally out of date; Mao, the moon-god, for instance, retired at an early period into the background of Iranian mythology.¹ Now, there are various marks by which we can see that this motley pantheon came from Babylonia and Mesene.

(1) Its syncretism—a syncretism, not of the philosophic, but of a popular kind. This syncretism is marked in the case of Helios, Selene, and Hephaistos. They are not Greek divinities at all, but popular indigenous divinities under Greek names and a Greek disguise; in other words, these Greek gods are coefficients of the indigenous ones, as is the common belief of the vulgar. Babylonia, with its mixed populations, had been for centuries the exchangemart of the popular religions, and this process was in full swing at the commencement of the Christian era. Akkadian deities had become Semitic, and had undergone a further change when they passed to Iran. The schools of the Chaldwans still existed, and cuneiform writings were still studied in the first century A.D.2 According to Anz, Babylonia was the native home of Gnosticism,3 and it was the home of Mani. Through Babylonia the name of Buddha first reached Europe. What the Zoroastrianism of Babylonia may have been in the days of Kanishka, it is impossible to say; but the Parthian capital was at Ctesiphon, on the opposite bank of the Tigris from

¹ Tiele, Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions, p. 171.

² Anz, Ursprung des Gnostizismus, pp. 60-1. ³ Ibid., pp. 61 ff.

Seleucia; and the Parthians were zealous propagandists of the exposure of the dead and the worship of the elements -practices which prevailed north of the Paropamisus, but which were unknown to Darius and to Xerxes. And we know from the remains at Nippur that the Parthian influence was great, and that it was obscurantist.² But it was in Persia that this later Zoroastrianism took the firmest root, and developed into the Parsiism established under the Sassanians. A good deal of the popular Zoroastrianism of Persia proper is probably represented on the coinage of Kanishka. However that may be, Babylonia was pre-eminently the country where the gods of every land were to be found and where they syncretized. The names of the kings of Characene form an admirable example of this admixture of cults. In Spasines or Hyspaosines, in Attambelus and Abinerglas, we have Babylonian deities, Sin and Bel and Nergal. Sogdonaces, Apodaces, Meredates are Persian; Tiræus recalls the planet Mercury (Tir), or Tistrya, the deified genius of the dogstar; Binega is Elamite or Assyrian; Maan Nabatæan; and Theouneses has a Greek look, but is probably Aramaic.3

(2) Still more significant is the Sabæan and astral character of Kanishka's pantheon; indeed, Cunningham has classified all the gods according to the planetary system.⁴ Now, Babylonia was the native land of this sidereal cult, and from Babylonia it spread to the neighbouring Arabs and especially to Harrān. The Babylonian

¹ The worship of the elements was very old in Babylonia. Ea of Eridu was the god of the river as well as of the sea; his consort Davkina was "the lady of the earth" (Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 139). "The winds were also worshipped; the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia paid a special worship to the winds." The cult of the god of the air and wind "belongs essentially to the Semitic period" (p. 199).

² Peters, Nippur, vol. ii, p. 396, and in detail elsewhere.

³ I have taken this list from Drouin, Revue Numismatique, III^{me} série, vol. vii, p. 375, 1889.

⁴ Cunningham, Coins of the Kushans (reprint), pp. 75 ff. (Num. Chron., ser. III, xii, pp. 98-159).

Bel was the inventor of sidereal studies, says Pliny.¹ According to Diodorus the Chaldeans surpassed all men in astrology.2 Every city had its own sun-god and moon-god, and even in Akkadian times the planets were worshipped. So also the stars. "In the 'Observations of Bel' the stars are already invested with a divine character. The planets are gods like the sun and moon, and the stars have already been identified with certain deities of the official pantheon." 3 The identification of the planets with the great gods became a leading feature of Chaldwan theology. Hymns to Samas, the sun-god, are numerous; Sin, a male deity like the "Salene" of the Kushan coins, was the moon-god; Ishtar was the goddess of the morning and the evening star; Marduk was associated with the planet Jupiter, Nabu with Mercury, Nergal with Saturn and Mars.4 The more the original features of the great gods disappeared, the more astral they became. "The Sabæanism of the people of Harran in the early centuries of the Christian era was no survival of a primitive faith, but the last echo of the priestly astrotheology of Babylonia."

(3) Along with the syncretistic and Sabæan divinities of Babylonia, the Mesenian traders brought the cult of a special goddess, who had a fair chance of being naturalized in India. Nanaia, or Queen Nana as she is sometimes termed, is the most conspicuous as well as one of the commonest figures in the Kanishka pantheon. She appears on the best executed and therefore presumably the earliest coins of Kanishka, and she is, with the exception of a related divinity, Ardokhsho, the only foreign deity figured by Vāsudeva. Huvishka kneels before her; he places her beside the Indian Oēsho, and his legend in

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 121. ² Diod. ii, 31.

³ Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 400.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 402. On the whole question v. Sayce, pp. 396-402, and Anz, op. cit., pp. 64 ff.

this case bears an Indian title in Greek characters.1 Nor was the cult of Nanaia entirely confined to the Kushans: the Indo-Scythic Sapaleizes also puts her on his coins.2 Now, Nanaia was par excellence the great goddess of Elymais. The second book of Maccabees (chap. i, v. 13 ff.), in describing the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to carry off the treasures of her temple, gives her her right name; but Josephus, describing the same event, calls her Artemis,3 and this is the name by which the classical writers usually mention her. She is represented as a sceptred queen, with a crescent on her head and a sword at her side; or, still wearing the crescent, she lets fly an arrow from her In either case the representation was probably borrowed from the Greek Artemis. Her temple was called Azara, and was very famous. "Dianæ templum augustissimum illis gentibus," says Pliny.4 The riches of Nanaia's

¹ Cunningham, Coins of the Kushans, pl. xxiii, fig. 2.

² Cunningham, "Coins of the Sakas, Class C" (reprint), p. 56, and pl. ix, No. 9: Num. Chron., ser. III, vol. x.

³ Josephus, Antig., xii, c. 9, § 1. There is a good article on Nana or Nanaia in Roscher's Lexicon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie. The goddess of Elymais was a local form of the Babylonian Nana, the goddess of the spontaneous fertility of nature. She was also called Nin-ka-si, "the lady with the horned countenance," and was the wife of Anu, the "spirit of the heavens" (F. Lenormant, Chaldwan Magic, Eng. trans., p. 149). The lunar character of Nana was therefore always prominent. chief seat of Anu and Nana worship was at Urukh. Kudur-Nakhunti carried off Nana's image to Susa, and Assurbanipal boasts that he brought it back 1635 years later. Tiglath Pilesar in 745 B.C. sacrificed to Nana as the mistress of Babylon. Her fame and her worship extended to Asia Minor, for in late Phrygian and other inscriptions we have various persons who bear her name; and in an inscription of Roman times from the Peiræus, Nana is given as an epithet of Artemis. She had a generic resemblance to Ishtar, Astarte, Anahit, and others, but is not to be confounded with them. In later times, perhaps after the removal of the figure from Susa by Assurbanipal, the fame of the Elamite Nanaia eclipsed that of the Babylonian Nana. (xxxi-11), Strabo, and others always call the Elamite Nanaia Artemis; Pliny calls her Diana. Gutschmid and Wroth in describing the campaigns of Antiochus Epiphanes and Mithridates I always rightly call her Nanaia.

⁴ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 135; Strabo, xvi, 744.

shrine awakened the cupidity of kings. Antiochus III lost his life in attempting to rob the Elamite temple of Bel. Antiochus Epiphanes was ignominiously routed in an attack upon the temple of Nanaia. The Parthian Mithridates I, warned by the failures of the Seleucids, led an overwhelming force against the Elymæi, and carried off 10,000 talents, about two millions sterling. Nanaia is occasionally represented as riding on a lion, and hence, possibly, her association with Oēsho (Śiva), who presides, like Nanaia, over the wild luxuriant growth of the jungles and all that lives in them. She was a goddess with a great personality, and her fame and her worship continued to be great even in Sassanian times. In the Persian martyrologies she is styled "the great goddess of the whole earth".

(4) We have seen that the gold, the rate of exchange, and the deities of Kanishka came from the Mesenians and other traders of the Persian Gulf. From the same quarter he derived his peculiar Greek alphabet. It is remarkable in the first place because it is a cursive script, quite a new thing on the Indian coins. And a most notable feature in it is the use of a letter which was a standing puzzle until Dr. Stein solved the riddle, and proved it to represent the sound sh, and to be a variant of the Doric sibilant san. Now, this very letter reappears on a coin of Characene in the Berlin Museum. The coin is rude; it dates from the middle of the second century A.D., and belongs to a time when the use of Greek had practically, if not wholly, disappeared. I give an illustration of it from

¹ Strabo, xvi, 744: 'Αντίοχον μὲν οδν τὸν μέγαν τὸ τοῦ Βήλου συλῶν ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ἀνεῖλον ἐπιθέμενοι καθ'αὐτοὺς οἱ πλήσιον βάρβαροι. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνω συμβάντων παιδευθεὶς ὁ Παρθυαῖος χρόνοις ὕστερον ἀκούων τὰ ἱερὰ πλούσια παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὁρῶν δ'ἀπειθοῦντας, ἐμβάλλει μετὰ δυνάμεως μεγάλης, καὶ τό τε τῆς 'Αθηνῶς ἱερὸν εἶλε καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος, τὰ 'Αζαρα, καὶ ἦρε ταλάντων μυρίων γάζαν. Mac. ii, 1, vv. 13 ff.; Josephus, Antiq., xii, 9, 1; Polyb. xxxi, 11, describe the abortive attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes.

² Cunningham, Coins of the Kushans, pl. xxii, fig. 19.

³ Ind. Ant., xvii (1888), p. 97.

a cast, to scale about 2.0. Von Sallet says:¹ "Longperier (Revue, 1874, pp. 136-43) has published coins now in Paris with the ostensibly certain reading Obodas for the king's name, and the dates HNY, EY, HOY, = 458, 460, 478 (A.D. 146-66). Our specimens belong to the same series, but no way confirm Longperier's readings: v. Sallet, Zeit. f. Num., iii, 250 ff., where ObAB⋝ is wrongly put for OpAB⋝." And in the representation of the coin given by von Sallet we have the legend BAC OpAB⋝. He also gives two other issues, on which



the Greek is either blundered or unintelligible. Von Sallet then continues: "The king's name is therefore Orabazes or Obodius, not Obodas. The rudeness of these legends, and the complete confusion of the Greek, make certainty impossible" ("Bei der Rohheit dieser Aufschriften und der gänzlichen Verwilderung des Griechischen ist mit Sicherheit nichts zu sagen," p. 216). Von Sallet was writing in 1881, seven years before the value of the p had been proved, and he therefore read it as rho according to the custom of the time; but he took especial

¹ v. Sallet, "Die Münzen der Könige von Characene": Zeit. f. Num., viii, p. 215, 1881.

care to print correctly what is on the coin, and he shows a \triangleright , i.e. a san. The Greek alphabet, therefore, survived in Characene after the Greek language had died out. But in Kanishka's time the letter \triangleright , san, must have been in common use in Characene; and it was doubtless from Characene that Kanishka's die-engravers got it.¹

How a Dorian alphabet came to be current in those regions is another question. Kanishka could scarcely have derived it from the Cretans who founded the town of Asterusia in Kābul, or from the Achæans who had a colony in Aria, and were apparently numerous in the Far East. This is not probable in itself, nor would it account for the use of the Dorian alphabet in Characene. In the archonship of Euclid, 403 B.C., the Athenians adopted the Ionian alphabet, and all the other states of Hellas followed their example.2 An antiquated character such as the Doric san, which we find with the value sh on the coins of the Kanishka series, can only have survived in outlying regions far from the centres of Greek life. But this was precisely the condition of the Greek traders, mercenaries, and prisoners of war, who had settled in Babylonia in large numbers long before the age of Alexander. We can trace them there as far back as the seventh century B.C. Among these settlers there must have been a considerable number of Peloponnesians and others of Dorian speech. We are also told that certain Arab tribes, although inimical to the Greeks in general, were friendly to the Peloponnesians and Bœotians, who must therefore have been well known to them. The Greeks of Babylonia were given to trade; and traders

² Taylor, The Alphabet, ii, p. 49.

¹ The British Museum possesses a coin of this king with the legend OPAb[=]/TAP[=]PQO. I have to thank Mr. Allan, and also Dr. Regling of the Berlin Museum, for casts of these coins. This is not the only service for which I have to thank Mr. Allan. He furnished me with extensive extracts from the catalogue of the find-spots of Greek coins in India which he has under preparation.

are a most conservative body of men, who frequently employ a script more or less peculiar to themselves. Hence, I think, the survival of antiquated forms of the alphabet among the usages of the Greek mercantile class in Babylonia. But all this is a matter of conjecture. What is certain is that Kanishka's alphabet was known in Characene.

TIT

Kanishka and the decadence of Hellenism in the Far East

The disappearance of Hellenism in the Far East is intimately connected with the problem of Kanishka. Greek was understood, as we have seen, in Kanishka's dominions; Yavanas ruled in Kābul up to, or almost up to, the commencement of the Christian era; a quarter of a century later Alexandropolis in Arachosia was still an autonomous Greek city.¹ If we can determine the time about which Hellenism disappeared in these regions, we have a posterior limit for all theories regarding the date of Kanishka.

The barbarism of the invaders from Central Asia, and the consequent isolation of the Greek colonists, were the main factors in the extinction of Hellenism in the East. Euthydemus had warned Antiochus III that this would be the result if the Greek kingdom of Bactria were destroyed. In this case, said Euthydemus, "neither of them would be safe; seeing that great hordes of nomads were close at hand, who were a danger to both; and that if they admitted them into the country . . . it would be certainly barbarized." ²

But although Parthians and Scyths overthrew the rule of the Seleucids and the Greco-Bactrians, the end was long delayed. As long as the Greek cities of Babylonia and Mesopotamia were free, as long as Greek princes ruled in Kābul, Hellenism survived, although moribund. But

¹ Isidore, Mans. Parth.

² Polyb. xi, c. 34, trans. Shuckburgh.

its communications with the West were impaired, and immigration had almost entirely ceased. The Arsacids when at the height of their power were Philhellenes; Greek was understood at their courts, and Orodes (57-37 B.C.), for one, patronized the Greek theatre, while Greek was apparently allowed a secondary place in public use alongside the Persian language.1 But throughout the first century A.D. the Parthians were distracted by internal dissensions, and in a state not far removed from anarchy. At the commencement of the century the rule of the Greek princes of Kābul was extinguished. The degradation of the legends on the coins,2 and the degeneracy of the pottery in Babylonia,3 reveal the growing barbarism of the time. If we can determine when Hellenism became extinct in Seleucia, which was the centre of Greek life, we may be sure that it had already disappeared in the remoter provinces.

Now, the history of Seleucia is fairly well known. From A.D. 36 to A.D. 43 it was in a state of revolt from the Parthians. Tacitus describes it at that time as a "civitas potens, septa muris, neque in barbarum corrupta, sed conditoris Seleuci retinens". And still later the elder Pliny speaks of it as "libera hodie, ac sui juris Macedonumque moris". Its sack by Trajan in A.D. 117 was the beginning of the end. In A.D. 165 the generals of L. Verus again sacked and burnt it down on account of the alleged treachery of the inhabitants. What remained was destroyed by Septimius Severus (A.D. 198) when he took Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the Tigris. Only the suburb of Coche was left, to become in after times the seat of the Nestorian Maphrian,

¹ Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire, Eng. trans., ii, p. 12.

² Ibid.

³ "With the Parthian period the decadence of the pottery manufacture is marked" (Peters, *Nippur*, ii, p. 396).

⁴ Tacitus, Ann., vi, 48. ⁵ Pliny, Nat. Hist., vi, 122.

⁶ Capitolinus, L. Verus, c. 8.

and the meeting-place for various Oriental ecclesiastical councils.

But barbarism had set its mark on Seleucia long before Trajan sacked it. The Greeks were a mere handful among a population of 600,000. The Adeiganes who formed the Council of Three-hundred, were called by a name which has not been explained, but which is certainly not Greek. The number of Greeks of pure descent must have been very few; the great majority were half-breeds; and we meet with Greek and Babylonian names in the same family.2 The Parthians were jealous of communications, political or commercial, between their Greek subjects and the subjects of the Roman Empire.3 Polybius has told us what he thought of the native Greeks, the "mean whites" of Alexandria; 4 and the Greeks of Seleucia were in much worse case. By the middle of the first century of the Christian era, isolation and the prevailing anarchy began to tell. On the coins of Gotarzes (A.D. 41-51) we meet with exactly the same grammatical blunder which we have seen in the legends of Kanishka: BAC[1] AEWC BAC[I] AEWN APEAKOV VOC [sic = viós] KEKAAOY-MENOC APTABANOV TWTEPZHC. 5 The Greek on the coins of his rival, Vardanes I (A.D. 41-5), is sometimes

¹ Polyb. v, 54. Polybius says the magistrates of Seleucia were so called.

² e.g. Antipater is the father of Anu-ahe-iddin, and Diocles the son of Anu-uballit-su; v. Anz, *Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, p. 62, n. 1, where the authorities are cited.

³ Even the Chinese complained that the Parthians prevented them from direct intercourse with Syria (Chavannes, Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou, p. 39). Herodian, iv, 10, says that the fabrics and spices which came through Parthia, and the metals, etc., exported from Rome, were the subject of a "secret and illicit traffic". Under the Sassanians the trade was jealously regulated.

⁴ Polyb. xxxiv, 14: "A personal visit to Alexandria filled me with disgust." Regarding the "mean whites" he says: "Though they are now a mongrel race, yet they were originally Greek, and have retained some recollection of Greek principles."

⁵ Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, p. 165 [Catalogue of Greek Coins in the B.M.].

scarcely intelligible. Gotarzes' successor, Volageses I (A.D. 51-78), commences the use of bilingual legends. After Trajan's sack of Seleucia bilingual legends became the rule; and before the end of the second century A.D. the Greek of the coins is often barbarous or unintelligible.

What happened at Seleucia happened at an earlier date in the surrounding districts. The autonomous Greek city of Artemita, some 36 miles from Seleucia, had also an Aramaic name, "Chalasar," by the beginning of the Christian era.³ In Characene Greek rapidly disappeared. We have seen that at the commencement of the first century A.D. Mesene possessed two Greek writers of distinction.4 The Greek on the coins of Attambelus I (29 or 27 B.C. - A.D. 5) is good; after that it deteriorates. Attambelus II (A.D. 51-60) is the last to use Greek legends which are always intelligible, and his coins are rude. After him the coins of these kings become rare, and the metal is debased. On the coins of Theouneses (A.D. 109-19) the legends are incomplete. I have already mentioned the barbaric coins of Oshabazes (A.D. 146-66). From A.D. 138, according to Drouin, we have Aramaic legends, and the Greek letters become a mere jumble.⁵ In the case of the Arsacid coins also, Aramaic inscriptions are habitual from the reign of Mithridates IV (c. A.D. 130-47). The use of Greek, which had long been declining, must have ceased in lower Babylonia and Characene by the end of the first quarter of the second century. After that only its alphabet and its memory remained. In Seleucia it probably lasted a little, but not much, longer. Trajan's sack of the city must have been especially fatal to the Greek

Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia, p. 156, n. 2.

<sup>Op. cit., p. lxxvii.
Isidore, Mans. Parth.</sup>

⁴ One of these, Isidore, understood Aramaic, for he occasionally gives in Greek the translation of an Aramaic word, e.g. he translates φάλιγα by μεταπώρινον.

⁵ v. Sallet, Zeit. f. Num., viii, pp. 212 ff., 1881; Drouin, Rev. Num., III^{me} série, vii, pp. 211 ff., 1889.

magistracy, the Adeiganes, and to the Hellenic class in general. Henceforward Ctesiphon, which had long been the rival of Seleucia, took its place.¹

Yayanas were to be found all over the North-Western Provinces of India as far as Mathurā and the Jamnā; but their chief seats were in the Rāwal Pindī District, Kābul, and Arachosia; also in Kāthiāwār and the region of the lower Indus. We have seen that Greek kings held Kabul to the end of the first century B.C. It is possible that Greek princes also ruled in the maritime districts about the Indus delta until the Indo-Parthians took the country; 2 but this is a point on which we are ignorant. During the first half of the following century (A.D. 1-50) the Indo-Parthians made themselves masters of a great part of the Yavana country, Arachosia, Kābul, and the Indus Valley; and the Greek of their coins is good. Hermæus, the friend and ally of Kozoulo Kadphises, was the last Greek princeling in Kābul. His portrait proves him to have been a degenerate.3 His queen Calliope, however, may have been a pure Greek, possibly a slave-girl like Musa Urania whom Augustus presented to Phraates IV (38-2 B.C.). We have no portrait of her; and we merely know that she follows a Western fashion in the name which she assumes.4 Thus, up to the middle of this century there are indications, though slight ones, that some communications with the

¹ Doubtless the use of Greek lingered among individual families long after it had ceased in the bazars, but the only instance I am acquainted with is John the Persian, "Bishop of the Church throughout Persia and Great India," who attended the Council of Nicæa and signs his name in Greek. Nothing else is known about him. Ἰωάννης Πέρσης τῆς ἐν Περσίδι πάση καl μεγάλη Ἰνδία. But John was a Christian and subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, and need not have learnt Greek in Persia at all.

 $^{^{2}}$ The legends in the Mahābhārata seem to indicate that this was the case.

^{3 &}quot;Le dernier des rois grecs, Hermæus porte les traces visibles de la caducité de sa race; sa face blême et émaciée est bien celle du rejeton dégénéré d'un pouvoir appelé de disparaître" (Ujfalvy, Les Aryens etc., p. 71).

⁴ Wroth, op. cit., pp. xl-i.

larger world of Hellenism still existed, and that Greek was understood. On the other hand, the Hellenic element was evidently being submerged. It must be remembered that all the silver coinage—the coinage for use in the local bazars—was bilingual; that the Greek on some of Kanishka's coins was already ungrammatical; that the Yavanas, with scarcely an exception, were mongrels by birth; and that those of them who appear in inscriptions bear native names; ¹ that, moreover, the Yavanas were as mixed a race as the modern Goanese—slaves and adherents of every sort who had adopted Greek ways being included in their number, so that we hear of white and black Yavanas, like the white and black Jews of Cochin: if we remember all this, we shall not be inclined to rate the Hellenic ethos of these Yavanas very highly.

When the traders from the Persian Gulf ceased to speak Greek, and the last of the Greek princes ceased to rule, the isolation of the Yavanas was complete. After the time of Hermæus, the bilingual coins of the later Indo-Parthians, of Kozoulo Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, and of Nahapāna, are the only proof we have that Greek was understood. These coins carry us down to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. But Nahapāna's legends show how the Greek alphabet was becoming confounded with the Roman, and was fast falling into disuse.² Probably the Greek merchants of Barygaza who used the coins of Apollodotus and Menander in the time of the *Periplus*, were the last of the Yavanas who had any knowledge of Greek, or spoke it as a living language. After this time the Greek of the coins is meaningless imitation.

The disappearance of Greek as a spoken language about this time is negatively proved by three contemporary or nearly contemporary witnesses. The author of the

² Fleet, JRAS., 1907, pp. 1041 ff.

¹ The only exception is a certain Theodore in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 (A.D. 56).

Periplus visited India between A.D. 80 and 100.1 Kan Ying made his celebrated journey to Mesene in A.D. 97, and he passed through India, Kābul, and Arachosia on his way. Ptolemy, who wrote his Geography about the middle of the second century A.D., had an excellent knowledge of the country west of the Jamna, derived from his native informants in Alexandria. None of the three mention the Greeks or the use of the Greek language; yet it would have been of particular interest to Ptolemy, or the merchant-mariner of the Periplus, had they heard of such a thing. It is scarcely possible that the author of the Periplus, who mentions a handful of Greeks at Socotra, and tells us that Greek was understood at Adule and spoken by the Abyssinian king, should have failed to mention the existence of a Greek community or the use of the Greek language, in India, had he ever heard of it.

Apart from the theories which assign a second century date to Kanishka, the only evidence I have seen alleged for any later survival of Greek is the evidence of Apollonius of Tyana, as given by Philostratus. Philostratus was a professional rhetorician who deliberately dressed up the most marvellous of all the lives of Apollonius current in his day, as he himself tells us, to suit the taste of the Athenian dilettanti. But assuming his Apollonius to be a credible witness (which he is not), Apollonius' Indian journey was made when he was between 40 and 50 years of age, that is to say, in the reign of Claudius or Nero. He therefore proves nothing. And we learn from Philostratus himself that Apollonius' companion and biographer, Damis "the Assyrian", wrote very unliterary Greek.

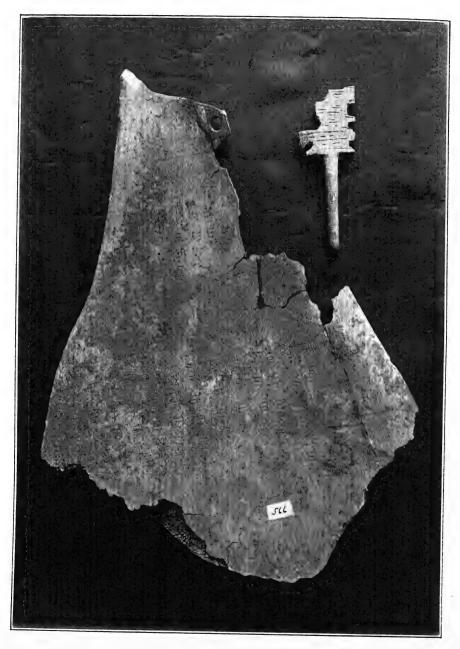
I conclude, then, that the use of Greek died out in Northern India before the commencement of the second century A.D. Now, if Kanishka and his successor reigned in that century, how came they to issue coins with Greek legends only? Or by what miracle had Greek

¹ See p. 987 above, n. 1.

survived in the bazars of Taxila and Sāgala long after it had disappeared everywhere else in the East beyond the Euphrates, with the exception of the Roman province of Osroëne? The survival of Hellenism is a necessary presumption of any theory regarding Kanishka.

Thus our three lines of inquiry all lead to the same result. We have direct evidence that a Kushan dynasty reigned in Northern India while the Yavanas were masters of Kābul; that dynasty must therefore have been anterior to the conquest of Kābul by Kozoulo Kadphises in the middle of the first century A.D. I have shown how the peculiarities of Kanishka's coinage are due to the silk trade between India and the Persian Gulf, which sprang up in the first century B.C. Lastly, there is no evidence whatever to prove that Greek was spoken in the Panjāb in the second century of our era, and very strong evidence to the contrary. We have also seen that from the time of Wema Kadphises to the Guptas Northern India was ruled by Tochāri viceroys who became independent of the Bactrian Kushans. By restoring Kanishka to his proper place in the middle of the first century B.C., we obtain a glimpse of the events which preceded and followed his rise—the break up of the Greek kingdom of Menander into a number of petty Greek and Scythic states; their overthrow by Kanishka in the Panjāb and the upper valley of the Indus; the re-conquest of the greater part of this region by the Indo-Parthians and their Saka allies; the extinction of the Greek kings of Kābul; and the ultimate conquest of Kābul and the Panjāb by Kozoulo Kadphises and his son.

Long ago, in an upland monastery of the Himālayas surrounded by bleak hills and snow-capped mountains, the Buddhist monks held religious exercises to invoke the powerful aid, or still the restless soul, or whatever represented the soul, of Kanishka. Modern scholars will be thankful now that his ghost is laid.



Inscribed Bone with pin (detached) from Honan Province.

XXVII

A FUNERAL ELEGY AND A FAMILY TREE INSCRIBED ON BONE

By L. C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

THE inscribed bone-fragment illustrated in the accompanying plates forms part of my collection, and was discovered among the large find of similar objects unearthed in 1899 in the province of Honan, North China. It is one of the larger pieces, measuring in its greatest length. 10 inches by 7½ at its broadest. The bone is part of the shoulder-blade of some domesticated animal apparently, and among the peculiarities it presents is the fact that at its extreme upper edge it has been pierced by a neatly bored round hole to admit a bone pin 3 inches long, shown detached in the plates. The shaft of this pin is inscribed on one side with six characters, while the flat and rather elaborate head has archaic decoration on both sides. purpose of the pin is not easy to determine, but I suggest that it may have been to fasten together the present bone and a second fragment similarly pierced, forming "page" 2 of this osseous document, which may have contained a further instalment of the text. If so, this second page is not now forthcoming.

As will be seen, the inscription contains four separate paragraphs, or three if, as seems to be the case, the six characters on the pin-shaft form the opening clause of the uppermost legend. On the extreme right of the shoulder-blade are two vertical lines of writing in small type, numbering thirteen characters complete, and one broken. Though only nine of these can yet be transcribed into modern forms, the legends, for the second is a repetition of the first, exhibit a formula frequently occurring on other bone-fragments, which consists of the professional

diviner's note of the date, nature, and probably the result of the inquiry put to him by the king or Ξ , wang, who presumably was the reigning sovereign of Chou.

On the shaft of the pin are 6 characters, and on the upper surface of the bone 12 more, ranged in four vertical columns of 3 characters each, 18 in all, if the two portions on the pin and on the bone are taken together as suggested above. A blank space 2 inches wide, containing only the time-cycle couplet 甲寅, chia yin, follows below. And lastly comes a legend of 56 characters disposed in fourteen vertical rows, of which the first has 2 characters only, the second 6, and all the rest 4 apiece.

These three separate paragraphs make up a composite document of a remarkable nature, combining a diviner's memorandum, a funeral elegy, and a Royal pedigree, forms of literature we should hardly have expected to find in association, even on a bone.

Difficulties of decipherment and interpretation are naturally not wanting, as will be seen immediately, but we may reasonably conclude that the separate paragraphs have a common concern in the death of a certain "lamented younger brother", whose character is briefly but optimistically surveyed on the upper half of the bone, and whose lineage is traced, probably in part only, on the lower half. Who this younger brother was raises an interesting question of early Chinese history.

Let us proceed to take the three paragraphs of the inscription in order, and come to close quarters with their contents in detail.

1. The diviner's memorandum. This consisted originally of a formula of eight characters, repeated twice, except that the first two characters, forming a time-cycle couplet, were probably, as in similar instances elsewhere on these bones, varied, implying some professional proceeding carried through on more than one date. Of the upper group of characters, the first and second have been broken

שלים זינר

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Part of Inscribed Bone from Honan Province.

away, as has part of the fifth. The lower group is complete, but the sixth and eighth characters, though of frequent occurrence on these relics, cannot yet be deciphered. Both are included in the list of unknown characters reproduced by Lo Chên-yu on p 21 of his pamphlet the Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i. With regard to the seventh character, Lo evidently considers it to be the negative, _, wang or ww. But Mr. Chalfant has satisfied himself and me (until lately) that this symbol stands for #k, chao, omen. The following, therefore, is the imperfect translation of the formula, an asterisk standing for an unknown character: "On the day Kuei ssü inquiry by divination was made as to a Royal *? omen *." As noted in my paper on Chinese Writing in the Chou Dynasty, in the October number of the Journal for 1911, Explanation to Plate VI, the character 子, tzŭ, here stands for 已, ssŭ.

2. The funeral elegy, comprising the characters on the pin, and what I submit is their continuation on the upper part of the main bone. The difficulties met with here do not arise from lack of legibility, nor, except in one instance, from our inability to equate the characters with their modern representatives. What the difficulties are will be easier seen if I here add the text in modern guise, but punctuated as I suppose it to run—

祖甲子曰桑弟弟曰清貞,曰静心,曰安*,曰正.

It is the first six characters which present the most uncertainty and provoke the most interest, as will immediately be seen. Noting as a preliminary that the words 甲子, chia tzŭ, form the first of the sixty time-cycle couplets, but that the context shows such a construction to be impossible here, we come to the main occasion of doubt in the ambiguous character 日, yueh. This word, as is known, may mean either "to say", or "to be said, or esteemed, to be". In all but one of the remaining numerous examples of its use on this relic, it has the latter sense. Has it also in this first instance?

Let us put it to the test. If it has, the passage would then open thus: "The son of Tsu Chia was called Mulberry." This is a curious name, but that it was in use is shown by the genealogy published by Mr. R. L. Hobson and myself in the April number of Man, under the title "A Royal Relic of Ancient China". Translating thus, we are then left with the single word ti, younger brother. Now, we cannot be left indefinitely with someone's younger brother on our hands, but must bring him into touch with some other part of the text, preferably the nearest part on the upper half of the bone. The awkward repetition of ti may probably be explained by taking the second ti as a mere catchword, necessitated by the physical separation between this part of the text and the lowest point of the pin, and indicating where the reader is to resume. On this assumption, the passage will continue, "The younger brother was called (i.e. was) pure and steadfast," etc., as rendered below. The objection to this rendering of the E, yuch, occurring on the pin, is that in a laudatory statement concerning a younger brother, the naming of his elder brother, as an opening clause, seems somewhat pointless and superfluous. If, then, we take the alternative sense of the character yueh as "to say", we should read, "The son of Tsu Chia said, 'My lamented younger brother was pure and steadfast, was quiet in mind, was peaceable and *, was upright'."

Such a rendering, however, requires the character 桑, sang, mulberry, to be taken as though 喪, sang, to lament, had been written, and this may be thought an unjustified violence to the text. But in the first place, sang, to lament, in its oldest variants was much closer to the form in the present text than its modern version would suggest, and appears to have been written with sang, mulberry, plus 亡, wang, to die. Further, the two words sang, mulberry, and sang, to lament, are homophones, and the constant interchange of homophonous characters in the

older bronze inscriptions is well known to the native writers on these subjects, and explains the need felt by the earlier Chinese schoolmen for constituting a special class, the Chia Chieh, or borrowed characters, to admit them among the traditional Six Scripts. We need, then, have little hesitation in adopting the proposed reading.

The unknown character standing third from the end of the paragraph is also noticed in Lo Chên-yü's recent book quoted above, where he cites on p. 9 a similar form from a bronze. This latter example is also quoted by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his Shuo Wên Ku Chou Pu, among the unknown forms of his Additional Section, p. 20, with the remark that he suspects it to be two characters, not one. In this he is mistaken, as the alignment of the paragraph into four columns of three characters each clearly shows.

But these details are of less interest than the question raised by the first and second characters on the pin. words Tsu chia, or Ancestor Chia, are, in the first place, a mode of designating an individual ancestor as one of an ordinal series, and thereby avoiding the mention of his tabooed personal name. Tsu chia is thus as much as to say "Ancestor First" or "Ancestor A". This practice is constant on bronzes, where we find the members of the series of the Ten Stems coupled not only with the word Ancestor, but equally with Fu, father, and Mu, mother. So far, then, we might regard the Ancestor Chia of our bone as a term applicable to an indefinite number of individuals. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the historical titles of five of the sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty are composed of just such combinations of the word Ancestor with one of the Ten Stems. find Tsu I, Tsu Hsin, Tsu Ting, Tsu Kéng, and Tsu Chia, the last ruling from B.C. 1258 to 1225.

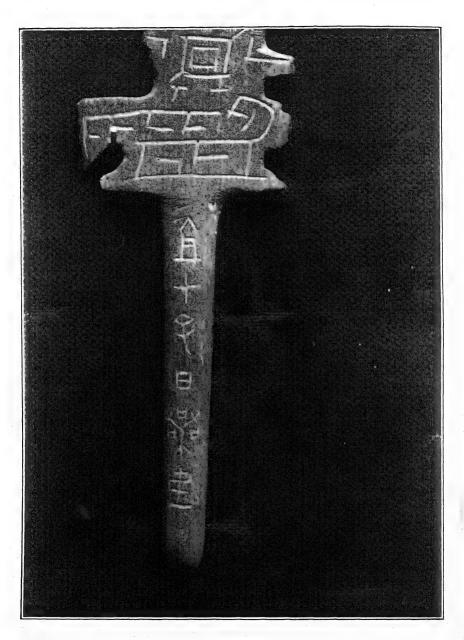
The Chinese authors Liu T'ieh-yun and Lo Chên-yu are convinced that such couplets, as well as others of

a similar kind, when occurring on these bones refer to the Shang Dynasty sovereigns bearing such designations, and their view is approved by M. Chavannes. For my own part, I do not yet feel assured of the correctness of this conclusion. But assuming its accuracy, this bone must be of much historical interest as a relic recording the funeral elegy, and apparently the family pedigree of a younger son of the Shang Dynasty ruler, Tsu Chia.

But our fragment has another claim upon the attention of students of Chinese antiquity, inasmuch as it appears to furnish what must be the earliest extant example of a lei, 誄, or "funeral eulogy", of which, as De Groot shows, the modern representative is the 墓誌終, mu chih ming. In the last-named writer's great work, The Religious System of China, vol. iii, pp. 1122 et segg., will be found a full account of the "funeral eulogies in ancient China", from which I transcribe the following: "Placing eulogistic biographies, engraved in stone, in the graves of the dead is by no means a custom of modern times. The common opinion in China, apparently well-founded and supported by documentary evidence, is that it dates from high antiquity, being based upon a usage, frequently mentioned in the Classics, of making eulogies to glorify the dead." Again, on the same page, De Groot writes, "In all the works composed during the reign of the Cheu dynasty, funeral eulogies are denoted by the character is, nowadays pronounced lei. Like the ming, or eulogies proper, on the present mo-chi-ming, they were composed of a few lines only; and their commendatory character apparently consisted in that they expressed the profound grief felt by the survivors, because of the departure of the defunct. They were, in fact, short elegiac encomiums, eulogistic death-dirges."

Once more, on p. 1124, he says: "At Imperial funerals during the Han dynasty they also served this purpose. They were called at that time 'elegiac bamboo





Inscribed Bone Pin from Honan Province.

slips' [哀策, ai ts'ℓ], being no doubt scratched or written on bamboo, the usual writing material of those times."

Must we not now recognize fragments of bone as the cruder and more primitive predecessors of bamboo and stone burial records?

3. The last and longest legend is a genealogy, presumably that of the Royal line of which the deceased was a scion, and may be compared with the similar document published in the April number of Man, under the title "A Royal Relic of Ancient China", by Mr. R. L. Hobson and myself. The text opens with the two words 貞日, chéng yueh, "The inquiry says," a rather puzzling phrase for the first words of what is a declaratory statement of family descent. The third character is as yet unfortunately doubtful, though it is just possible it may be s, hsing, to begin, to raise. Very few of the personal names forming the last character of one line and the first of the next, can be assigned to their modern shapes, and I have therefore used letters of the alphabet to represent them in the English rendering that follows the modern text given below, where their places are taken by asterisks.

貞曰*首徙祖曰**子曰**子曰**子 曰**子曰妹妹弟曰**子曰**子曰** 子曰**子曰**弟曰**子曰**子曰*

"The inquiry says * the first removal the ancestor was named A, A's son was named B, B's son was named C, C's son was named D, D's son was named Mei, Mei's younger brother was named E, F's [sic] son was named G, G's son was named H, H's son was named I, I's son was named J, J's younger brother was named K, K's son was named L, L's son was named M."

The third character of the second column of the original inscription is an interesting one, and has escaped Lo Chên-yü's deciphering eye. It is fairly frequent on the bones with slight variations, in which the upper right-hand element often appears to be 支 kuo, halberd. But

comparison of all the forms seems to show that this component is an older phase of g, i, the reversed form of g, shên, body, and part of the character 般, Yin, the later name of the Shang dynasty. The traditional sense of this obsolete word i is "to return", 歸, kuei, in which character also the left-hand half is only another variation of this same element i, as appears plainly in the Bushell Bowl inscription, character No. 486. Such a graphic element, indicating the body turned round, would be very intelligible in a compound figure formed to give a written shape to a word meaning to move or shift, which is the sense of 徙, hsi, and the remark applies equally to such a character as kuei, to return.

The last character of column 4 (and the first of column 5), I suspect, is 菌, ch'ih, teeth. The last of column 6 is also a very interesting character. It would seem to be an animal form, as to which I have certain dark suspicions. It is noteworthy for the unabbreviated and minute cross-hatching of the upper part.

The last character of column 8 suggests \mathbb{R}_2 , ma, horse, but the absence of the usual three strokes on the neck for the mane makes this a little doubtful, though Lo Chên-yü, on p. 7 of his pamphlet above quoted, includes seven maneless forms among those he attributes to ma. Column 11 shows clearly some cervine beast, but hornless, as Lo also points out on p. 22. Possibly it depicts a hind. In column 12 we have another animal form with a long, plain tail suggesting a rat.

As already mentioned, the genealogy may not be complete.

Altogether, I think it will be agreed that this broken shoulder-blade is a curious and notable document.

IIIVXX

A CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM BOGHAZ KEUI WITH DOCKET IN HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS

By THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

AMONG the fragmentary tablets from Boghaz Keui which are in my possession is one with a docket attached to it in Hittite hieroglyphs (No. I). It is the first evidence yet discovered of the contemporaneity of the hieroglyphs and cuneiform, and I therefore give a facsimile of it in spite of its very fragmentary nature. The cuneiform characters were, as usual, impressed upon the clay prior to its being baked in the kiln; the docket was cut after the clay had been baked. As will be seen, the tablet is dated in the reign of Arnuwandas, the last king of the Hittite empire.

The cuneiform text reads as follows:-

No. I

- . . . of gold (and) cedar-wood . . .
- . . . 2 sheep made of gold in front (pannis) . . .
- ... li a lion made of gold ...

Second tablet (which) I have compiled for Arnuanda(s) . . .

the Hittite [king]: the contents of the treasury.

The tablet was the second of a series containing an inventory of the treasures in the royal palace. The Hittite words which I have translated "I have compiled" are *âl qati*: *âl* is the particle used elsewhere before the perfect tense of the verb, and *qati* is found in *The Tablet from Yuzgat*, p. 47 (IM-GID-DA *qati*, "a tablet I have compiled"), *Rev.* 13 ("I have compiled the *mugauwas* (dues) of the goddess Telibinus"), as well as in other passages where it must mean "I have compiled", "written", or "registered".

The adjective "Hittite" here appears as *Khati-qi-s*. "Contents" is the borrowed Assyrian *u-nu-ut*. The word for "Treasury" is written Ê-TAG-AB, but AB must be intended for the similarly formed DUB of the preceding line, TAG-DUB being "seal". "The House of the Seal" or "Sealing" will be the Treasury.

The hieroglyphic docket would have been added by the Treasurer or other official who was responsible for the safe keeping of the royal treasures. He has written it after the style of a Hittite seal on which the characters are arranged in a circle. The first word is represented by the two boots, which the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions show to signify "in front of", "before", and to have the phonetic value of miami. The boar's head seems to be the same as the boar's head with the tongue hanging out which we find on the monuments of Carchemish, where it is the equivalent of kanis, "minister," "vicegerent." Hence the docket would appear to mean "presented to the (royal) official".

I add here some more fragments in my possession which were found along with No. I.

No. II

1. . . . za-ki-wa-an ba-akh-khi 2. . . LUGAL an-da-an u-it . . . the king them (?) delivers 3. . . SAL LUGAL a-na AN X . . . the queen to the god Hadad (and) AN Khe-be the god Khebe 4. . . DIN-ya ne-bi-is . . . my (?) life . . . 5. . . TIR-MES an-na-za-gan . . . forests then (?)

- 6. . . GA VII LU KI-ya . . . a milk-bowl (and) 7 sheep along with me
- 7. . . AN Khe-be I GA VII LU
 . . . [to] the god Khebe 1 milk-bowl (and) 7 sheep
 AM-SI
- 8. . . AN UT AN-E bi-ikh-khi . . . the Sun-god of heaven . . .

For wit, which occurs in the Arzawan tablet, see JRAS., 1909, p. 977. The god Khebe is the Kheba of the name of the king of Jerusalem, Ebed-Kheba, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets; in the Mitannian name Tadu-khipa it appears with p for b.

Nebis in l. 4 is a participle in the nominative. Gan in l. 5 may be the ideograph of "garden". The vocalic difference between bakhkhi and bikhkhi is interesting. Both words appear to be imperatives, but they may be in the 1st person singular of the past tense. In the second Arzawan tablet Labbaya writes—

nu-san kha-an-da-an am-me-el QAR-TAB-ya
To him the head (?) like a groom

sa-an-khi-is tu-si na-ta u-ul im-ma inclining (?) I lowered (?); thereupon verily now (?) bi-ikh-khi bi-ikh-khi-it-ta

 $thy \dots$

The word possibly means "to pay a due". We find SAG-DU-an-da in one of the Liverpool tablets; hence khanda may signify "head".

The participle sankhis occurs in Yuzgat, Obv. 21-5, where we read—

21. AN IM-as AN UT-i bi-i-e-it i-id-din-wa
Sandes to the Sun-god a temple has given, and
AN UT-un u-wa-te-it . .

the Sun-god has addressed . . .

22. pa-a-ir AN UT-un sa-an-khi-es BIT-zi
the Sun-god bringing-down to the temple:
na-an u-ul u-e-mi-ya
"It verily I have prepared $(?)$ "
23. AN IM-sa te-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-an ku-it
To Sandes' words answer he has made:
kha-an-da u-ul u-e-mi-ya
"The head (i.e. myself) verily I have made ready \dots
24sa-wa am-me-el tu-e-ig-ga-as mi-e-es
$in\ place\ of\ the\ \dots \qquad my\ \dots\ s$
a-a-an-ta
25sa-wa ku-wa-bi khur-ak-ta nu
in addition to the for
AN Za-ma-ma-an bi-i-e-it
the god Zamama $$ a temple [I have given]."
A comparison of passages in which the words are
found has made it plain that kuwabi signifies "more",
"in addition to", and ammel or ammella "in place of",
"like". Thus in the first Arzawa letter we have:
(19) AMEL kha-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in am-me-el-la AMEL
kha-lu-ga-tal-la-an EGIR-pa khat-ra-a khu-u-da-ak,
"like thy messenger, the messenger (who has come),
after the former one dismiss."
No. III
1. ka-kha-a-an ya-akh-tu-ul
2. ak-kha-a-an IS-KUR-RA taq-qa
3. ak-kha-a-an ka-a-an li-[ku-ut]
4. u taq-qa in-ta-a ta
5. li-ku-u-ut kha-li-is kha-a
6. ta-ba-ar-na li-ku-ut
7. GAZ-ku ku-wa-bi da-a-i

8. [P]ASSUR da-a I . . . 9. . . . ma (?) a-na AN U . .

In l. 2 IS-KUR-RA would signify "dust of the mountain". Taqqa is probably an adverb.

In ll. 3, 5, 6 likut seems to be the 3rd pers. sing. of a verb.

In l. 6 tabarna is a word met with in the tablets published by Winckler, for which Messerschmidt has suggested the signification of "edict".

Line 7 reads "in addition to the sacrifice I have set . . ." The suffix ku could also be read ma or even ba.

Lines 8 and 9 are "Place a bronze dish", "to the god Hadad".

COLOPHON

- 1. DUB I-kam qa-ti ma-a-an

 The first tablet I have compiled (of the series): This

 zi (?) . . .
- 2. DAN-GA te-it-khi-es ki . . . the mighty one . . . ing . . .
- 3. nu AMEL AN U SAL-MES AN i-ya . . . for the man of the god and the women of the god I . . .

No. IV

[wa-]akh-khu tag-ga . . . wa-akh-khu tag-ga . . .

GUD QAR-QAR
A labouring (?) ox

QAR-QAR the work (?)

AN-KAL

of the colossus-bull.

What the meaning of the final note may be I must leave to others to discover. QAR-QAR probably denotes skilled labour or something of the sort; thus in a fragment in my possession we have: AMEL QAR-QAR SAM duug-ga nu me-mi-i AMEL-MES PASSUR PASSUR-MES

sa-ra-a na-an ta-a-ka-a-[an] na-kha-at, "The artisan the price in return to the servant of the bowl-makers, on account of the bowls, this tâkâ pays." The verb nakha is found in Yuzgat, Rev. 5, in nakha-ddakhkhun, a compound of nakha and da, "to set," with the causative suffix, "they have made to pay."

Since the publication of some of my tablets in this Journal they have been cleaned, with the result that certain corrections must be made in the copy of the text published in JRAS., October, 1908, pp. 994–5. I transcribe the characters into their ordinary Assyrian forms.

OBVERSE

- 6. The eleventh character is makh; read I GUD MAKH, "one fine ox."
- 8. The name of the god is written ∰, which I cannot identify, unless it is intended for ► Then follows banda.
- 9. After "men" is $\Longrightarrow V (V)) \cong V \longrightarrow V (ya-as-si-is-sa-an).$
 - 12. After $\bowtie (, "wine," is <math>\bowtie (, ... \bowtie) = (ma ... na-as).$
- 14. The line begins -1 $\langle E = E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V E | V$
- 18. There is a space both before and after bi-ra-an, "a bowl." At the end of the line \Longrightarrow is now visible
- 19. The line begins $\rightarrow 1$ $\langle \Xi \rangle \rightarrow 1$ $\Xi \parallel 1$ (khu-u-mu-un-du, "much").
- 24. The fourth character is $\not\equiv$; "This temple before (pan)..."

REVERSE

4. Din after i-na is right. The next character may be either $\acute{s}i$ or sak.

- 8. I have accidentally omitted $y > 1 \le i$ in my copy between $y = 1 \le i$ u, "sheep," and $y = 1 \le i$ u. Hence the words will be ab-bi-iz-zi LU-zi-ya, "to the father of the sheep (?)."
- 9. After the name of the god Al-khi-su-wa we should read $\not\sim$ \(\lambda \) (nu LXX); then comes a character which may be either sa or ta followed by GIS-RA and two characters which are more probably ki than gil.
 - 12. Perhaps the first character is $\langle (X)$ rather than $\rangle (I)$.
 - 15. The last two characters are doubtful.
- 17. Read 妍 スペパ ハ シューリタ デー・リター・リター・リング・ション (. . . ni KAS-ZUN BAD-az-zi BIT-zi ka . . , "beer for the old (?) temple").
- 18. The seventh and eighth characters are -11%. Hence the reading is *e-iz-za-az-zi*, which appears to be the phonetic equivalent of -az-zi in the preceding line.
- 20. The first characters visible are -1 $\langle E \rangle = 1$ (khu-u-i-ba).

In tablet No. 7, p. 979 of the same number of the Journal, the following corrections are also required:—

- 1. The last character is more probably GAN, "garden," than BIT, "house."
- 2. The first character is written *kak-te*, but is doubtless intended for *ša*. After *ma-as* we should read *su-ub-bi-es*.
 - 3. The first character is din.
 - 4. The first character is mar.
 - 5. The first character is -(wa).
- 7. This line should be . . . ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ (li-ya-zi . . . ma-an-za-an).

No. 9, p. 980—

In l. 5 the last characters must be read kurun se-ir, "sweet wine," ser being the Assyrian seras and Hebrew throsh. The word will have a Hittite origin. So in YUZGAT, Rev. 31, we find se-er-ra-as-sa-an IM-ZU, "a jar" or "cup of sweet wine". See also JRAS., 1909, p. 967.

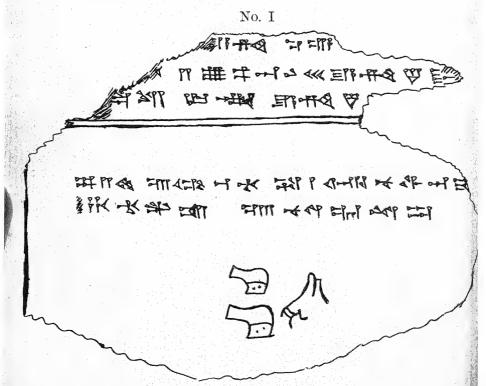
In l. 7 read sa-an-khir, as in JRAS., 1909, p. 971. Sa-an-khi-is must be read in l. 11 below.

In l. 8 there is no space between is and sa.

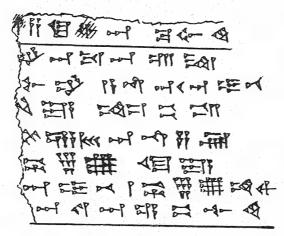
In l. 12 there are traces of i before ya-an-za.

In ll. 13 and 15 the character which follows PASSUR is DUB, "tablet," not URUDU, "copper." Hence the ideographs signify in both cases "a dish-plate" or "saucer".

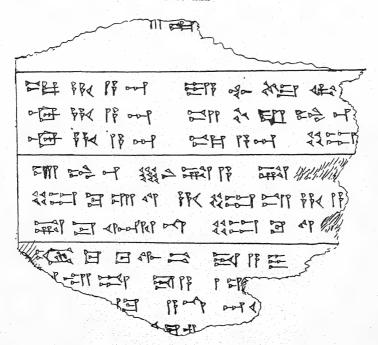
In the fragments of lines in the second column of this tablet l. 3 should be $nu\ din$; l. 4, AMEL ZAB, "soldier"; ll. 8 and 9, AN (il)-li-mu and i-li-mu; l. 11, a-ne-ya. There is a line denoting the end of a paragraph between ll. 5 and 6, and between ll. 6 and 7 I have inadvertently omitted a line beginning na-at, "these."



No. II



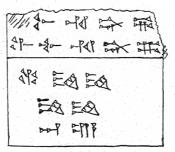
No. III



REVERSE

是一個 里本 四二年 多三日 四二年 多三日 医二日 多一日 四二年 四二年 四二年 四二年

No. IV



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE USE OF THE PLANETARY NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK IN INDIA

During recent years much has been written about the history of the seven-days week, with the planetary names of the days, in various countries. But the matter has been neglected as regards India; and there are still some points to be worked out in the general line. My present remarks are offered as a preliminary sketch in respect of India and its connections: they will be useful for some other inquiries also.

At some time not long before A.D. 400, the Hindūs received the Greek astronomy, including the full list of the seven 'planets' arranged in the following order according to their distances from the earth, which was regarded as the centre of the universe; the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Above Saturn the Hindūs placed the stars; following the Greeks in this respect also, but meaning in particular the nakshatras or so-called lunar mansions and the signs of the solar zodiac.

The Hindus received from the western world not only astronomy but also astrology. It was, in fact, for the sake of the astrology that they took up the astronomy.² In the frequent intercourse between India and the West from the time of Chandragupta onwards, the Hindus had many early opportunities of learning the Greek astronomy. But it did not interest them in that period: they had their

¹ I use the term planet, unless the context shows anything to the contrary, in the sense in which it was used by the ancients; namely, as denoting the sun and the moon, as well as the five planets, properly so called, which were known to them.

² I am stating a new view here, I think: but I feel sure that anyone who will weigh it will acknowledge the correctness of it and its results.

own astronomy, as taught, for instance, in the Jyōtisha-Vēdānga, and were satisfied with it. What attracted them eventually was the Greek astrology: and they took over the astronomy as a necessary adjunct, giving the only means for determining the astrological details with accuracy. Afterwards, indeed, they fully appreciated the Greek astronomy, and went far in their cultivation of it. But they did so always with a view to the purposes of astrology, quite as much as to the better regulation of the lunar calendar which governed their general rites and ceremonies and the details of their religious and private life. And it was the astrology that led them to take up the astronomy.

Now, the Hindū astrology has long been recognized as being the astrology of the Latin writer Firmicus Maternus and the Greek writer Paulus Alexandrinus. Firmicus Maternus wrote his Matheseos Libri viii between A.D. 334 and 350: and we may remark that he seems to have been the first noteworthy writer on astrology, if not actually the first of all, in Latin.¹ Paulus Alexandrinus wrote his $El\sigma a\gamma \omega \gamma \dot{\eta}$ els την ἀποτελεσματικήν in A.D. 378. And it is in these circumstances that we hold that it was not long before A.D. 400 that the Hindūs took up the Greek astronomy.²

As a part of the astrology which they then acquired, the Hindus received the idea according to which the planets were treated as lords of the twenty-four hours

¹ Bouchè-Leclercq has said :— "Son but a été, dit-il, de combler dans la littérature latine la seule lacune qui y existat encore : " L'Astrologie Grecque, introd., p. 14.

² I do not overlook the point that the five planets properly so called are mentioned (in no definite order: Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Mars) towards the end of the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna, which was translated into Chinese in the third century: see the Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 642, line 15. The editors, however, felt doubtful (p. 655) as to the date of some of the later parts of this writing: and M. Sylvain Lévi tells me that this reference to the planets is not in the corresponding place in the Chinese version.

of the day and of the seven days of the week. In the Hindu books the rule in this matter is first found, so far, in the work of the astronomer Āryabhata, written in or soon after A.D. 499, where it is given in the Kālakriyāpāda, verses 15, 16, in the form of a very concise abstract of the rule as explained fully by Paulus Alexandrinus.1 The rule takes the planets for this purpose in the descending order,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, the Moon; beginning with Saturn as the highest, the farthest from the earth. The first result was that. Saturn being taken as the lord of the first hour of a day and of the eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-second hours of it, the lordship of the twenty-fifth hour, that is, of the first hour of the next day, fell to the Sun; in the same way, counting on from the Sun, the lordship of the first hour of the next day after that fell to the Moon; and so on through the list and back to Saturn at the beginning of the eighth day. As a second step, the planet which was the lord of the first hour of a day was taken as the chief lord of the whole of that day, with the other planets retaining under him the successive lordship of those hours of the day which did not belong, with the first hour, specially to him. This produced the following order of the planets as lords of the days; Saturn, the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. And this set up what may be regarded as an astrological week, beginning with the day of Saturn.

It was not such a week, however, which became the practical calendrical week. In circumstances which are not clear, the day of Saturn was identified, whether by intention or by chance,² with the Jewish Sabbath, which was the last day of the seven-days period to the use of

JRAS. 1912.

¹ The rule is not in the work of Firmicus Maternus, I think: at any rate. I have not been able to find it there.

² There is, of course, nothing in nature to connect any particular planet with any particular day.

· which the Jews had long been accustomed: and so the day of the Sun was identified with the first day of the same seven-days period. The Jews, indeed, did not adopt the planetary names of the days, but continued to treat the days as the "first", the "second", and so on, up to the "Sabbath". Nor, apparently, did the pagan Greeks accept the planets' lordship of the days for any purposes except those of astrology. But the planetary names of the days were taken up as a detail of the calendar in the Roman world, by both pagans and Christians: and we learn from a well-known statement by Dio Cassius that this calendrical use of the planetary names had become general in the Roman world by the time when he wrote, in or soon after A.D. 230; but also that it had only recently become so. There was thus introduced the calendrical week as we have it now; beginning with the day of the Sun, identified with the great day of the Christians, the Lord's-day, and ending with the day of Saturn, identified with the Sabbath of the Jews. the use of it was confirmed by official sanction in A.D. 321, when the Christian emperor Constantine issued an edict declaring that "the venerable day of the Sun" should be observed as a general day of rest; whereby the seven-days planetary week became definitely substituted for the nundinal eight-days week of the Romans, in which every eighth day was a market-day on which the country people went into the city to sell their produce, make their own purchases, and attend to public and religious affairs.

The Hindūs took over, not an astrological week beginning with the day of Saturn, but this same Jewish-Christian calendrical week beginning with Sunday,—Jewish inasmuch as its first day was the first day of the Jewish week, and Christian inasmuch as it had the planetary names of the days. This is plain from the simple point, even if in no other way, that the established Hindū astrological order of the planets is the weekday

order, beginning with the Sun.¹ Thus, Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587) has taken the planets in this order,—Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn,—in his Brihat-Samhitā, not only in chap. 104/103, verses 61–3, which teach what acts may be done on the day of each of the planets, but also in chapters 3, 4, and 6–10, which treat of their courses from the astrological point of view,² and in verses 1–34/33 of chap. 16, which state the countries, places, peoples, and things belonging to the domain of each planet, and again in chap. 104/103, verses 5–45, which deal with the general influences of the planets.

For the history of the practical use of this calendrical week with the planetary names of the days in India, we turn to the inscriptions, which are our leading guide in so many matters, and are in fact our only guide in this one. From a certain time onwards, we find an almost invariable use of these names: from that time there are but few inscriptions, dated at all, which do not include

¹ There is also the point that a name of Sunday is Ādivāra, 'the beginning-day': but this might be explained by the fact that according to the school to which Brahmagupta belonged creation began on a Sunday. There is here, by the way, a curious agreement with the Biblical position: but it is only a coincidence, due to the number of days assigned by Brahmagupta to the Kalpa (that is, due to the exact length of the solar year taken by him) and applied to the cardinal point of Friday, 18 February, B.C. 3102, as the beginning of the present Kali age.

² Chapter 5 deals with Rāhu, the ascending node, between the Moon and Mars

Itierature does not help; as, indeed, might perhaps be expected. The planetary names of the days were used occasionally in the astronomical writings from A.D. 499 onwards: as, for instance, when Āryabhaṭa mentions "the Bhārata Thursday", the day which preceded the beginning of the present Kali age (see this Journal, 1911. 678), and says that the revolutions of the sun and the other basic elements are to be counted from sunrise on a Wednesday at Lankā; and when Brahmagupta tells us that the process of creation began on a Sunday. They are also found in the Vishnusmṛiti, chap. 78: SBE, 7. 242. They are mentioned, in at least some of the Purāṇas. Mention is made of Wednesday in the Vaikhānasa-Sūtra (see Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 262). And occasional references to the names might perhaps be found in other legal and technical works. But such instances, except those in the

this item in their dates; and we can see, thus and in other ways, that the use of the names of the days became far more general in India in formal matters (for the full dating of proclamations, grants, deeds, certificates, etc.), as in fact it is even now, than in any western land. For earlier times, however, the case is very different. Here we find the position to be as follows:—

The earliest known genuine instance of the use of the planetary name of a day in India and its neighbourhood dates from A.D. 484, and is found in the Eran inscription of Budhagupta from the Saugor District, Central India, which is dated in the (Gupta) year 165, on the twelfth tithi or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, and Suragurōr divasē, "on the day of (Bṛihaspati, Guru, Jupiter) the Preceptor of the gods": the exact equivalent is Thursday, 21 June, A.D. 484. The next such instance from India itself is of A.D. 664, and is found in a copperplate charter of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana II from the Nellore District, Madras.² But we have two intermediate instances, one dating from just before A.D. 578,

astronomical books, are not dated ones: and though there is a chance that early dated manuscripts might yield some instances likely to be of use to us, this source of information still remains to be explored.

From general literature, —the drama, the kāvya, the prose stories, and so on,— there is forthcoming, I believe, only one instance, otherwise than in passages expressly devoted to recording dates, as, e.g., in a South-Indian Prasasti of A.D. 897, and in a series of dates, ranging from A.D. 746 onwards, which are put forward as historical items in the Prabandhachintāmaņi (written A.D. 1305). And this instance, also, is not a dated one. Still, it seems worthy of a special comment, for which I refer to p. 1045 below.

¹ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 89: Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Epi. Ind., vol. 5, appendix, No. 454. We shall not be surprised if we should obtain hereafter evidence carrying back the use of the names of the days to an earlier date than this; indeed, to any time about, say, A.D. 375-400. But there we shall stop; for the simple reason that it was as part and parcel of the Greek astrology that the Hindus received the idea of the planets as name-givers to the days.

² Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Southern India, Epi. Ind., vol. 7, appendix, No. 550.

the other of A.D. 658, from Champā, in Cochin-China.1 After that, down to A.D. 800, we can count from the inscriptional records perhaps ten other instances, coming in almost equal numbers (1) from various parts of India, and (2) from the Indian settlements in Java, Champā, and Cambodia. And these cases suffice to show that the assignment of the days to the planets was well enough known, by the end of the eighth century, in widely distant localities. But the number of instances is very small in comparison with the total number of records down to the same time. It is therefore plain that down to A.D. 800 there was as yet no habitual practice of citing the weekday in dates or for other general purposes.2 And as a matter of fact, the inscriptions make it clear that it was not until after A.D. 900 that the weekday became at all generally recognized as an habitual and ordinary item of the Hindu calendar: before that time it seems, though we cannot actually assert the point as a fact, to have been used more as an astrological detail.

In note 3, p. 1043 above, I have said that there is forthcoming, I believe, only one instance of the use of the name of a day in general Indian literature. This instance is not a dated one, and so does not help in our particular inquiry. Still, it has an interest of its own.

It is found in the Hitōpadēśa, ed. Johnson, p. 16, line 411, where mention is made of Bhaṭṭārakavāra, "the day of the Great Lord". It occurs in the story of the deer, the jackal, and the crow: the deer, caught in

¹ Inscriptions at Mi-so'n; Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, vol. 3 (1903), p. 210, and vol. 4 (1904), p. 920: I am indebted to M. George Cœdès for these two references.

² In corroboration of this position down to at any rate a certain time, we may cite the point that Hiuen-tsiang found nothing to say about this detail in his account of the Hindū astronomy and calendar written at some time between A.D. 630 and 644 (Beal, Si-yu-ki, 1. 71-3), though it is a feature which could hardly have failed to attract his attention, and to be noted by him, if it had been generally prevalent then.

a hunter's snare, asks the jackal to gnaw the snare and set him free; to which the jackal replies:—"Snares are made of sinews: therefore, how shall I touch them with my teeth on this day which is Bhaṭṭārakavāra?: my friend!, think of some other means (of escape)."

Here, the term Bhattārakavāra is understood to mean Sunday. I have no desire to question that. But from what point of view does it mean Sunday? The term bhattāraka seems to be used to denote the Sun as a god in an inscription of A.D. 973 (EI, 9. 236), which records a gift to "Adichehan-Umaiyammai of Tirukkalayapuram, the bhattārakar set up by Ādichchan=Umaiyammai at Ayurur." But I know of no evidence that the word was a special epithet or appellation of the Sun, any more than of any other god; just as the feminine bhattarika could be applied to any goddess. The word means 'a venerable person, a holy god, a great lord'. the case that the term Bhattarakavara is not a planetary name, but is a literal translation of the Κυριακή ήμέρα and Dominica dies of the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers? The sanctity attaching to the Christian Sunday perhaps has also an echo, not exactly in the nature, but in the idea of the Adityavara-kalpa, 'the ritual of the day of the Sun', which is the topic of a short section, chapter 97, of the Matsya-Purāṇa.

J. F. FLEET.

A NOTE ON THE PURANAS

On p. 255 above, Mr. Pargiter, working on the basis of certain verses about the merit of making grants of land and the sin of confiscating them which are found in inscriptional records of known date ranging from A.D. 475 onwards, has presented the conclusions (1) that the Padma, Brahma, and Bhavishya Purāṇas existed long before the end of the fifth century; and (2) that, as these three appear to be among the latest in this class of works, "it

seems reasonably certain that the Puranas cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era." But we are, I presume, not to make any very comprehensive deduction from these conclusions: there are other considerations which lead to the result that, while we may accept such a position for some parts of the Puranas, the works as a whole must be compositions which have come down from very unequal times. For instance, those of the Puranas which give the list of the kings of the present age mention the Guptas; and such a record as this cannot have been made before A.D. 320, when the Gupta sway began. Again, the Brahmanda and the Vayu say that the Śakas ruled for 380 years: they mean Nahapāna, who *founded the era beginning in A.D. 78, and Chashtana and his descendants, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, who carried it on long enough to lead to its perpetuation: and this passage, accordingly, must be dated not earlier than A.D. 458.

There are, however, other parts of the Purāṇas which do not reveal their earliest limits so openly. Such are the astronomical chapters, dealing more or less with astrology also, in respect of which it would be a great mistake to think that they date from such early times as those indicated by Mr. Pargiter for the passages which he had in view. These chapters, which present a curious mixture of the earlier and the later astronomy, are not without interest, unscientific though they are: they perhaps do not actually teach us anything which may not be learnt from the writings of the scientific Hindū astronomers: still, they contain much which is worthy of attention; and they might with advantage be extracted, edited, and translated. I must confine myself here to only one feature in them.

At some time not long before A.D. 400 (see p. 1040 above), the Hindus received the Greek astrology and astronomy, including the full list of the seven 'planets' arranged

in the following astronomical order according to their distances from the earth, which was regarded as the centre of the universe,— the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Above Saturn the Hindus placed the stars; meaning in particular the nakshatras or so-called lunar mansions and the signs of the solar zodiac. And this arrangement was always preserved by the Hindū astronomers, so far as the relative positions of the planets and the stars are concerned.

That scheme, however, is not the one which is found in the Puranas. These works present the following order: next above the earth, the Sun; then the Moon; then the nakshatras; and then, one after the other, Mercury, Venus,

1 My references are as follows: some of the Puranas state also distances between the different orbits; but it does not seem necessary to lengthen matters by including this detail, in which they do not all agree: there is no basis in the astronomy for the distances stated in the Puranas.

Agni-Purāna, chap. 120, verses 6-8; ed. Anandāśrama Sanskrit

Series, Poona.

Brahma, chap. 23, verses 5-10: ed. Ānandāśrama Series.

Brahmanda, chap. 24, verses 119-22: text printed in 1906 at the Srī-Venkatēśvara Press, Bombay.

Matsya, chap. 128, verses 71-4: ed. Ānandāśrama Series. It may be added that this work takes the planets in the weekday order in verses 10-20 of chap. 93, the topic of which is the propitiation of them by sacrifices, and in chap. 94, which describes their forms and attributes.

Vāyu, chap. 101, verses 129-35: ed. Ānandāśrama Series.

Bhāgavata, book 5, chap. 22, and chap. 23, para. 1: ed. Burnouf, and text printed in 1905 at the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. But this work transposes Mercury and Venus: it places Venus next after the nakshatras; then Mercury above Venus; and then Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. I may remark that the wording of the passage is such as to preclude the possibility of an accidental transposition of the text. In respect of this transposition of the two planets see also the next note.

The Vishnu does not seem to contain any corresponding passage: but it takes the planets in the same order with the Agni, etc., as far as the Vayu, in describing their chariots: book 2, chaps, 8, 12: text printed in 1866 at the Vrittadīpa Press, Bombay; and see Wilson's translation,

vol. 2, pp. 237, 299, 304.

The Padma seems to have a passage of the usual kind in part 3, Svargakhanda, chap. 6, Bhuvādivarnana, in the recension described by Wilson from a manuscript, Works, vol. 3, preface, p. 21 ff. (see p. 40): but I have not been able to examine it and ascertain its details. In

Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn,— with, in one case, a transposition of Mercury and Venus: above Saturn they place the sphere of the Saptarshis (the Seven Rishis, the stars of the Great Bear), and then Dhruva (the pole-star). Here we have the full list of the planets, and partly in the Greek order; which shows that these statements were

another recension of this work, given in the text printed in 1893-4 at the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, but not included in that Series, I do not find any corresponding passage: but this text presents the weekday order of the planets in teaching the worship of them in part 5, Srishtikhanda, chaps. 78, 79, 82; and it treats Mercury as the middle planet in chap. 82, verse 6:—Sōmaputra...namas=tē graha-madhyastha...: this seems to postulate either a quasi-astronomical arrangement of them in the weekday order, or else the same transposition of Mercury and Venus which is made in the Bhāgavata. The same remarks apply to a third recension of this Purāṇa, the text of which was printed in 1895 at the Srī-Venkatēśvara Press, Bombay: here, the sections teaching the worship of the planets are in part 1, Srishtikhanda, chaps. 80, 81, 82; and the mention of Mercury as the middle planet is in verse 6 of chap. 82.

¹ See remarks under the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa in the preceding note. This transposition of Mercury and Venus (which is of course quite right from one point of view) is found also in a passage in the writings of Cicero; but not, I think, as a view of Cicero himself, though it has been referred to as such.

In the De Divinatione, book 2, § 43, Cicero, speaking in his own person, gives the usual arrangement in the ascending order, from the Moon to Saturn, and expressly says that Mercury is the nearest star to the earth (after the Moon). So, also, in the Somnium Scipionis, § 4, he puts into the mouth of Africanus the same arrangement in the descending order, from Saturn to the Moon. But in the De Natura Deorum, book 2, § 20, Balbus, in speaking of the five planets properly so called, is made to place them in the following order, descending,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and then Venus: and he says about Venus that she is "the lowest of the five wanderers, and the nearest to the earth":—Infima est quinque errantium, terraeque proxima, stella Veneris; $\Phi\omega\sigma\phi\delta\rho\sigma$ s Graece, Lucifer Latine dicitur, cum antegreditur solem [i.e., as a morning star], cum subsequitur autem [i.e., as an evening star] Hesperus.

For the order in the De Divinatione, Cicero cites ratio mathematicorum, "the science of the Mathematicians". For the order in the Somnium Scipionis, no authority is quoted. For the order given by Balbus, also, in the De Natura Deorum, no authority is specifically quoted: book 1, \$ 6, however, represents him as holding a very high place among the Stoics: perhaps that may account for the transposition of Mercury and Venus.

not written before the time when the Greek astronomy reached India. But the astronomical order is followed only partially: it is broken by the transfer of the Sun from the position between Venus and Mars to the place nearest to the earth, and by the introduction of the nakshatras between the Moon and Mercury. We are not greatly concerned about this disposal of the nakshatras: it is not unnatural that in unscientific writings they should be connected most closely with the Moon, and should be placed accordingly. The important point is the treatment of the Sun as the planet nearest to the earth. What are the circumstances which introduced this feature into the Purāṇic scheme? And what light does it throw on the age of the passages in which it is found?

We can, in my opinion, only attribute this feature in the Purāṇic scheme of the universe to the influence of a well-established use of the planetary week beginning with the day of the Sun. And in my preceding note I have said (and have given part of the proof) that it was only after A.D. 900 that that use became thoroughly habitual in India. But I do not seek to suggest for those parts of the Purāṇas which I have in view so late a date as that. And I find, in fact, that it was only indirectly that the influence in question produced the feature to which attention has been drawn. We can recognize an appreciably earlier time, when it may be held to have operated.

As has been said, the Hindū astronomers have always preserved, so far as the relative positions of the planets and the stars are concerned, the astronomical order stated on p. 1048 above, beginning with the Moon as the nearest orb to the earth, and having the Sun between Venus and Mars. And probably every one of them has been careful to state that arrangement, in either the ascending or the descending order, at least once in his writings. But they did not by any means deal with the planets always in that

order. They took them in whatever order suited best the point involved and the composition of their verses. And when there was no particular reason for following any other course, they were specially prone to taking them in the astrological or weekday order, beginning with the Sun, which was evolved and carried to India in the circumstances explained in my preceding note. Thus, both Brahmagupta (wrote A.D. 628) and Lalla (apparently just about the same time) have taken the planets in this order in stating, each in his first chapter, the numbers of the revolutions of them in their exeligmoi or calculative periods. This habit was so general as to be the subject of special comment in A.D. 1030 by Albērūnī, who said:1-"It is a custom of the Hindus to enumerate the planets in the order of the week-days. They will persist in using it in their astronomical handbooks, as well as in other books, and they decline to use any other order, though it be much more correct." And to such an extent did it prevail that we find the expression $S\bar{u}ry-\bar{a}di$, "the Sun, etc.", used freely in the astronomical writings to mean the Sun and the other six planets in (as is always made clear by the context) the astrological or weekday order. So, also, in matters in which the Sun happens not to figure, we find Chandr-adi used to denote the Moon and the remaining five planets, again in that same order. And occasionally, when something is to be taught about only the planets properly so called, we find use made of Bhaum-ādi, Kuj-ādi, "Mars, etc.", to denote Mars and the remaining four, again in the same order. though this habit does at first sight seem a somewhat peculiar one to be adopted by scientific writers, it is not altogether a matter for surprise. Its origin is found in the method of the Hindu astronomers, of beginning their treatises by stating the number of the revolutions of the planets in their exeligmoi. In this procedure the Sun

Trans. Sachau, 1, 215.

was taken first, because the number of the revolutions of the Sun laid down for any particular excligmos gives the number of the years in the period, and so paves the way for the application of the number of revolutions assigned to each of the other components of the system. The Moon's turn came next in any circumstances. And then, the order adopted so far agreeing with the well-established astrological order, it was not at all unnatural that the same order should be followed in stating the elements for the remaining components of the system; especially because probably every early Hindū astronomer was also more or less of an astrologer, though, perhaps, seldom to such an extent as in the case of Varāhamihira.

It is to the influence of this inveterate habit of the Hindū astronomers,— due, itself, to the influence of the planetary week,— of neglecting the astronomical order of the planets in writing about them, in favour of taking them in the astrological or weekday order beginning with the Sun, that we may attribute the view presented in the Purāṇas, which actually places the Sun as the first of the planets, the nearest to the earth.¹ And this habit of the astronomers plainly became fixed long before the use of the planetary week as an ordinary item of the Hindū calendar became at all general. Even so, however, the habit must have existed for an appreciable period, before it could have so peculiar an effect. And the point remains as to the time by which it had become sufficiently confirmed for it to operate in that manner.

With the materials available to us in the shape of edited texts and translations and abstracts of unpublished works, we can, so far, only trace the habit from the latter part

¹ It remains, no doubt, a curious point that the Purāṇas should thus transfer the Sun from the position in the centre of the list, between Venus and Mars, to the place nearest to the earth, and yet should abstain from rearranging the whole series of the planets into the astrological or weekday order. This point may perhaps be considered on some other occasion.

of the sixth century. We recognize, indeed, a beginning of it in the work of Āryabhaṭa, written in or soon after A.D. 499. Verse 1 of the Daśagitikasūtra, the introductory part of his work containing his elements and certain other preliminaries, states first the revolutions of the Sun for the excligmos used by him, the Yuga of 4,320,000 years, and then the revolutions of the Moon. Next, however, it states the rotations of the earth (for which other writers substituted the revolutions of the stars; stating them, however, after the same detail for Saturn): and then, dealing with the remaining planets, it preserves the astronomical arrangement in the descending order,—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. Thus, what he did stops far short of the practice which we have quoted from astronomical writers who came after him.

It is, in fact, only from the time of Varāhamihira, who died in A.D. 587, and whose literary activity may be placed from A.D. 550 onwards, that we can, so far, trace the habit as an established one. And in view of the point that he was both an astronomer and an astrologer, we may venture to suggest that it was actually by him that the habit was set going. But, as has been said, the habit must have existed for an appreciable time before it could have such an influence as is seen in the Puranic idea of the universe. And while I write, of course, with reservations, subject to anything that we may learn hereafter from the publication of other astronomical texts which can be referred to the sixth century or before it, I think that we must fix A.D. 600 as the earliest limit for the composition of the passages which present that idea, or of some archetypal passage on which they were based.

J. F. FLEET.

The Rupnath and Sarnath Edicts of Asoka Since the time when Dr. Thomas showed that the Sahasrām text of Aśōka's short sermon on "zeal" contains the word rātri, "a night," the much-discussed term vivāsa of the Rūpnāth text has been taken in two slightly different ways. Dr. Thomas and M. Lévi 2 explain it by "nights spent abroad" and Dr. Fleet by "nights spent in worship".3 The same difference of opinion prevails in the interpretation of the last clause but one of the Rūpnāth text, which contains the gerundive vivasetavāya (read vivasetaviye). According to Dr. Thomas (p. 518) the king "requests his officers to start or to make people start on similar tours in their whole jurisdiction", while Dr. Fleet (p. 1103) translates: "And by this same token, as long as your food lasts you should make vivāsa everywhere." M. Lévi (p. 125) does not translate this passage, but he renders the similar clause of the Sarnath pillar inscription as follows: "Faites que, dans l'étendue de votre ressort, partout on quitte sa maison conformément à ce texte; et aussi faites que dans tous les pays de protectorat (?) on fasse que l'on quitte sa maison."

The Sārnāth passage may be expected to contribute to the correct interpretation of the Rūpnāth one, as it contains all the three crucial words of the second, viz. viyamjana, āhāla, and vivāsayati. I shall now endeavour to ascertain their true meaning by considering the context in which the Sārnāth passage occurs. For this purpose it is first of all necessary to define the subject of the Sārnāth edict with the help of two other, closely connected, inscriptions, viz. the Sāñchi pillar edict and the so-called Kosambi edict on the Allahabad pillar. Luckily the main portion of the royal order is preserved in all the three versions.

Sārnāth edict, Il. 3-5

e chum kho [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃgham bh[okha]t[i] s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i [sa]mnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi āvāsayiye

Journal Asiatique, série 10, tome 15 (1910, part 1), p. 520.

² Id., tome 17 (1911, part 1), p. 119. ³ This Journal, 1911, p. 1106.

"But indeed that monk or nun who shall misdirect the Samgha, should be caused to put on white robes (and) to reside in a non-residence." ¹

Sānchi edict, 11.4-7

ye samgham bhokhati bhikhu vā bhikhu[nī] vā odātāni dus[ān]i sanam[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e]

"The monk or nun who shall misdirect the Samgha, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence."

Kosambi edict, 11. 3-4

... [samgham bho]khati bhikh[u] v[ā] bhikh[u]n[i] vā [se pi] chā [o*]dāt[ā]ni dusāni [sa]namdhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i ā]v[ā]sayiy[e]

"And also that monk or nun [who] shall misdirect the Samgha, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence."

This sentence is preceded at Sārnāth (l. 3) by the words . . . ye kenapi samghe bhetave, in which, as M. Boyer ingeniously proposes, ye is perhaps the remainder of na sakiye: "The Samgha [cannot] be divided by anyone." In the Sānchi edict (ll. 2-4) I read now . [y]ā bhe[ta] . . (restore bhetave) . . [gh]e (restore samghe) mage (restore samage) kate [bhi*]-khāna[m] cha bhi[khun]ānam ch[ā] ti [p]uta-pa[po*]tike cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke, and translate: ". . . [cannot] be divided. The Samgha both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine)." The Kosambi edict (l. 2) reads instead: . . .

¹ See this Journal, 1911, p. 168, footnotes 1 and 2, and p. 169, footnote 1. As pointed out by M. Senart (Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1907, p. 28), āvāsayiye is the optative passive of ārāsayati.

² Journal Asiatique, série 10, tome 10 (1907, part 2), p. 129.

³ For the reading puta-papotike chamdama-sūriyike see this Journal, 1911, p. 167 f.

[sa]ma[ge ka]t[e] sa[m]gh[a]si no l[a]hiye, which may be translated: "[The Samgha] is made united . . . should not be received into the Samgha."

The first line is preserved only in the Kosambi edict, which begins:—

[Devānam*][p]iye ānapayati Kosambiyam mahām[ā]ta "[Dēvānām]priya commands(thus). The superintendents at Kosambi . . ."

At the beginning of the Sārnāth text, only the two first syllables of Aśōka's title $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$ are preserved; but it may be safely assumed that both this edict and the Sāñchi one were, like the Kosambi edict, addressed by the king to the local Mahāmātras. The object which he had in view is repeated at the end of the Sāñchi edict (l. 7 f.): "For my desire is that the Sangha may be united 2 (and) of long duration"; and it was for this purpose that he threatened monks and nuns who would cause divisions with expulsion.

The Sānchi and Kosambi texts go no farther than this; while the Sārnāth text (ll. 5-9) adds the following clauses:—

"Thus this edict must be submitted both to the Saingha of monks and to the Saingha of nuns.

"Thus speaks Dēvānāmpriya:—

"And let one written 3 copy of this edict 4 remain 5

¹ Lahiye may be derived from the root lahh; cf. the optative passive avasayiye in l. 4 of the Kosambi edict and in l. 5 of the Sarnath edict.

² Cf. this Journal, 1911, p. 168, where I have pointed out that the reading of the stone is not samphasa mage, but sampha samage, and see the Pātimokkha (id., 1876, p. 75, § 10): samaggo hi sampho . . . phāsa viharati.

³ Professor Venis (Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, 1907, vol. 3, p. 2) was the first to translate nikship by "inscribing". That he is right appears from the Raghuvamśa, vii, 65, where Mallinātha explains nikshēpita by lēkhita.

4 Literally, "one edict of this description."

⁵ M. Senart (Comptes Rendus, 1907, p. 30) explains huvāti as subjunctive. Cf. the Māhārāshtrī form huvanti in Pischel's Grammatik, § 476.

with you in (your) office. And write ye another copy of this very edict, (to remain) with the lay-worshippers.

"And these lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict. And invariably on every fast-day every superintendent (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it)."

It will be seen that this longish passage adds nothing new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāñchi and Allahabad, but provides merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the Mahāmātras and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services.

It will now be clear that it is impossible to translate the two last clauses of the Sārnāth text in the manner proposed by M. Lévi (see p. 1054 above). An abrupt order to the Mahāmātras to "make people leave their houses" would be unintelligible in this connexion. What we expect is further provisions for giving a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra.² It is but natural to assume that the word $\bar{a}h\bar{a}la$ in l. 9 refers to the district of Pāṭaliputra, and the koṭa-vishavā in l. 10 to outlying jungle tracts, which were not fully pacified but were held by means of military posts, such as the "forests" mentioned in the thirteenth rock edict. It follows, further, that the two

² Of this word only the two first syllables are preserved at the beginning of 1. 3.

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¹ M. Senart (Comptes Rendus, 1907, p. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering samsalana (= Sanskrit samsarana) as the designation of some locality. Professor Venis (Journ. and Proc. As. Soc. Bengal, 1907, vol. 3, p. 2) translates it by "place of assembly".

subjunctives vivāsayātha and vivāsāpayāthā in ll. 10 and 11, which are addressed to the Mahāmātras of Pātaliputra, can only mean "go ye on tour" and "cause ye (others) to go on tour", and that the instrumental etena viyamjanena must refer to the edict itself. As vyamjana is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of "letter" as opposed to "sense" (attha), I propose to render it by "with a literal copy of this (edict)". In this way I arrive at the following translation of the two last clauses of the Sārnāth text, which I am glad to say is nearly identical with the one given by M. Senart in Comptes Rendus, 1907, p. 35 f.:—

Sārnāth edict, ll. 9-11

"And as far as your district (extends), go ye on tour everywhere with a literal copy of this (edict).

"In the same way cause ye (others) to go on tour with a literal copy of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts."

It remains to apply this result to the passage of the Rūpnāth text which was quoted at the beginning of this note, and which I would now translate thus:—

Rüpnāth edict, 1.5

"And with a literal copy of this (proclamation) 3 (you) must go on tour everywhere, as far as your district (extends)."

¹ As Dr. Thomas (p. 517) notes, the usual Pāli equivalent of virasati is vippavasati; see Childers, s.v. Dr. Vogel (Ep. Ind., vol. 8, p. 171) justly remarks that vivāsayati, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, as it is followed in the second clause by vivāsāpayati, which can be nothing but a causative of vivāsayati. The form vivaseti at Rūpnāth (l. 5) may be either a Prākṛit variant of vivasati (cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 472) or a clerical mistake for vivāseti.

² See Childers, Pali Dictionary, s.v. vyanjanam, and note the antithesis

between atha and viyamjana in ll. 4 and 5 of the Rupnath text.

³ The word "proclamation" (sāvana) occurs in 11. 3 and 5 of the Rūpnāth edict. Cf. the Delhi-Siwālik pillar edict vii, 11. 20 and 22, where Aśōka states that he has issued "proclamations on morality" (dhamma-sāvanāni).

I trust to have proved, by the comparison and analysis of the Sārnāth edict, that this clause of the Rūpnāth edict has nothing whatever to do with the actual subject of Aśōka's proclamation (which, as I believe with Dr. Fleet, is parākrama or "zeal"), but is intended merely to provide for the circulation of the latter among the inhabitants of the district. For the substantive vivāsa, which may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and therefore ought to be connected in meaning with, vivaseti, see this Journal for 1910, p. 1309.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on that passage of the Rūpnāth and connected texts in which the king states that, as a result of his zeal (pakama = parā-krama), men in Jambudvīpa had been made associated with the gods. I believe that Dr. Thomas has come very near the actual meaning of it when he says (above, p. 480): "Are we to understand a conversion of people who previously did not recognize the Brahmanical gods?" In a slightly modified form, this suggestion finds support in many passages of the rock and pillar edicts, in which Aśōka declares that his chief aim was to secure the "attainment of heaven" (svagāradhī, Girnār, ix, l. 9) by his subjects through the practice of morality. I shall only quote the sixth rock edict (Girnār, ll. 11-14):—

"And (this is the object of) whatever effort I am making (ya cha kimchi parākramāmi aham), viz., that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, that I may make them happy in this (world), and that they may attain heaven in the other (world). For the following purpose this edict on morality was caused to be written, viz., that it might last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons might conform to this for the welfare of all men. But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal (parākrama)."

E. HULTZSCH.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE

This vase was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat, south-west of Kabul, during the years 1834-7, and is now in the British Museum. It is described in Ariana Antiqua (p. 117) and E. Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Essays (p. 161); and several scholars have endeavoured to decipher the inscription on it. At Dr. Fleet's request I undertook the attempt, and my article on it will be published in the Epigraphia Indica, but meantime (with permission) a very brief statement of my results may be of interest to scholars.

The script is Kharosthi, and the letters are all well made and clearly distinguished, except y and s, which are much alike. The characters for d and ph are of a modified form, and a new character for final anusvara appears in padiyamśam (ll. 3, 4). An important feature is the rightward stroke added to the foot of a consonant. It is of two forms when added to g in the first part of the inscription (down to bhavagra in 1. 3), straight and curved up; the latter denotes a real r as in agra (1. 2); the former does not signify r, but probably gave g the sound of $\dot{\varsigma}$ and is transcribed as an italic r, thus gra =ordinary ga. It is also added to mi and transcribed as r, but mri probably = mhi. There appear to be only three clerical errors, in rajatibaja (l. 2), aviya (l. 3), and asamśrana or asamryana (l. 4), with possibly a fourth in avasatrigana (l. 3).

The language is a Prakrit close to Sanskrit. The chief modifications are briefly these. The Sanskrit tenues k, t, t, and p, when not initial and not conjunct, are changed here to their corresponding mediæ, except in verbal terminations; thus mada-pidara (l. 2) = $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}-pitara$,

JASB., 1861, p. 337; JRAS., Vol. XX, pp. 221-68, 1863; Journ. Asiat., sér. viii, vol. xv, p. 121, 1890; sér. ix, vol. vii, p. 8, 1896; JRAS., 1909, p. 661.

a genitive collective singular corresponding to Skt. * $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ -pitar + ah.¹ This holds good for tr, thus pudra (l. 1) = putra. Accordingly such a media in the inscription may represent an original single media, thus sada (l. 3) = Skt. sadas, and bhagrae (l. 2) is from Skt. $bh\bar{a}ga$; or (since consonants are not written double in this script) a doubled media, as the b in bhradaba (l. 2), which = $bhr\bar{a}tabba$, Skt. $bhr\bar{a}trvya$; or an original single tenuis, as the d in bhradaba, and as nabagra (l. 3) = napaka, Skt. nrpa + ka. Consequently, a single tenuis non-initial here represents an original doubled tenuis, thus natigra (l. 2) = nattika, Skt. naptr + ka. If the words be modified accordingly, they appear as Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom, as shown in the italic interlineation.

The inscription evinces Greek and Persian influences. Artamisiya (l. 1) is Greek; so also probably tumbi (l. 1) and Mityaga (l. 3). Hastuna (l. 2) seems Persian; so also probably Kamagulya, Vagra, and Marega.

Text

- 1 Sam 20 20 10 1 masya Artamisiyasa stehi 10 4 1 Sam[vatsare] 51 māsasa Artamisiyasa stehi 15 Imena gadigrena Kamagulya pudra Vagra-Mare-Imena gaddikena Kamagulya putra Vagra-Mare-grasya iya-Khavadamri kadalayigra Vagra-Marigra-gasya iya-Khavatamhi kat-alayika Vagra-Mariga-viharamri tumbimri bhagravada Śakya-mune śarīra vihāramhi tumbimhi bhagavata Śākya-mune śarīra paridhāpeti
- 2 Imena kuśala-mulena maharaja-rajatibaja-Hoveṣ-Imena kuśala-mūlena mahārāja-rājātirāja-Hoveṣkasya agra-bhagrae bhavatu Mada-pidara me puyae kasya agra-bhāgāe bhavatu Mātā-pitara me pūyāe

Visarga disappearing in Prakrit. Similarly bhagravada Śakya-mune
 (l. 1) = Skt. bhagavata(h) Śākya-mune(h).

bhavatu Bhradaba me Haṣṭuna-Maregrasya puyae bhavatu Bhrātabba me Haṣṭuna-Maregasya pūyāe bhavatu Śoca me bhuya Natigra-midra-sambhati-bhavatu Śoca me bhūyā Nattika-mitra-sambhatti-grana puyae bhavatu Mahiśa ca Vagra-Maregrasya kāna pūyāe bhavatu Mahīśa ca Vagra-Maregasya agra-bhagra-padiyamśam agra-bhāga-patiyamśam

- Sarva satvana aroga dachinae bhayatu bhavatu bhavatu Sarva-sattvāna aroga-dacchināe bhavatu Aviya-nabagra paryata-śava-bhavagra yo adra-Ariya-napaka paryatta-śāva-bhāvaka yo āddraamtara-amda-jo jalayuga saphatiga arupyata antara-anda-jo jalāyuka šapphattika arūpyattā sarvina puyae bhavatu Mahiśa ca Rohana sadasārvīna pūyāe bhavatu Mahīśa ca Rohana sadasarvina avasatrigana sa-parivara agra-bhagacasārvīna avasattrikāna sa-parivāra ca agra-bhāgapadiya(m)śam bhavatu Mityagasya ca agra-bhaga patiyamsam bhavatu Mityagasya ca agra-bhāga bhavatu bhavatu
- 4 Eṣa vihāram asamśrana (or asamryana) Maha-Eṣa vihāram asamśraya (? or ācāryāna?) Mahāsamghigana parigraha. sanghikāna parigraha.

Translation

In the year 51 on the day 15 (of the first half?) of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marega's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, inters a relic of the Lord Śākya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery.

By means of this meritorious foundation-may it (the

relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hoveska! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Hastuna Marega! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of my grandsons, friends, and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marega! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all these, namely, the saintly king, him who has obtained the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the creature which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the creature whose life is in water, the graminivorous animal and the incorporeal soul! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Rohana, all his household and his dependants 2 together with his retinue! And may there be a pre-eminent lot for Mityaga!

This monastery is (or was) a gift to the Mahāsanghikas who are teachers (or, who had no habitation?).

F. E. PARGITER.

NILAKANTHADHARANI

M. de la Vallée Poussin et M. R. Gauthiot ont publié dans le Journal (no. de Juillet, 1912, pp. 629 seqq.) un fragment de dhāraṇī rapporté de Touen - houang par M. (Sir Marc Aurel) Stein. Ce document soigneusement déchiffré par les deux éditeurs mérite de retenir l'attention, malgré son apparence insignifiante. Le colophon de la dhāraṇī lui donne le nom de Nīlakantha. Le Catalogue de la période Teke-youen (Teke-youen lou), compilé de 1285 à 1287, enregistre sous le titre sanscrit de Nīlakantha (dhāraṇī) deux ouvrages admis dans le canon des Song, des

¹ That is, the śrāvaka.

² Strictly, feminine, from Sanskrit * $avasaktr\bar{\imath} + k\tilde{a}$.

Youen, des Ming (et qui figurent aussi dans la collection coréenne). L'un porte en chinois le titre de Ts'ien-yen ts'ien-p'i koan-che-yin p'ou-sa t'o-lo-ni chen-tch'esu king, "le livre des formules sacrées de la dhāranī d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille yeux et aux mille bras" (Cat. de Nanjio, no. 318; éd. de Tōkyō, boîte xxvi, vol. v, pp. 30b-35b); le traducteur est Tche-Houng (Nanjio, App. ii, 134), moine chinois qui traduisit quatre dharanis entre 627 et 653. L'autre est intitulé en chinois: Ts'ien-cheou ts'ien-yen Koan-che-yin p'ou-sa mou-t'o-lo-ni chen-king, "le livre du corps de la dhāranī de la vieille d'Avalokitesvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (Nanj., 319; éd. Tōk., xxvi, 5, pp. 23b-30a); la traduction est due au fameux Bodhiruci (Nanj., App. ii, 150), originaire de sud de l'Inde et qui traduisit 53 ouvrages, de 693 à 713. Bodhiruci a traduit la Nīlakanthadhāranī en 709. Les deux traductions représentent le même original. On a trouvé de part et d'autre, enchâssée dans un cadre du type banal, une dhāranī très voisine de la formule conservée en brāhmī et en sogdien à Touen-houang, et composée en partie des mêmes éléments. Mais les différences sont trop fortes pour qu'on puisse identifier les textes. Un autre ouvrage du canon chinois rappelle par son titre les deux précédents: c'est le Ts'ien-cheou ts'ien-yen Koan-che-yin p'ou-sa koang-tayouen-mang wou-gnai ta-pei-sin t'o-lo-ni king, "le livre de la dhāranī du cœur de la grande compassion sans obstacle, abondante et vaste, d'Avalokitesvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (Nanj., 320; éd. Tōk., xxvii, 10, 31b-36a); traduit à une date indéterminée, sous la dynastie des Tang, par Kia-fan-ta-mo originaire de l'Inde occidentale (Nanj., App. ii, 135). Nanjio note que cet ouvrage a été très populaire en Chine depuis la dynastie des Song (960-1127), on y trouve une dhāranī qui, elle aussi, rappelle de près la Nîlakantha dhāranī de Touenhouang, mais sans être identique. L'édition de Corée

a seule conservé une dharani extraite de l'original traduit par Kia-fan-ta-mo et publié à part : Ts'ien-cheou ts'ienyen Koan-tze-tsai p'ou-sa Koang-ta youen-mang woungai ta-pei-sin t'o-lo-ni tch'esu-pen, "original de la formule sacrée de la dharani du cœur de la grande compassion sans obstacle, abondante et vaste, d'Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva aux mille mains et aux mille yeux" (manque à Nanjio et aux collections chinoises; éd. de Tōkyō, xxvii, 10, 30a-31a). C'est une simple transcription en caractères chinois de l'original sanscrit, exécutée par une des gloires du tantrisme chinois. Vairabodhi (Nani. App. ii, 153), le maître du grand Amoghavajra, Vajrabodhi, originaire du pays de Malaya, dans l'Inde du sud, arriva en Chine après un voyage accidenté, coupé de stations prolongées, en 719; il y mourut en 732. L'original suivi par Vajrabodhi est absolument identique au texte de Touen-houang. Il est inutile de donner une transcription intégrale de cet abracadabra. Il suffira de noter que le texte est découpé bizarrement en tranches irrégulières, qui marquent sans doute les haltes du débit rituel. Ces tranches sont au nombre de 113. Le fragment Stein s'ouvre, pour la brāhmī, au cours de la tranche 45; pour le sogdien, au début de la tranche 42. La ligne initiale, marquée O par les éditeurs, a pour équivalent dans la transcription chinoise: (42) vidyām, (43) dehi dehi tavalam (sic), (44) gamangama, (45) vihangama vingama (sic). Au sujet des particularités graphiques signalées par M. de la Vallée Poussin, je note l. 7 (=65) mahātripura (ti+li-pou-lo); l. 14 (85) mahātātahāsa; l. 15 (87) vāci (fo-tsi).

Il est acquis désormais que la Nīlakaṇṭhadhāraṇī jouissait d'une faveur toute spéciale chez les bouddhistes de la Chine entre 650 et 750 de l'ère chrétienne. La présence à Touen-houang de cette dhāraṇī, tracée en écriture de l'Inde et en écriture sogdienne, est une autre preuve de cette popularité. Le document Stein gagne à cette

constatation un intérêt plus humain et plus réel; sa date aussi gagne en précision; nous avons un indice de plus pour la rapporter aux environs de l'an 700.

PARIS.

Sylvain Lévi.

Août 9, 1912.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE RTUSAMHARA

The latest assault on the tradition which attributes to Kālidāsa the composition of the Rtusamhāra is due to Dr. J. Nobel, who, admitting the inconclusiveness of the earlier doubts expressed on the subject, seeks to disprove the tradition by arguments drawn in the main from the Alamkāraśāstra. As Dr. Nobel expresses in a more definite and precise form than usual the arguments against the ascription to Kālidāsa, it will be useful briefly to consider his proofs.

1. In a MS. taken to China at some comparatively early date, and written, according to Dr. Nobel, about 1200 A.D.4, the scribe has copied out the beginnings of the Kumārasaṃbhava, the Meghadūta and the Raghuvaṁśa and adds some obscure Akṣaras which may possibly be read as trayakāvyaḥ viśaṣa traya kāvyam. Hence it is deduced that the scribe desired to give the beginning of the Kāvyas of Kāladāsa and knew only three. The argument is really too preposterous to need refutation.

¹ Vallabhadeva in Subhāsitāvalī, vv. 1674 and 1678, quotes Rtusamhāra, vi, 16 and 19, as Kālidāsa's. It should be noted that v. 1673 is also Kālidāsa's (Kumārasambhava, iii, 29), which strengthens the attribution. The fact that vv. 1703 and 1704 are quoted as anonymous has no weight; no doubt they were taken from an anthology which gave no names, as Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften, p. 71, n. 2, suggests.

² e.g. Weber, *Ind. Streif.* ii, 151; Stenzler, ZDMG. xliv, 33, n. 3. Oldenberg, *Der Literatur des alten Indien*, p. 217, n. 1, leaves the matter open. Weber, it must be remembered, at one time doubted the authenticity of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, but later recognized his error; see his *Indian Literature*, p. 204, n. 211.

³ ZDMG. lxvi, 275-82.

⁴ The argument for the date is of uncertain value; for the MS. cf. Kielhorn, Academy, xlv, 498 seqq.

- 2. In Mallinātha's commentary on Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha,¹ Mallinātha refers to himself as having explained a certain principle Kālidāsatrayasamjīvinyām, and as a matter of fact he has explained the principle in his commentaries on the Meghadāta² and the Raghuvaṃśa.³ But the reference to traya here has a perfectly simple sense: Mallinātha commented on three Kāvyas of Kālidāsa; he refers to this fact, and his reference gives absolutely no ground for the view that he held that Kālidāsa only wrote three; Kālidāsatrayasamjīvinī means a commentary on three (works) of Kālidāsa, not on "the three", which is a sense we must read in ab extra, if at all.
- 3. It is urged, though not adduced as a substantive ground, that the Kāvya cannot be compared in literary merit with the admitted works of Kālidāsa. I need not oppose my own opinion to this dictum: V. Henry, who quotes S. Lévi's doubts of the Rtusamhāra, says "encore lui [Kālidāsa] ferait-il honneur"; so Macdonell writes: "Perhaps no other work of Kālidāsa's manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in depicting an Indian landscape in vivid colours." In truth the reputation of the poem is not due, as suggested by Dr. Nobel, to its production in a comparatively unpolished age; it is owing to its high qualities of style and poetic conception.
- 4. Walters ⁷ has argued that the *Rtusamhāra* displays a distinct fondness, later not characteristic of the poet, for the repetition of the same words. But to this argument the reply is twofold; in the first place it is utterly misleading to say, "Dergleichen findet sich in Meghadūta

¹ xiii, 24. For Mallinātha's date see Keith, Bodleian Catalogue, Appendix, p. 23.

² i, 36.

³ xii, 19.

⁴ Le théâtre indien, ii, 43.

i, 36.
 xii, 19.
 Les Littératures de l'Inde, p. 217.

⁶ Sanskrit Literature, p. 317.

⁷ Übereinstimmungen in Gedanken bei den indischen Kunstdichtern, pp. 6 seqq.

und auch in Kālidāsa's übrigen Werken nicht, was sicher kein Zufall ist." The repetition of the same word is never rare in Kālidāsa; thus in the Uttaramegha in v. 41 drstipātam is echoed in v. 42 by drstir ālupyate me; in v. 41 utpaśyāmi is followed in v. 43 by paśyantīnām; in v. 34 stanitavimukhah is followed in v. 35 by stanitavacanaih; in v. 34 occurs sahasva; in v. 42 sahate; in v. 34 gādhopagūdham; in v. 39 gādhataptena; in v. 45 gādhoṣmābhih; in v. 39 pratanu tanunā; in v. 41 pratanusu; in v. 29 virahadivase; in v. 31 prathamavirahe; in v. 39 utkantham utkanthitena; and in v. 40 utkanthāviracitapadam. But it is absurd to collect instances; they occur on every side. In the second place, even if the theory were true, the obvious explanation is that the Rtusamhāra is an earlier and less mature work, and this is to some extent supported by the fact that the repetition in the Meghadūta seems more artistic than in the Rtusamhāra.

5. It is argued that in poetic figures the Meghadūta is more advanced than the Rtusamhāra. The argument is frankly weak, for the two poems agree substantially in the use of the Sabdālamkāras, such as the Yamaka and Anuprāsa, and the Meghadūta has no certain case of a Dipaka, while the Rtusumhāra has many,1 and Dr. Nobel, therefore, is reduced to arguing that the Dīpakas of the Rtusamhāra are simpler than those of the Kumārasambhava² or Raghuvamśa.³ It is needless to labour the question of taste, in which I do not wholly agree with Dr. Nobel, but in any case it is quite unnecessary to claim more than that the Rtusamhāra is an early work. Indeed, in correcting Pischel's 4 view of the relations of the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvamśa Dr. Nobel concedes the point, for he ascribes the comparative neglect of the Kāvya rules in the former work

¹ i, 2, 3, 6, 25; iii, 2, 5, 20, etc.

² v, 5; vi, 69.

³ iv, 42; xii, 9.

⁴ Kultur der Gegenwart, 1, vii, 201.

to its earlier date. But why not so treat the $Rtu-samh\bar{a}ra$?

Dr. Nobel prefers to lay stress on the absence of the figure, Arthantaranyasa, from the $Rtusamh\bar{a}ra$, whereas it is common in the $Meghad\bar{u}ta$. For the stress laid on this criterion no ground can be alleged: the Arthantaranyasa is a figure admirably adapted for the latter poem with its constant contrast between the lot of the Yakṣa and his former happiness and the misery of the Yakṣa and the happy fate of the cloud (see e.g. Pūrvamegha, vv. 3, 5, and 6), while it is far less appropriate in the $Rtusamh\bar{a}ra$ which lacks any such motive, nor is there any ground for holding that if genuine the two Kāvyas must be closely connected in time.

On the other side Dr. Nobel ignores entirely the force of the argument from the notices of Vatsabhaṭṭi. He accepts the view that this poetaster copied both Kālidāsa¹ and the Rtusaṃhāra,² and he admits that they need not have been far distant in time. But it is really very improbable that Vatsabhaṭṭi should have imitated Kālidāsa and a work attributed to Kālidāsa but not Kālidāsa's, though it is in spirit and general characteristics thoroughly in Kālidāsa's manner. And, it should be added, last but not least, Kielhorn, whose judgment in these matters is of great value, unhesitatingly treats the Rtusaṃhāra as a work of Kālidāsa.

Indeed, the incorrectness of the whole theory can be seen at once if it is remembered that many great poets ⁸ have shown marked changes of power and form in the course of their careers, and that the gulf between their early and their late, their best and their worst work, is

² Kielhorn, Gött. Nach. 1890, p. 253.

¹ Bühler, Die indischen Inschriften, pp. 18, 70 segg.

³ The difference between the Eclogues and Georgics of Vergil are much more marked, and yet their ascription to Vergil is in both cases beyond all doubt. Again, the poems of Catullus show a variety much greater than that found in the case of Kālidāsa's poems.

often infinitely greater than that between the Rtusamhāra and the other three Kāvyas ascribed to Kālidāsa. The differences between the Meghadūta and the Rtusamhāra are legitimately interesting as traces of poetic development, but they have no value as evidence for difference of authorship.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE STANZAS OF BHARATA

In the Mélanges d'Indianisme offerts par ses élèves à M. Sylvain Lévi, Professor Edward Huber presents a brief paper under the title "Sur le texte tibétain de quelques stances morales de Bharata", in which he makes an interesting attempt at shedding light on some obscure passages in this difficult text by consulting the Chinese translation of Yi-ts'ing. In criticizing Schiefner's rendering of this work, M. Huber exclusively refers to his translation which appeared in the Memoirs of the Petersburg Academy (vol. xxii, No. 7, 1875), but unfortunately overlooked the fact (though it is expressly indicated in the preface to this memoir, p. vii) that Schiefner has edited also the Tibetan text of this work with a Latin translation and a valuable glossary (Bharatae Responsa tibetice cum versione latina ab Antonio Schiefner edita, Petropoli, 1875). If M. Huber will look up this edition, he will no doubt recognize that this is a piece of thorough and creditable work which commands respect. The text is critically and carefully edited from a collation of the Kanjur prints of Narthang and Peking, and the Arabic text of Kalila and Dimna has also been utilized. M. Huber on his part availed himself of a copy of the Tibetan text made for him by a Mongol Lama in Peking after the Peking edition of the Kanjur, a copy which in all likelihood is bound to be less reliable than the edition of Schiefner.

He who is intent on furthering the understanding of

this work must take regard of a good many other things. It is known that the story of Bharata has become part and parcel of Tibetan folk-lore, and that several entirely different versions of it are in existence. Thus far three of these popular versions have been published. One under the title "The Ulūkasūtra" has been translated from a manuscript of the India Office Library by A. Schiefner the Mélanges asiatiques, vol. viii, pp. 635-640 (St. Petersburg, 1879); the relations of this text to the Replies of Bharata are pointed out by him on p. 624. Another more vulgar version entitled "Hā-shang-rgyal-po and Ug-tad (i.e. 57° \$75°), a Dialogue", translated from the Tibetan by Karl Marx, was published in JASB., vol. lx, pt. i, No. 2, pp. 37-46, 1891. Thirdly, a Tibetan text under the name কুণ-র্নুর্-সূত্র-সর্ত্র্রণ "Çāstra of the King and the Minister" is printed in the Tibetan Reader, No. v, edited by Lama T. Ph. Wangdan (Darjeeling, 1898); here the Indian king, an incarnation of Māra, is called Ha-shan-deva, and the minister who effects his conversion is Buddha himself transformed into an owl. Substantially, this version differs from those of Schiefner and Marx, and quite naturally, as the comical answers of the minister allow of an almost endless variation. In WZKM. vol. xiii, p. 223, I briefly alluded to a possible connexion of the Bharata series with our stories of Eulenspiegel; indeed, Bharata or the minister Owl (Ulūka) is in his very jokes the prototype of our Eulen (Owl)-spiegel. The three versions here mentioned have not yet been compared; of the text translated by Marx, I possess four manuscripts. But one important conclusion can be reached that, in view of the numerous variations and deviations of these texts, there is a high degree of probability that also a plurality of original Sanskrit versions of this story has existed. If this, however, was the case, it is not necessary to assume that the Tibetan and Chinese translations were

made from exactly the same Sanskrit text, which seems improbable also for the reason that the two translations are separated by a long space of time. M. Huber takes it for granted that both versions have emanated from the same original, and therefore seeks the meaning conveyed by the Chinese stanzas also in the corresponding Tibetan This procedure may certainly prove correct in many cases, but it must not be so in all cases. It cannot be made a general principle, as it is always possible that the Tibetan translator had a different Sanskrit wording before his eyes or interpreted the passage at variance with the Chinese translator. Under no circumstances, however, must the meaning, yielded by the Chinese phrases, be forced into the Tibetan, if it cannot naturally be deduced from the Tibetan sentence. While I gladly admit that M. Huber has largely improved on the translation of the two last stanzas quoted by him on pp. 3091 and 310 and readily accept his result, I fail to see that his new translation on p. 307 can be deduced from the Tibetan text; nothing is there to justify the translations: "A l'improviste châtient les rois, . . . à l'improviste surviennent les bonnes aubaines." Schiefner's translation certainly is here capable of improvement; the last verse should be: "The monk ought not to think of gain." It is quite manifest that in this case the Chinese and Tibetan translations do not follow the same Sanskrit model.

¹ A different reading of the same stanza is quoted by Sarat Chandra Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 50α, which may serve as additional evidence for the existence of various versions of the text.

is a compound rtsa lag (lit. root and hands, i.e. root and branches) which assumes the meaning of relations, friend, usually in a Buddhist sense (= upāsaka). The Tibetan-Mongol Dictionaries render it by Mongol ürisadu or orok-sadu (sadu from Skr. sādhu). The compound rtsa mjin is simply a synonym of rtsa lag, and is explained in the Dictionary Zla-bai Od-snan, "the Moonlight" (printed 1838 at Peking, fol. 95b), as ünür sadu, "a true friend"; the literal translation of the phrase is "the pith of the root". For the rest, the word "rich" suggested to M. Huber by the Chinese text only is not contained in the Tibetan; the phrase rtsa mjin c'un simply means "one who has few friends".

Finally, I should like to express the wish that M. Huber would give us a complete translation of Yi-ts'ing's text. The work has a certain importance for the history of folk-lore; in my opinion the jokes of Bharata must be interpreted as riddles, the solution of which is unfortunately placed first. If his sentences are put as queries, we obtain veritable riddles, and it is this very feature which has been so pleasing to the Tibetans and accounts for the great popularity of the book in Tibet.

BERTHOLD LAUFER.

VISISTADVAITAM

The word viśiṣṭādvaitam is strangely mistranslated "qualified monism". This phrase is scarcely intelligible, and in any case does not express the fundamental teaching of Rāmānuja. Viśiṣṭādvaitam is viśiṣṭayor advaitam, "the identity of the two viśiṣṭas." Viśiṣṭa means "substantive" as opposed to viśeṣaṇa, "adjective." Brahma is viśiṣṭa; and Cit (individual souls) and Acit (matter) are as viśeṣaṇa to him. Now Brahma exists in two states, viz. in the kāraṇāvasthā during the periods of dissolution, when Cit and Acit exist in a subtle (sūkṣma) condition as his body, and in the kāryāvasthā during the

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periods of cosmic manifestation, when Cit and Acit, still forming his body, are in a manifested (sthūla) state. Thus in the former case he is sūkṣma-cid-acid-viśiṣṭa, qualified by subtle Cit and Acit, and in the latter he is sthūla-cid-acid-viśiṣṭa, qualified by perceptible Cit and Acit. The Viśiṣṭādvaitam teaches that these two Brahmas, these two viśiṣṭas, are one and the same being.

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR.

SOME NOTES ON BENGALI

A kind footnote at p. 281 of the January number of our Journal emboldens me to write down a few notes on the development of Bengali which may interest students of the modern languages of India. On the title-page of his History of Bengali Language and Literature, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen quotes, with natural pride, the obiter dictum of an old friend of his and mine to the effect that "Bengali unites the mellifluousness of Italian with the power possessed by German of rendering complex ideas". Bengali is, to be sure, a supple and expressive language, and, spoken as it is in Nadiya for instance, it is very pleasant to the ear. But if we are to look for an interesting and suggestive parallel among Western languages, surely our choice should fall on French. If the Indo-European languages of Northern India are related to Sanskrit as the "Latin" languages are related to the speech of Rome, then Bengali is quite startlingly like French. If Provence was one of the earliest of Roman colonies, the land of the langue d'oil is one of the last to come wholly under the Latin influence, so that people are still biglot in N.W. France and in the Pyrenees. So is it in N.E. Bengal, where Bodo dialects hold their own with Bengali. The word-stress, in Bengali as in French, is so faint that the phrase-stress (in both languages accompanied by an audible rise of tone) is the dominant feature. A result common to both languages is that

verse in both is syllabic, and not divided into feet due to the recurrent beat caused by emphasized or lengthened syllables. In both rhyme seems to be a practical necessity, and attempts to write blank verse are only recognizable as metre by the use of intoning or some other such musical expedient. It has been denied, I know, that Bengali is one of the languages in which phrase-stress dominates and obscures word-stress, just as M. Paul Passy (a formidable authority) says that French verse is not syllabic, and that its rhythm is just as much a matter of regularly recurring beats as the verse of English or German. But the faintness of word-stress in Bengali may be made tolerably obvious by considering the pronunciation of words borrowed from stressed languages, such as Hindi or English. Dakhl (possession) is pronounced dokhol, with a level accent on both syllables, and zamin (land) becomes jomi. In French and Bengali alike, several words are pronounced rapidly together, and the phrasal unit thus formed has a dominant syllable, which, to my hearing, is both stressed and pronounced at a higher pitch than the rest of the phrase. This is, perhaps, particularly noticeable in the so-called "compound verbs", so characteristic of Bengali idiom. They exist, of course, in other Indo-European tongues, but Bengali is particularly rich in this device. A participle (sometimes even two) is joined to a finite verb, and the combined phrase has a meaning different from its component parts. I do not think that this linguistic device is so much as mentioned in native vyākarans, and even in grammars written in English the list of such "compound verbs" is manifestly incomplete. It is, of course, sometimes difficult to say in a given case whether there has been a fusion of meaning. For instance, there may be doubt in the case of such a picturesque compound as se baliyā basila, "he having said, sat," which means "he quietly said," "he had the quiet impudence to say."

In grammar papers set to candidates for linguistic honours in Bengali, they are often required to describe the Bengali passive. Here the conscientious candidate's difficulty is worth stating with some particularity, since it is an apt example of the different views often held by native and foreign grammarians respectively. native vyākarans do not so much as mention a passive voice, perhaps because they do not recognize any special verbal device exclusively appropriated to the expression of the passive sense. Mr. D. C. Sen is very tantalizing in this matter. At p. 922 of his History he cites as a "curious specimen" of European blunders an early attempt by the Rev. J. Keith to conjugate one tense of the Bengali passive. This attempt only differs from the conjugation given at p. 145 of Shama Charan Sirkar's well-known grammar in two points. The second person is made to terminate in $-l\bar{a}$ instead of in -le, and the pronoun in the third person plural lacks the honorific candra-vindu. The latter error is probably a misprint. The second person in -la survives, I think, in Assamese and in N. Bengal.

In Mr. Beames's little grammar, and in Sirkar, the passive construction is āmi mārā yāi, where mārā is plainly participial, as in the corresponding construction in Hindi. In Wenger's grammar, and in Mr. R. P. De's recently published Bengali: Literary and Colloquial, the construction given is āmāke mārā yāy. Here mārā has become a verbal noun and the subject of the verb yāy. (It may be of interest to note that this way of expressing the passive occurs in Gaelic, but not, I am told, in the Celtic of Ireland or Brittany.) If we search books for examples of the construction we are handicapped by the fact that the passive, rare at all times, seems to be most commonly used of inanimate things. Hence, owing to the structure of the language, the most common specimens of the passive may be interpreted either way. But in the

few cases where there can be little doubt the construction seems participial rather than nominal, as, for instance, in the phrase $e\bar{\imath}$ sakti $n\bar{a}$ thakile, anek granthakar $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ yāiten, where the termination of the verb yāiten plainly shows that $granthak\bar{a}r$ is in the nominative, and $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ the complement of the verb and not its subject.

Perhaps we ought not to talk of a passive in analytic languages which have no specific verbal inflection to express the passive idea. In Bengali, as in most modern Indian languages, the passive sense can be expressed in many alternative ways, some not exclusively used for that purpose. Thus, it is possible to say $\bar{a}mi$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ $padil\bar{a}m$, "I fell beaten," a construction which is interesting because it shows that $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ is still used participially, and is not, as shown in grammars written in English, merely a verbal noun. The fact that the grammars disagree may be due to local differences of usage, and, in any case, the nominal construction is probably a new development due to the sense that such forms as $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ are becoming verbal nouns.

Perhaps, too, we ought to congratulate ourselves that European grammarians have not discovered a middle voice in Bengali. The causal form of the verb can be used to express a reflexive sense, as in the phrase $t\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ $bh\bar{a}la$ $dekh\bar{a}y$ $n\bar{a}$, "that does not look well." There are many verbs of this type which correspond to French reflexives. Thus, $bed\bar{a}ite=$ "se promener" and $janm\bar{a}ite$ often has the sense of "se produire", as well as the causal meaning which usually belongs to its form.

If an apology is needed for this ingenuous exposition of elementary difficulties, it may perhaps be found in the fact that grammatical discrepancies are often due to an attempt to classify Indian facts of language according to European grammatical terminology. This is very marked in the instance of the cases, so that we get such statements (I am actually quoting) as "the locative is used in cases where in English the dative or accusative would be used".

This implies that the meaning of the adhikaran case is normally "locative". In the instance of primitive non-Indo-European languages the facts of grammar can hardly be expressed in European phraseology at all, as Sir Richard Temple has shown. In the case of such languages as Bengali it is perhaps safest in a land of grammarians to use vernacular terms which at least do not beg doubtful questions of interpretation and are based on the observation of natives. Where the foreigner can perhaps be of use is in drawing attention to constructions which from sheer familiarity may have escaped the notice of native grammarians. The passive in Bengali would seem to be one of these. The methods of expressing the passive sense must needs be explained to foreigners, and perhaps native grammarians might like to know how the mechanism of the passive and of "compound verbs" strikes the foreign student. This might stimulate their analytic faculty, and thus help the foreign student to learn from his best masters—those who have used the language from birth.

J. D. A.

NOTE ON THE RAMAYANA OF TULASI DAS

There is an obscure passage towards the end of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍ of the Hindi Rāmāyaṇa, describing the malice of the god Indra, the sense and origin of which seem to have escaped the sole translator of that epic. The last Chaupāī preceding the 290th Dohā¹ (using the text published by the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā of Benares) runs as follows:—

निष्य हॅसि कह क्रपानिधानू। सरिस खान मघवान जुबानू। This is rendered by Mr. Growse thus: "Seeing this the Ocean of compassion smiled to himself and said, 'Indra is like a dog in his ways.'"

¹ [i.e. the 290th Dohā according to Growse's translation. In the N.P.S. edition it is No. 302. The verse quoted is the last line on p. 331.—Ep.]

The literal translation of the second half of the Chaupāi is "A dog, Indra, and a young are alike".

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

These have

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA UP TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1911

The following is a list of the volumes of the Survey, showing the state at which each has arrived:—

- Vol. I. Introduction. This cannot be touched until all the other volumes have been printed and indexed.
 - " II. Mon-Khmer and Tai families.
 - " III. Tibeto-Burman family. In three parts.
 - " IV. Mundā and Dravidian families.

, V. Indo-Aryan languages, Eastern all been group. In two parts. printed and

, VI. Indo-Aryan languages, Mediate published.

" VII. Indo-Aryan languages, Southern group.

" VIII. Indo-Aryan languages, North-Western group.

A portion in type, and the rest nearly ready for the press.

Vol. IX. Indo-Aryan languages, Central group:—
Part I. Western Hindī and Panjābī.

In the press.

- , II. Rājasthānī and Printed Gujarātī. and
- III. Bhīl languages, etc. published.
- , IV. Himalayan languages. In the press.
- "X. Eranian languages. The greater part in type. A small portion remaining to be written.
- , XI. Gipsy languages. This has been prepared by Dr. Konow, and is ready for the press.

It will thus be seen that the Survey, save for the Introductory volume, is nearly completed. Only a few months' work remains. As for what has not already been published, the following remarks may be of interest.

Vol. VIII covers the whole of North-Western India, and deals with Sindhī, Lahndī, and the Piśācha languages (including Kāshmīrī) spoken between the north-western frontier of India proper and the Hindū Kush. With the exception of Kāshmīrī, all the Piśācha languages have been disposed of, and the section dealing with them is in type. Lahndī, by far the heaviest section, is completed except for a couple of dialects, regarding which it has been found necessary to make reference to India. Sindhī, which will require but a short section, has not yet been touched. All, therefore, of this volume that remains to be done is Sindhī, two dialects of Lahndī, and Kāshmīrī.

As regards Vol. IX (Eranian languages), two forms of speech remain untouched, viz. Bilōchī and Ormūrī. The latter is a most interesting but little-known language spoken in Wazīristān. I have been fortunate enough to obtain excellent materials, and hope to be able to give

a fairly complete account of it. I have already drafted a grammar and vocabulary. Although distinctly a member of the Eranian family, it also shows points of agreement with the Piśācha languages of the Hindū Kush country. It may here be remarked that Khētrānī, a dialect of the Indo-Aryan Lahndī, also shows signs of similar agreement. The rest of this volume, dealing with the Ghalchah languages, Pushtō, and some local varieties of Persian, has long been in type.

As regards Vol. IX, the parts dealing with Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and the Bhīl languages have already been published. The part for Western Hindī and Panjābī has long been ready for the press, but difficulties connected with the preparation of special Oriental type have delayed its appearance. Part IV has lately been completed in MS. and gone to press. It deals with the Indo-Aryan languages of the Himālaya from Darjeeling in the east to beyond Chambā in the west. These have been divided into three languages or groups of dialects, which (proceeding from east to west) I name respectively Eastern Pahārī or Naipālī, Central Pahārī, and Western Pahārī.

These Pahārī languages exhibit points of great interest, both to the ethnologist and to the philologist. In Eastern Pahārī we have an Indo-Aryan language spoken by a dominant class, comparatively few in number, amidst a population whose speech is Tibeto-Burman. In such a case we should expect to find many instances of Tibeto-Burman loan-words, but this does not occur to any large extent. On the other hand, the grammar is greatly influenced, and we find this Indo-Aryan language adopting a system of conjugation and rules of syntax which are essentially Tibeto-Burman. For instance, as in Tibeto-Burman, there is a special impersonal conjugation of every verb, giving an honorific sense; and the subject of a transitive verb in any tense (not only the past tense) is put into the case of the agent.

Central Pahāṛī is the language of Kumaun and Gaṛhwāl. The many dialects can conveniently be grouped under the two language names of Kumaunī and Gaṛhwālī. The speakers of Eastern Pahāṛī call themselves "Khas", and the principal dialect of Kumaunī is called Khas-parjiyā, or "the speech of the Khas-people". The main cultivating population of Kumaun and Gaṛhwāl belongs to the Khas tribe. Western Pahāṛī is the name given to the group of dialects between Gaṛhwāl on the east and Jammū and Kashmīr on the west. It includes the vernacular language of the country round Simla.

The tract over which Central and Western Pahārī are spoken closely corresponds to the ancient Sapādalaksha,¹ the country from which in old times the Gurjaras migrated to populate North-Eastern Rājputānā (Mēwāt and Jaipur). D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that the Rājpūts are the modern representatives of ancient Gurjaras who adopted the profession of arms, the remainder, who adhered to the tribal pastoral life, retaining the old name of "Gurjara", or in modern times "Gūjar".

The Khas tribe of the Central Pahārī tract represents the ancient Khasas, regarding whom much has been written, but little definitely proved. The cultivating population of the Western Pahārī tract calls itself "Kanēt", not "Khas"; but the Kanēts are divided into two classes, one of which, the lower in status, bears the name of "Khas". The other class, of higher status, calls itself "Rāo" and claims, as the name implies, to be of impure Rājpūt descent.

The language spoken in the three Pahārī tracts is, as is well known, connected with Rājasthānī, and when the Pahārī volume appears it will be seen that it agrees most closely with the dialects of North-Eastern Rājputānā—Mēwātī and Jaipurī. But throughout there are traces of

¹ See D. R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Antiquary*, xl, 1911, 28. The name still survives in the "Sawālākh" Hills.

another form of speech belonging to the North-Western group of Indo-Aryan languages, which I call "Piśācha". These traces are slight in Eastern Pahārī, strong in Central Pahārī, and very strong in Western Pahārī.

The state of affairs is further complicated by the fact that in the extreme north-west, amongst Piśāca-speaking peoples, in the distant hills of Ṣwāt and Kashmīr, there are at the present day wandering tribes of Gūjar cattletenders and shepherds, who have a language of their own quite different from that of the people among whom they dwell. This language also closely resembles the Rājasthānī of Mēwāt and Jaipur.

Although it is unsafe to base ethnological theories on linguistic facts, I think that when Part IV of Vol. IX of the Linguistic Survey is published it will be seen that the following theory is at least not inconsistent with the linguistic facts as we now observe them.

I suggest that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himālaya tract, known as Sapādalaksha, were the Khaśas. These spoke a language akin to what are now the Piśācha languages of the Hindū Kush. They are now represented in the Western Pahārī tract by the Khas clan of the Kanēts and in the Central Pahārī tract by the Khas tribe, which forms the bulk of the cultivating population.

In later time the Khaśas were conquered by the Gurjaras. The Gurjaras are now represented by the Rājpūts of the whole Sapādalaksha tract, and also by the Rāo clan of the Kanēts, which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits, but remained cultivators. Hence their claim to be of impure Rājpūt descent. In Garhwāl and Kumaun, where (for our present purposes) there are only Rājpūts and Khaśas, the cultivating Gurjaras became merged in the general Khas population. Over the whole of this Sapādalaksha tract the Gurjaras and the Khaśas gradually amalgamated, and they now speak one language,

mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the speech of the original Khasa population.

As Bhandarkar has shown, many of these Sapādalaksha Gurjaras migrated into Rājputānā, carrying their language with them, which there developed into Rājasthānī. In the subsequent centuries there was constant communication between Rājputānā and Sapādalaksha, and, under the pressure of Mughul domination, there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rājputānā into Sapādalaksha. These immigrants were received with all the prestige of the high position to which they had attained in the social system of the Indian Plains. The foundation by them of various Hill States is a matter of history and need not here detain us, but, from a linguistic point of view, the important fact is that they still further strengthened the Rājasthānī element in the Pahārī dialects.

There remain the nomadic Gujars of the north-western Their presence is accounted for as follows:—We hills. have seen that those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits, but adhered to their pastoral occupation, retained the name and social status of Gurjaras or Gujars. During the period in which Rajput rule became extended over the Panjāb, the Rājpūt fighting-men were accompanied by their humbler pastoral brethren, and we now find a line of Gujar colonization running from Mēwāt (the "Gujarāt" of Albiruni) up both sides of the Jamna Valley, and thence following the foot of the Panjab Himalaya, right up to the Indus. Where they have settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language and speak that of the surrounding population, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as "Gujari". In each case this can best be described as the language of the people nearest the local Gujars, but badly spoken, as if by foreigners. The further we go into these sparsely populated hills, the more independent do we find the Gujar dialect, and the less is

it influenced by its surroundings. At length, when we get into the wild hill-country of Swat and Kashmir, the nomad Gujars are found still pursuing their pastoral avocations, and still speaking the language their ancestors brought with them from Mēwāt. But even this shows traces of its long journey. For these Gujars, wandering over hills where the resident population speaks either Pushtō or some Piśācha dialect, and separated from the Jamnā by the wide plains of the Punjāb, over which either Lahndi or Panjābi is the universal tongue, speak a language which, though nearly the same as Mēwātī, also contains, like flies in amber, odd phrases and idioms belonging to the Hindostani of the Jamna Valley. These they could not have taken from Pushtō or from Piśācha. These are strange alike to Lahndi and Panjābi. These do not occur in Mēwātī, and they clearly show that the Gujars, on their way to Swat and Kashmir, must, at one period of their wanderings, have lived in the Jamna Valley.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

An Archæological Collection for Munich

An Exhibition was held in Munich during May and June of this year of an interesting collection made by Professor Scherman, Director of the Royal Ethnographical Museum, in the course of a twelve months' tour in Burma and India. Professor Scherman's main object was to fill up gaps in the Museum exhibits, and as Burma was poorly represented more than half his time was devoted to that province. The result is a very fine and complete collection of objects illustrating the daily life of the people-Burmese, Shans, Palaungs, Karens, Nagas, Kachins, and others. Clothing, ornaments, arms, pottery, household and agricultural implements, musical instruments, sacred utensils, and specimens of weaving all find their place for each of the principal racial divisions. The Todas and Gonds of Southern India are similarly dealt with, and the Jains of Ahmadabad are represented by a set of sacred utensils and by carvings from old temples. The collection also includes religious and other objects from Assam and the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, sculptures from Mathura, and embroideries and ornaments from other parts of India. In all there are over two thousand pieces. Most of them were bought with the aid of officials, missionaries (especially those of the American Baptist Mission), and gentlemen interested in ethnology; but some are from the private collections of Messrs. Needham, Swinhoe, and C. E. Browne, and some presented by Sawbwas and others.

Among the most conspicuous exhibits are two doorways of glass mosaic from a ruined monastery in Upper Burma, a carved throne in the style of those in Mandalay Palace, and a processional car containing a Buddha. One side of a room is occupied by a complete set of marionettes, arranged as in a Burmese operatic play, and in front of these is an entire orchestra. Less familiar objects to those living in Burma are some fine bronze drums from Karenni, made by Shans. There are Buddhas in every position and of every type and material, and specimens showing the stages of the cire-perdu process by which brass images are manufactured. Pre-Buddhist religion is well represented by copies of the remarkable carved figures of the Thirty-seven Nats at Nyaungu, near Pagan. The art of wood-carving before it became over-elaborate and degenerate is exemplified by specimens from ruined monasteries in the Upper Chindwin and Mandalay. silver-work also, which fills a large case, has been chosen as characteristic of the Shan and Burmese art of the last century rather than of the more modern developments. There is a very fine collection of spears, swords, knives,

and bows, and, lastly, models of boats, houses, carts, etc. The uses to which all these things are put are illustrated in photographs by Mrs. Scherman, selected from about a thousand negatives.

The Director of the museum is an official of the Bavarian Government, but the expenses of the tour were defrayed from private subscriptions. Professor Scherman travelled with letters of recommendation from the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

The exhibits will be stored until room is obtained for them in a new museum building.

Notes on some Sufi Lives

In the preface to the Kashf al-Mahjūb, p. xvii, its author is said to have studied under Khuttali and another. In Mr. Clauson's Khulūṣa Ta'rīkh al-Bahā (ante, p. 598, n. 1) I have come across the name of a third teacher, Abu-l-Faḍl al-Sahlaki, who is mentioned (Kashf, 164) as "Shaikh Sahlagi", and as imparting direct information to the author. In the Khulūṣa he is stated to have written a work on the arcana of Bāyazīd, and to have died A.H. 398,¹ whereas Dhahabi dates his death in 477. Were the earlier date correct the pupil must have survived the master by at least sixty years. The Khulūṣa again mentions the Kashf in connexion with Abu 'Abd A. Muḥ. b. Khalaf al-Rāṣāni, d. 419.² He must

أوفيها [يعنى سنة ٣٩٨] توقى الشيخ العالم ابو الفضل محمد بن السهلكي صاحب كتاب النور في كتمان طيفوركان صاحب كرامات وآيات اخذ الشريعة والطريقة عن شيخ المشايخ البسطامي وقام بعده مقامة . واخذ منه الشيح عبد الرحمن السلمي والشيخ على بن عثمان الجُلابي صاحب كتاب كشف المحاجوب .

2 وفيها [يعنى سنة ٤١٩] توفّى شيخ المشايخ ابو عبد الله محمد بن على بن خلف الراساني العارف بالله وكان عالماً بفنون العلم

be identical with the Dāstāni (p. 164), "who found an excellent successor in Shaikh Sahlagi." And the text goes on to notice the death, in the same year, of Kharakāni (p. 163), who is called Rabbāni, presumably an epithet, and to give an Arabic version of his conversation with Mīhani, as also Ķushairi's account of his feelings on entering Kharakān to the same effect as in the Kashf. The death of the author of that work does not appear to be noticed in the Khulāṣa.

I take the opportunity of correcting some errors in the article which have been pointed out by one or other of the three Professors to whose assistance I was indebted: 557, n. 3, read تنافروا, as in Shaʻrāni's Lawākiḥ al-Anwār, i, 97, penult.; 564, ult., read ننتدلّل عليك , and translate "his love was recognized, but the Deity had been coquetting with him"; 566, n. 2, ll. 2 and 3, read خوف ; 568, l. 4 a.f., read تكلّموا على and 3 a.f., translate "are rare"; 569, n. 1, the text is given more correctly in Subki's Tabakāt al-Shāft'iyya, ii, 39, and, differently, Lawākiḥ, i, 83; ib., penult., read "Akṭa' and Makki disclaimed him — بئ منه — those whom the Fark

حكى انه حفظ القرآن وهو ابن سبع سنين وكان من اولياء الدين جمعوا بين الشريعة والعقيقة ذكرة الشيخ على بن عثمان بن على المجاتب المُسمّى كشف المحتجوب . وفيها توقى الشيخ ابو العسن على بن احمد الرباني صاحب الكرامات والمقامات ذكرة صاحب كشف المحتجوب قال : فى زمانه كان محموعًا بجميع مشايخ عصرة قصد زيارته الشيخ ابو سعيد بن ابى الخير ايعنى الميهنى] وجرت بينهما محاورات لطيفة . وقال ابو القاسم القشيرى : لما دخلتُ خرقان ارججّت على فصاحتى وعبارتى من حشمة ذلك الشيخ وحسيتُ كاتى عُرلتُ عن الولاية . قال صاحب كتاب آثار البلاد وذكر ان من حضر قبرة يغلبه قبضٌ شدية .

mentions as accepting him are Ibn 'Aṭā, Ibn Khafīf, and Nasrābādhi".

I may add that Nakkāsh (574, note) was the author of a Tabakat al-Sūfiyya (Ḥāji Kh. 7905); that al-Awāriji (572, n. 2) is mentioned 'Arīb, 87, l. 17; and that Muh. b. 'Abd A. al-Shīrāzi and Ibn Bākūya, mentioned ib. 103, ll. 6 and 21, are one and the same person; cf. ante, 556, ult. His death in 428 is noticed by Dhahabi, Or. 49, 148b.

In the table: p. 581, for Kharkāni read Kharakāni (Ansāb); p. 582, the Maghribi mentioned, Muh. b. Ismā'īl, should be followed by another, Sa'id b. Sallam (Kashf, p. 158), d. 373 (Sulami, 111^a, and Dhahabi, Or. 48, 135^b). And it is probable that the preceding Ibn al-Kūti should be read Ibn al-Ghūti (from the Ghūta of Damascus), for the name appears thus in the Kitab al-Luma' (B.M. Or. 7710, 148*a*, *b*), in a version of the *Kashf* story (pp. 408–9) of the young man's sudden death on the "audition" of a verse. In the Luma' it is Dukki who is walking with Ibn al-Ghūti at the spot mentioned, and the young man adjures the girl to repeat the verse, not for his own life's sake, but for that of her master. The "change" in the verse seems to be in respect of colour—تلوّن and on هذا والله تلوني مع الحتى في hearing it the youth exclaims and dies. A somewhat similar tragedy, but without a Sūfi environment, is told by Jāḥiz as having taken place at the court of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, or of one of his sons (see Mas'ūdi, Prairies d'Or, vii, 225, and Ibn Khall., de Sl., ii, 406). The death there was selfinflicted, but the Caliph's conduct may have been the model for the impulsive proceedings of the singer's master here.

I have found the *Kitāb al-Luma* quoted for a Ṣūfi there mentioned, Abu-l-Ṭaib Aḥmad b. Muṣātil al-'Akki, in the *Ansāb* of Sam'āni, *Gibb Facsimile*, 396^b, 2 a.f., a volume which may, by the time these lines are in print, have actually reached the public's hands.

H. F. A.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE KITAB AL-LUMA

In his "Notes on some Sufi Lives" published in the last number of the Journal, Mr. Amedroz refers (p. 555, n. 1) to my forthcoming edition of the famous Arabic treatise on Súfism by Abú Nasr al-Sarráj of Tús. Only two MSS, of the Kitáb al-Luma' are known to exist. One of these belongs to Mr. A. G. Ellis, who has kindly placed it at my disposal: it is dated 683 A.H., is carefully written, and has been collated throughout, as appears from the numerous corrections in the margin. The second MS. has recently been acquired by the British Museum (Or. 7710). Its date is much earlier, namely 548 A.H., and it represents an older recension of the work. Although the two texts agree closely with each other, their variations being generally unimportant, the rule seniores priores applies to manuscripts as well as to men: and I should not have decided to make Mr. Ellis's copy (A) the basis of my edition if the British Museum codex (B) were what Mr. Amedroz says it is-"a complete and legibly written MS." The description, however, is seriously misleading. Compared with A, which itself is not complete, B is defective to the extent of more than a third part of the whole text: of the 193 folios in A. 72 are wanting in B. The single lacuna in A covers six chapters (probably between ten and fifteen folios) which B, unfortunately, does not supply. B is legible enough, except where it has been damaged by worms, but A is in far sounder condition and is also more correct. I will add, for the benefit of anyone who may wish to peruse or consult the only copy of the Kitáb al-Luma' at present available, that the pagination and order of the text are in hopeless confusion. The correct order is given in the second column of the following table, which also shows what portions of the text are missing:-

A

A, fol. 1a, 1l. 2-10. A, fol. 1α, ll. 10–16. A, fol. 1a, l. 17—fol. 5b, l. 7. A, fol. 5b, l. 7—fol. 6a, l. 9. A, fol. 6a, l. 9—fol. 10b, l. 1. A, fol. 10b, l. 1—fol. 16b, l. 1. A, fol. 16b, l. 1—fol. 17α, l. 3. A, fol. 17a, I. 4—fol. 32a, I. 7. A, fol. 32a, l. 7—fol. 41b, l. 15. A, fol. 41b, l. 15—fol. 62a, last line. A, fol. 62b, l. 1—fol. 63b, penult. A, fol. 63b, last line—fol. 68b, l. 10. A, fol. 68b, I. 10—fol. 69a, I. 12. A, fol. 69a, l. 12 - fol. 95b, l. 8. A, fol. 95b, l. 8—fol. 105b, l. 12. A, fol. 105b, 1. 12—fol. 108b, 1, 2. A, fol. 108b, 1. 2-fol. 109a, 1. 16. A, fol. 109a, 1. 16—fol. 109b, 1. 12. A, fol. 109b, l. 13—fol. 112b, l. 8. A, fol. 112b, l. 9—fol. 113b, l. 4. A, fol. 113b, l. 5—fol. 114a, l. 7. A, fol. 114a, l. 8—fol. 115b, l. 4. A, fol. 115b, l. 5—fol. 119α, l. 19. A, fol. 119a, penult.—fol. 147b, l. 2. A, fol. 147b, l. 2—fol. 153a, l. 18. A, fol. 153a, l. 18—fol. 172a, l. 8. A, fol. 172a, l. 8—fol. 172b, l. 10. A, fol. 172b, l. 10—fol. 173a, last line. A, fol. 173a, last line-fol. 178a, 1. 2. A, fol. 178a, l. 3—fol. 193b, l. 4.

B

B, om. B, fol. 3a, 11. 1–11. B, om. B, fol. 3b, l. 1—fol. 4a, last line. B, om. B, fol. 4b. l. 1—fol. 15a, last line. B, om. B, fol. 15b, l. 1—fol. 43a, last line. B, fol. 69b, l. 1—fol. 87b, l. 7. B, om. B, fol. 87b, 1. 8—fol. 90a, last line. B, fol. 43b, l. 1—fol. 52a, last line. B, fol. 68b, l. 1—fol. 69a, last line. B, om. B, fol. 90b, l. 1—fol. 109b, l. 1. B, fol. 232a, l. 6—fol. 238a, last line. B, fol. 239b, l. 1—fol. 241a, last line. B, fol. 238b, l. 1—fol. 239a, last line. B, fol. 62b, l. 1—fol. 68a, last line. B, fol. 54b, l. 1—fol. 56a, last line. B, fol. 241b, l. 1—fol. 242a, last line. B, fol. 52b, l. 1—fol. 54a, last line. B, fol. 56b, l. 1—fol. 62a, last line. B, fol. 131a, last line—fol. 191a, l. 4. B, fol. 109b, l. 2—fol. 122a, l. 10. B, fol. 191α , l. 4—fol. 230α , last line. B, om. B, fol. 230b, l. 1—fol. 232a, l. 6. B, fol. 122a, l. 10—fol. 131a, penult. B, om.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

THE BUSHELL BOWL

Mr. L. C. Hopkins in deciphering the inscription of the Bushell Bowl, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (JRAS., 1912, pp. 439 ff.), finds considerable difficulty in explaining the character 豪, No. 245. It seems to me that there is every probability of its modern form being 鼎 or 禹, which according to Giles' Dictionary (edition 1911), 11268 and 11269, signifies "a caldron; a tripod, or a four-footed vessel, of bronze, with two ears; a sacrificial vessel, regarded as an emblem of Imperial power;

hence, the empire". Of course, to use Mr. Hopkins' own words, such an equation does not satisfy the conditions, for neither the Bushell Bowl nor the San Shih P'an can properly be styled a *ting* any more than a 鬲, *li*, at least as far as modern Chinese is concerned. But we have to base theories on facts, not interpret facts to fit into theories.

If Mr. Hopkins is correct, and the thing referred to in the inscription as having been "completed" or "made" is our very bowl, then it would be well to point out the fact that ting is not necessarily a tripod, although commonly denoting such in present-day language, but may include even to-day, and perhaps much more so in the seventh century B.C., sacrificial vessels of other shapes. There is a play of words in this sentence, which may have induced the engraver to use these characters. 元, if Mr. Hopkins reads the character correctly, of which he himself shows some doubt, has also the meaning of "original, to originate", etc., and ting that of "dynasty", quite enough to tempt any Chinese scribe. Cf. 定鼎 or 立鼎, "to establish a dynasty" (Giles).

If, on the other hand, Professors Giles, Chavannes, etc., are right, and the bowl is "a fake", then it is quite probable that the inscription of the bowl is a copy, more or less true, of another inscription, the original perhaps having been cast or engraved on the *ting* mentioned.

But the most probable version appears to me to be that the inscription on the Bushell Bowl recounts the deeds and rewards of that Prince of Chin. Among the distinctions bestowed on him by the king is a ting, which beside its intrinsic value probably had some symbolical meaning.

On the whole, the arguments of the "iconoclasts" carry more conviction, and it is certainly awkward to base an entire theory on a letter admittedly in dispute, or rather not deciphered yet at all.

H. GIPPERICH.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I have read with interest Mr. Gipperich's comments on my article on the Bushell Bowl. The difficulty with regard to the identification of character No. 245 with ting, a caldron, is that, though ancient examples of that character are very numerous, there is among them no known instance of our form. Hence I dared not treat the latter as ting, for, as Mr. Gipperich remarks, "we have to base theories on facts, not interpret facts [or characters] to fit into theories."

I am not in any doubt as to the preceding character 元, yüan. But it is uncertain, perhaps, whether its sense in this passage is "original" or "great".

I am not sure whether Mr. Gipperich supposes me to base my belief in the genuineness of the Bowl and its inscription on the sentence under discussion. However, I formed my opinion long before these few characters came fully to light.

L. C. HOPKINS.

GINGER, ETC.

- 1. In his note on the Indian names for "ginger" (supra, pp. 475-6) my friend Professor Hultzsch concurs with me in disconnecting the form sunthī, as regards its etymology, from the various forms of singa(vera), iñji, etc. As he does not mention the proposed derivation of sunthī from *sustī, which was included in my note (1905, pp. 169-70), he will no doubt permit me to recall attention to it, more especially as I understand him to accord it his approval. It is confirmed, as he points out to me, by the fact that the ordinary Tamil designation sukku is clearly derived from the Sanskrit equivalent suska, "dry," antithetic to ārdraka, "fresh ginger."
- 2. A number of Sanskrit poets bear names ending in -oka, e.g. Bimboka, Gangoka, Gopoka, Hingoka, Nāthoka,

Nīloka, Pundroka, Siddhoka, Vātoka, Yogoka. Aufrecht has made a list of them in one of his MSS., and they will be found scattered in the pages of the Catalogus Catalogorum. One of them, however, Malloka, is omitted as not having written in Sanskrit; he is perhaps the oldest, being author of one of the verses in the Sapta-sataka of Hāla.

We may suggest the following explanation of the suffix. The poet Amarri is frequently cited by the variants Amaraka, Amaruka, and Amarūka (see Professor Simon's edition of the Śataka, pp. 16 sqq.). $Amar\bar{u}$ will, therefore, be a Prākrit derivative from Amaraka by loss of the k, which has subsequently been reappended in $Amar\bar{u}ka$, just as our word salt-cellar contains the word for "salt" twice. Similarly, $V\bar{a}toka$, etc., represent an original kose-form $V\bar{a}taka$, etc., reduced to $V\bar{a}to$, etc., and again reamplified to $V\bar{a}toka$. If, however, I am invited to particularize the dialect in which the change -akah — $a\ddot{u}$ — $<\frac{\delta}{u}$ was thus early completed, I must for the present respectfully decline.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, Book III. Edited by Leopold von Schroeder. Leipzig, 1910.

The appearance of the third book 1 of the Samhitā is welcome as at last affording us the actual text of the whole of the Kāthaka. It is true that the Mantras have already been utilized for Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance. and that the material of the Kāthaka has been extensively used and communicated by Weber in his various works, but it is impossible to rely with full confidence on anything short of the full text, and for it, edited with his wonted care and accuracy, we are indeed grateful to Professor von Schroeder. The work of editing is in many ways particularly unsatisfactory, for apart from the paucity of MSS. and the character far from good in many parts of the text, there can be little doubt that the Kāthaka tradition was often not a good one, and the most faithful restoration of the text may vet result in a reading which comparison with other Samhitas shows to be inferior.

Weber's work has rendered it difficult to extract anything new as regards subject-matter 2 of general interest from the $K\bar{a}thaka$, and interest therefore centres in the syntactical side of the text. As in the other two books, the striking feature of the predominance of the narrative imperfect is continued; there are some 370 cases of this usage. Against it is hard to set any narrative perfect at all. The normal use of the perfect is the present sense, seen in $\bar{a}ha$, veda, vidma (xxxii, 4), vidus (xxxi, 15),

¹ For a review of Books i and ii see JRAS. 1910, pp. 517 seqq., and cf. 1909, pp. 149 seqq.

² Bhangaśravas in a Mantra in xxxviii, 12 may be compared with Bhangyaśravas, *Taittirīya Āranyaka*, vi, 5. 2; *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, xvi, 6. 4. That rain falls most on mountains is asserted in xxxvi, 7.

jāgṛhus (xxxvi, 6); prāpus (xxxvi, 6), vivyāca (ibid., dadṛśe (xxxvi, 1), vidādhāra (xxxv, 19), bhejāte (xxxii, 14), dādhāra (xxxvii, 16). The transition from a present to an historical use is seen in cases like atha ha smāha (xxxii, 2, 7): the sense is not a past, as has been erroneously held, it is the present, for the dictum remains a dictum even if said in the past¹; but another form of the same use is seen more markedly in vidām cakāra (xxxii, 2) and uvāca (xxxiv, 17), which is followed by ha sma vai pibati and abravīt; these cases, indeed, seem to indicate the mode by which the perfect became used in the prose of the Brahmaṇas as a narrative form.² Besides these, in the prose I have not found a single case of the narrative use of the perfect.

The aorist is never, of course, used in a narrative sense. It occurs very seldom except in Mantras, where it is very common (e.g. asadan, xxxi, 10; arutsmahi, xxxiii, 1; ahausuh, xxxii, 4; vyakramsta, xxxii, 5; ayāksus, xxxvi, 6; parākramsta, xxxvii, 16; askān, xxxiv, 17) in the usual sense of a proximate past. In the prose its use is almost in these books confined to the sense approaching that of a present which is so common in the Maitrāyanī Samhitā. Clear examples are akran (xxxii, 7), agrahīt (ibid.), āpan (xxxiii, 2), arutsata (ibid.), akrkṣat (xxxvi, 11), agāt (ibid.), abhūt (ibid.), agan (xxxvi, 13), ayāt (ibid.), abhūvan (xxxvi, 14), akrata (ibid.), adhita (xxxvii, 16), akrta (ibid.), akar (xxxvii, 17). They tend to occur in groups, and they are rather unusually frequent for the Kāṭhaka.

The imperfect shows practically no variation from the narrative use; in conjunction with the past passive

TREMEN CONTRACTOR

¹ Cf. Kauşītaki Brāhmana, vii, 6: yo vā tata āyachati tasya vā susrūsanta iti ha smāha, if Muir, Sanskrit Texts, ii², 328, is right in taking this as a quotation. If not, it illustrates xxxiv, 17, as abravīt follows.

² See e.g. Aitareya Brāhmana, viii, 23; JRAS. 1909, p. 150; 1912, p. 724.

participle 1 it gives a suitable expression for the condition resulting from the action of the verb, as in pravistāsīt (xxxi, 4), srstā āsan (xxxv, 20), saṃyattā āsan (xxxvii, 14, and often), etc. In xxxvii, 1 the form asarat is, of course, to be regarded not as an imperfect of sr (which in the Veda is of the third conjugation) but as an aorist, which alone gives the correct sense.

In the use of the moods there is little to remark; in xxxi, 4 is read: ya evam vidvān bhrātrvyānām madhye, 'vasāya yajeta yāvanto 'sya bhrātrvyā yajñāyudhānām upaśrnvanti tesām indriyam vīryam vrnkte; and in xxxi, 5: yāvad ekā devatā kāmayeta tāvad asyā āhuteh prathate; it would be unwise here to see the indefinite, for the change to the indicative is too slight to justify our keeping the text; see, for instance, the change which the editor has made in xxxi, 7 and xxxiv, 1 in the readings pravrjyete and sampadyateti of the Chambers' MS. In xxxii, 2 the teacher Kapivana is credited with the sentence kim u sa yajeta yo gām iva yajñam na duhe, but in this case also we cannot fully rely on the text. In xxxiii, 5 we have tat kutas sā dhokṣyati yām dvādaśakrtva upasīdeyuh, where the future is well adapted to bring out the sense; it is noteworthy that this sequence is decidedly rare; the Tuittirīya, vii, 5. 3. 1, has the indicative. In xxxiv, 2 yeşām dikşitānām pramīyate is followed once by two, once by one, optative, and the optative seems to be required in that clause also. On the other hand, in such cases as xxxiv, 3, yady akrītam apahareyur anyah krītavyah, the optative is justified by the fact that the apodosis is equivalent to an optative of direction, which can of course always be used with an optative in the protasis. The optative is also in place in

¹ This form is very frequent, and it occurs not rarely without a finite verb, but it never has the narrative sense as in later Sanskrit. It expresses the state as existing in the present when no verb is used, e.g. pravistah, xxxi, 15; see Keith, ZDMG. lxiii, 348, 349.

cases like xxxiii, 5 with yathā and no verb in the apodosis, but only tat. The optative occurs also in cases like xxxv. 17: sá yád ánista udvāyád víchittir evásya sá, an instance which is important, as it shows us the origin of the inorganic sa yadi, which is found not only in the Śatapatha Brāhmana and the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, but sporadically elsewhere.

Of other verbal forms may be noted the use of the future participle, which occurs not only very often participially 1 but is also frequently used with an auxiliary verb in the sense "mean to do", as in xxxv, 16: dadyād yāh (dakṣiṇā) dāsyan bhavati; other examples are āgamisyad bhavati (xxxi, 10), nirvapsyan bhavati (xxxi, 15), yakşyamānas syāt (xxxii, 7), and grahīsyan syāt (ibid.). The use of i with the participle in the sense of continuous action is frequent, e.g. xxxiii, 3, 7, 8; xxviii, 1. The infinitive is not common, and usually occurs with īśvara and a form in otoh, as in xxxii, 5; there are also found purā apākartoķ (xxxi, 15), purā pracaritoķ (xxxiv, 17), ā vaditoḥ (xxxii, 7), ā tamitoḥ (xxxvi, 13); udgamam nāśaknot in xxxvi, 8 may be set beside the use of hantum upaplāyata (xxxvi, 10) and arhati with unnetum (xxxvi,13) and aptum (ibid.14); more interesting are the rare usages nāticaritavai (xxxvi, 5) and na grahītavai (xxxiii, 4). In avapādād abibhet (xxxiii, 6) the infinitive is given up and a simple noun used instead.

In two cases a curious usage is found: in xxxiv, 2 the text runs: sa īśvara pāpīyān bhavati, and in xxxvii, 14: īśvara vā abhicaro 'śāntaḥ; in both cases bhavitoḥ and abhicaritor suggest themselves almost irresistibly as the correct versions, and if the text is correct the usages are really only illogical developments.

Of interest are the Kāthaka variants of the following passage: in xxxi, 7 we read nāvindanta yasmin yajñasya

¹ e.g. xxxii, 7; xxxvii, 11; cf. Keith, Classical Quarterly, v, 128.

krūram mārksyāmaha iti, and following that: abravīd aham vas tam janisyāmi yasmin yajñasya krūram mārksyadhva (misprinted °dhya) iti. The construction in the two cases really illustrates the difference between the direct and the indirect, and the single iti must be that which ends the quotation abravīt.2

In case construction there is little noteworthy: $br\bar{u}$ is used with the genitive in the sense of "claiming to be the descendant of" in xxxi, 15; the accusative with anirdāhukah in xxxii, 6 follows the positive construction; the older use is seen in sastis trīni ca śatāni in xxxiii, 1. A curious case is xxxiv, 17: yajña rdhyate yasyaivam viduşo yasyaivam vidvān brahmā bhavati, and xxxvii, 17: yasyaivam viduso yasyaivam vidvān stomabhāgair brahmā bhavati vasīyān bhavati, where the relative is caught up again in an illogical but intelligible manner. Vayasām vīryavattamah occurs in xxxvii, 14, and the concord in brahma ca ksatram ca sayujau karoti in xxxvii, 11 is noteworthy. In xxxi, 1: asyā evainad rāsnām karoti is read while the Kapisthala, xlvii, 1, has $en\bar{a}m$: the only justification of the text is to take it that enad represents the real object and $r\bar{a}sn\bar{a}$ is in apposition, in which case the text is no doubt correct. The use of a neuter predicate is not rare: nedistham occurs both with a masculine (xxxiv, 3) and a feminine (sā hi pitrnām nedistham) (xxxvi, 11). Particular interest attaches to the Mantra citation justāj justatarā panyāt panyatarā, in xxxii, 3, where the Maitrāyanī Samhitā, i, 4. 1, has panyāt panyatarā, for it decides definitely the question raised above 3 whether in such cases the object of comparison is expressed by a noun or an adjective. In xxxvii, 14 von Schroeder corrects pravla(ya)vyathitam iva manyeta into pravlayavyathita, following Professor

¹ The Kapisthala points to mārkṣyāmahā as the reading, as in Maitrāyānī Samhitā, iv, 1. 9 (see above, JRAS. 1910, p. 157).

² Cf. JRAS. 1910, p. 1320. ³ Keith, JRAS. 1909, p. 430.

Caland; but he ignores the fact that the St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes for the accusative the Katha Upanisad, ii, 19: hata's cen manyate hatam and panditam manyamānah from that Upanisad and the Mundaka, and that the accusative is probably to be found in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, iii, i. 4.1

It is not at all clear in what way the editor takes the phrase in xxxvi, 7: te 'bruvan kasya vāhedaṃ śvo bhavitā kasya vā pacateti. The subject seems clearly from the next clause to be odana, and the future in bhavitā seems to call for a future used passively 2 in pacitā. The only objection to this is that pac is normally used without the "intermediate i" and that paktā is therefore to be expected. But the rules as to the use of i have, of course, no fixed value, and the reading pacateti seems difficult indeed to understand, though, of course, it may be a vocative.

In the use of the particles there is little to note: $m\bar{a}$ occurs without a verb in xxxi, i; the following verb, $rdhy\bar{a}sam$, being the positive while $m\bar{a}$ has a sense supplied thence; $api\ ha\ vai$ occurs as beginning a sentence in xxxii, 2 and after etad in xxxii, 20; $ha\ sma\ vai$ occurs in xxxiv, 17 with the present pibati, following on $etad\ ha\ v\bar{a}\ uv\bar{a}ca\ V\bar{a}sisthas\ S\bar{a}tyahavyah$: the sense is not really a mere simple equivalent of the past; the dictum, as noted above, is persistent, and the following clause expresses the custom of the sage on which the dictum was based. In xxxiv, 17 uta— $uta\ na$ is found; both $tvai\ (xxxvi, 6)$ and $tv\bar{a}va$ occur. In xxxvi, 1 is found $na\ hi\ pasavo\ na\ bhu\tilde{n}janti$.

Mention may also be made of *phalikr*, found in xxxi, 4, and of the Mantra form (xl, 4) manmalābhavantīm, which the editor needlessly changes to malmalābhavantīm,

¹ See Keith's ed., p. 242.

<sup>See Speyer, ZDMG. lxiv, 316 seqq.
Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1191.</sup>

following the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, i, 4. 34. But the variant has frequent parallels ¹ in onomatopoetic cases.

The Mantra material offers less of definite interest, as it is of very varying character and age, lacking the distinctive unity of the prose. In xxxiv, 5 the constant confusion² of first persons singular and plural is illustrated by the lines—

yádi jágrad yádi svápna énāmsi cakṛmā vayám súryo mā tásmād énaso vísvān muñcatv ámhasak.

In xxxviii, 9 the mixture of nominatives and the vocative Indra following them with avata is noteworthy. In v, 5. 15, after śrotram asi śrotram mayi dhehi comes āyur asy āyur me dhehi, and here, following Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vii, 5. 19. 2, the editor suggests mayi for me, but that is needless, for me is perfectly good syntax with dhā³ and interchange of cases is not at all rare.⁴ An excellent case is Mahābhārata, xiii, 4533: adhvaryave duhitaraṃ dadātu chandoge vā caritabrahmacarye.

In v, 9. 2 there is a very curious form: two animals are named as offered to Tvastr, a chagalah kalmāsah and a kikidivīvidīgayah, while in the Taittirīya (v, 6. 22) there are three mentioned, a kikidīvi and a vidīgaya being two. The compound is a monstrosity and difficult to understand: a masculine singular Dvandva is a rarity, if not unknown; it is denied for this period by Wackernagel, but the denial is not absolutely certain: ukṣavaśa occurs twice as a masc. sing. in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (ii, 1. 7. 2, 6) and the version "Stierkalb" of the St. Petersburg Dictionary is for once not followed by Monier-Williams. In point of fact, the same text (ii, 1. 4. 4)

¹ Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1193.

² See e.g. Taittirīya Samhitā, iii, 5. 4. 2, as against Maitrāyanī Samhitā, i, 4. 3.

³ See St. Petersburg Dictionary, iii, 902.

⁴ See Keith, JRAS. 1910, p. 468; Oldenberg, ZDMG. lxiii, 287, 288.

⁵ Altind. Gramm. II, i, 163.

has ukṣavaśaú as a compound, meaning beyond all doubt "ox and cow", and the temptation to accept the same version is strong for the singular. Possibly also another case of a non-neuter Dvandva is concealed in the strange ukṣavehát of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii, 4. 4. 6, which is to the St. Petersburg Dictionary doubtfully, but to Böhtlingk¹ and Monier-Williams certainly, "ein zeugungsunfähiger Stier", but to Eggeling a "cow longing for the bull".

The forms revealed have been nearly all used by Weber and by Whitney: $var\bar{\imath}su$ in v, 4. 4 gives support to the tradition of the Naighaṇṭuka, i, 13, and the conjecture $k\bar{u}v\bar{a}rasya$ in v, 6. 3 is perhaps legitimate, as $k\bar{u}v\bar{a}ra$ is recorded in the Amarakośa, i, 2. 3. 1.2 In xxxv. 7 $bh\bar{u}pat\ell$ retains the account postulated by Pāṇini, vi. 2. 19.3 $Dyaurd\bar{a}h$ in xxxix, 9 is strange 4 but clearly traditional; $k\bar{s}utsamb\bar{a}dham\bar{a}n\bar{a}h$ in xxxiii, 3, which is parallel to $k\bar{s}utsamb\bar{a}dham\bar{a}n\bar{a}h$ in $Taittir\bar{\imath}ya$ $Samhit\bar{a}$, vii, 4. 11. 2, is of very remarkable character, and is probably corrupt.5

One of the many corrections of the text has a special interest: in xxxi, 7, for so matiskas sa purodāśuh the editor reads yo, which is borne out by the Kapisthala Samhitā (xlvii, 7) and by the Maitrāyanī Samhitā (iv, 1.9), which

¹ Böhtlingk agrees; Eggeling renders "bulloek" in Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa, iv, 5. 1. 9. Cf. possibly yogakṣema in Taittirīya, vii, 5. 18.

² But $k\bar{u}vara$ may equally well be merely a variant of $k\bar{u}bara$ (Maitrāyanī Samhitā, ii. 1. 11), "cart pole"; for v and b, see Wackernagel, I, 183.

³ Wackernagel, II, i, 265. The form kulīraya found here for the pulīkaya of the Maitrāyanī, iii, 14. 2, 6, kulīpaya of the Vājasaneyi, xxiv, 25, and kulīkaya of the Taittirīya, v, 5, 13, is probably a mere case of a blunder; the original was pulīkaya or kulīpaya, and a corrector inserted rī (or vice versa), with the result that it has ousted the syllable ka or pa; a similar case of a correction being treated as part of the text is found in the Kapiṣṭhala Samhitā, xxviii, 8, where lalāya corresponds to laya (Taittirīya, iv, 7, 3) or lāya (Kāṭhaka, xviii, 8), meaning perhaps "ploughshare".

⁴ Wackernagel, II, i, 47.

⁵ Ibid. 193; not only is such a compound unknown to early texts, but the sense requires the participle to be passive.

has yáthā matíska evám purodásah. This helps to confirm the conjecture of Geldner in the Bisastainya legend in the Aitareya Brāhmana (v, 30. 10, 11) of bisāni steno api yo jahāra for so, which in turn is supported by the Mahābhārata (xiii, 94. 16) yas te harati puskaram.

In the critical note to xxxix, 13 Weber has been over-looked: he suggested hasto for hastau.²

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Gaņit ka Itihās, a History of Mathematics. First part, Arithmetic. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākar Dvivedi. Benares: Prabhākarī Printing Works, 1910. pp. 207. Price Rs. 2.

This is a small work written in Hindi by Sudhākar Dvivedi, the well-known mathematical professor at the Government Sanskrit College, Benares. It appears from an incidental allusion to have been composed about the year 1902, but has been published after his death, which happened in 1910. Though styled a history, the term history cannot properly be applied to it, for it does not attempt to deal with the subject historically; yet much mathematical history is introduced into it. It aims rather at giving an account of arithmetic, with concise notices of all eminent mathematicians and their discoveries and inventions in this field. The first quarter of the book sets out the various systems of numerical notation that were employed in former times in different countries, so leading on to the Arabic system now in universal use, and discusses the conventions adopted for expressing large numbers and the terms selected in India for the highest numerals. The next half of the book deals with the

¹ ZDMG. lxv, 306, 307; cf. Charpentier, ZDMG. lxvi, 45; Oldenberg, NGGW. 1912, p. 184; the ekātithim runaddhi of the Aitareya confirms the second version of the Mahābhārata (ZDMG. lxiv, 74) and the Bhisajātaka.

² Ind. Stud. iii, 468.

processes of addition, subtraction, etc., with squares and cubes, and their roots, fractions and decimals, arithmetical signs, prime numbers, series, magical squares and figures, and logarithms. This discussion is more philosophical than practical, as befits the author's aim, and he endeavours to explain how each of these branches of arithmetic was developed by various mathematicians and the theorems that they discovered or propounded. He explains how the English terms "decimal" and "logarithm" were wittily Hinduized in the forms daśama-lava and laghuriktha. In the last quarter are contained a notice of Vedic arithmetic, a list of the Sanskrit names of the numerals and their synonyms, succinct biographical accounts of the principal persons mentioned in the book, arranged alphabetically, and a full index.

The book should be of real value to Hindi students. The language is generally simple and plain, though not always so when the author, in explaining some process or theorem, introduces terms or symbols that belong more properly to algebra. His treatment of the higher portions, and especially of the theorems, indicates the hand of a devoted mathematician, and presumes a good acquaintance with algebra and even some trigonometry on the student's part. The historical information is very considerable; it appears to be generally accurate, and is often highly interesting, and that regarding Indian mathematicians should be useful to English students. The only salient blemishes are that the author, not being a literary scholar, has at times transcribed ancient and modern European names into strange Hindu forms, as "Cyrene" into Siren, "Euler" into Yūlar, and so on. Had he lived to publish this work, he might have revised the names with the help of some English friend.

A MANUAL OF THE KASHMIRI LANGUAGE, COMPRISING GRAMMAR, PHRASE-BOOK, AND VOCABULARIES. Vol. I: Grammar and Phrase-book. Vol. II: Kāshmīrī-English Vocabulary. By George A. Grierson. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1911. 12s.

Sir G. A. Grierson has laid the first foundation of a scientific study of the Kāśmīrī language. The older treatises, by Leech, Wade, Elmslie, have been very useful to those who wanted to acquire a practical knowledge of the language. They were not, however, satisfactory. The learner was left quite bewildered in the chaos of unexplained forms. Now, after the appearance of Sir G. A. Grierson's Manual, everything will be changed.

The author's connexion with Kāśmīrī dates back to the nineties of the last century. In 1898 he published Īśvara Kaula's Kāśmīrī grammar, written in Sanskrit in the year 1875. While all the Europeans who had dealt with Kāśmīrī had described the Musalmān dialect of the language, İśvara Kaula based his grammar on the much purer form which Kāśmīrī assumes in the mouths of the Hindus of Śrinagar. He also marked the so-called mātrāvowels, the very short form which some vowels assume in certain positions, which had not been noticed by previous writers. In his Essays on Kāçmīrī Grammar (London and Calcutta, 1899, reprinted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) Grierson gave us an analysis of Kāśmīrī grammar and phonology, based on a careful examination of the sounds of the spoken language, which for the first time enabled us to understand something of the matter.

In the Manual the author goes a step farther. has re-arranged the whole Kāśmīrī grammar at the hand of his studies on Kāśmīrī phonology. And the result has been excellent. Kāśmīrī has always been considered as a very difficult language, and those few people who have made an attempt at learning it have often given the JRAS. 1912.

matter up in despair. The many changes which individual words are apt to undergo were too bewildering. one might understand how the plural of gav, a cow, could be $g\bar{o}v$, or at least the difficulty in learning such forms would be surmountable. But when one finds plural forms such as woj from wāl, a hole; rots from rāth, night; grünz from grand, a counting, one is apt to think that the mind of those old Kāśmīrīs in whose mouths the language took shape must have been somewhat deranged. Now Grierson makes all this clear, simply by analysing Kāśmīrī phonology. We see how the mātrā-vowels, which have so long remained unnoticed, are of all-pervading importance. The form röts, nights, e.g. should correctly be written röts", with a very short mātra-vowel ü at the end. The mātrā-vowels are the reason for the puzzling changes in this and in other words. The author then makes Kāśmīrī, if not an easy language, at least intelligible and learnable by laying down the rules regulating the use of these mātrā-vowels and the changes which they bring about in the words. Those who have tried hard and in vain to understand Kāśmīrī grammar, would, of course, think that such an exposition would have to extend over a great number of pages. Grierson's treatise of the alphabet, the pronunciation, and the various changes of vowels and consonants, however, only occupies ten small pages, and these ten pages give us the key to the whole grammar. This is the most striking feature about the new Manual, and one which is worthy of our highest admiration. Then follows a sketch of Kāśmīrī grammar, appendixes about the difference between the Musalman and Hindū dialects and about the written characters; 1937 English-Kāśmīrī sentences, alphabetically arranged after leading words; and, finally, a Kāśmīrī-English vocabulary with detailed analysis of words and word forms.

The whole Manual will be an extremely useful companion

to every visitor to the happy valley. The author has, however, also another aim in view, viz. to provide the student who wants to get a deeper insight into the language with the means of achieving this. Also in this respect he has been successful. His grammatical sketch is surprisingly full and suggestive, and the sentences and the vocabulary contain so many interesting remarks that nobody will go to the study of the Manual without the greatest benefit.

The author is also inclined to think that Kāśmīrī and other languages belonging to the same group may possibly prove to be the clue to the literary languages which were once spoken in Central Asia, and in which written documents have in the last twenty years been brought to light. I am not very hopeful in that respect. One of the two "unknown" languages is now comparatively well known, and there cannot, in my mind, be any doubt that it is an Iranian tongue. The other is perhaps the one which Dr. Grierson has in mind. Professor Sieg, one of those who knows most about it, told me some time ago that he had tried in vain to find any connexion between what he calls "Tocharisch" and the Kāśmīrī group. "Tocharisch" is certainly not an Aryan tongue, and I am afraid that we shall have to look forward to translations of known Sanskrit works for the elucidation of the various problems which it still presents to the understanding.

STEN KONOW.

THE SHIVA-SUȚRA-VIMARȘINĪ OF KṢĒMARĀJA. Translated into English by P. T. SHRINIVAS IYENGAR. Indian Thought Series, No. II. Allahabad, 1912.

From the above title, which we have faithfully copied from the title-page, our readers will observe with regret that Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar has joined the ranks of those gentlemen who have lately added to the old confusion in their transliteration of Indian words by adopting a new method, in which (in accordance with the supposed facts of European pronunciation) the consonants of the dental series are marked by a dot underneath and those of the cerebral series are undotted. This is bad enough; but as this arrangement is complicated by the dotting of the cerebral nasal and the dental nasal is left without a dot, in the old style, while the Indian printer raises his usual crop of minor misprints, the reader's brain soon reels.

Apart from this superficial drawback, the book is an excellent piece of work. Mr. Shrinivas Iyengar is already known by his learned and instructive Outlines of Indian Philosophy (Theosophical Office, Adyar, 1909), and the present work shows the same qualities. It is gratifying to see competent native scholars studying the Saiva literature in this manner, and enabling Europeans to realize its nature. The fact that at the earliest date to which it can be traced back it is already divided into the three great schools of Kashmir (Spanda and Pratyabhijñā, which are fundamentally the same), Gujarat (Lakulīśapāśupata), and the South (the Tamil Śaiva-siddhāntam and cognate literatures), shows how ancient and important it is.

The Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī is a commentary upon the Śiva-sūtra, a series of aphorisms of Śaiva Yogic teaching which are said to have been discovered through the grace of Śiva by Vasu-gupta (about the end of the eighth century). Kṣēma-rāja, our commentator, is somewhat later (he was a disciple of Abhinava-gupta, and so belongs to the end of the eleventh century); but he appears to represent faithfully the ancient traditions. The work, while incidentally throwing much valuable light on the philosophical theory of the school, is primarily practical, its object being to enable a Yogi by physical and mental exercises to attain to miraculous powers and ultimately to the stage of pure Consciousness in which, while his life

lasts, he is equal to the Absolute Siva, and after death immediately becomes Siva himself for all eternity. A work of this kind naturally bristles with technicalities and obscurities; but the learning and skill of the translator have enabled him to surmount most of these stumbling-blocks and to furnish valuable material for the knowledge of Hindu "mentality".

L. D. BARNETT.

TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES

The publication of texts in the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series" proceeds with laudable rapidity. This series, edited by Pandit T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, and published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Travancore, was begun in 1905, and has already reached its fourteenth volume; and of the fourteen volumes no fewer than seven have appeared within the years 1910–12. These are briefly as follows:—

VIII. Pradyumnābhyudaya of Ravivarman, a drama founded on the exploits of Pradyumna, son of Çrī-Kṛṣṇa. The author is a Kerala prince who is known from inscriptions to have been born in the Çaka year 1188 (= A.D. 1266).

IX. Virūpākṣapañcāçikā of Virūpākṣanāthapāda, with the commentary of Vidyācakravartin, a metaphysical work dealing with the tenets of the "Pratyabhijñā" system as described in the Sarva-darçana-saṃgraha.

X. Mātangalīlā of Nīlakantha, a treatise on elephants.

XI. Tapatīsamvaraņa of Kulaçekharavarman, with the commentary of Çivarāma, a drama on the story of Tapatī and Samvaraņa in the *Mahābhārata*. The author is described in the prologue as lord of Mahodaya, "crestjewel of the Kerala family." Pandit Gaṇapati Sāstrī supposes him to have lived at some time between the latter part of the tenth and the early part of the twelfth century.

XII. Paramārthasāra of Bhagavad-Ādiçesa, with the commentary of Rāghavānanda, a résumé in eighty-five āryā-verses of the tenets of the Vedānta philosophy.

XIII. Subhadrādhanañjaya of Kulaçekharavarman, with the commentary of Çivarāma, a dramatized version of the romance of Subhadrā and Dhanañjaya in the Mahābhārata.

XIV. Nītisāra of Kāmandaka, with the commentary of Çankarārya, an epitome of Kautilya's Artha-çāstra. The author is supposed to have lived before the time of Bhayabhūti.

THE MAHAVAMSA OR THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON.
Translated into English by WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D.,
Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology at Erlangen
University, assisted by Mabel Haynes Bode, Ph.D.,
Lecturer on Pali at University College, London.
Demy 8vo: pp. lxiv, 300; with a map of Ancient
Ceylon. Published for the Pali Text Society by
Henry Frowde; London: 1912.

Professor Geiger gave us in 1908 his critical edition of the text of the Original Mahavamsa; that is, of chapters 1 to 36 and verses 1 to 50 of chapter 37 of the whole work, being that portion which was written to rearrange, expand, and explain the Dipavamsa (see p. 11 of the introduction to the translation). He has now followed that up by his translation of the text, published in English through the co-operation of Mrs. Bode: Professor Geiger made his translation in German; Mrs. Bode turned his translation into English; and the English rendering was then revised by Professor Geiger: we may congratulate both collaborators on the result. As is well known, the text of the Dipavamsa, with an English translation, was given by Professor Oldenberg in 1879. We are now at last provided with reliable and easy means of studying both the great Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

Professor Geiger's translation is preceded by an introduction of 63 pages, in eleven sections, in which he has discussed a variety of important points.

In the first place, he has briefly recapitulated the demonstration given in his Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa (1905) that the two chronicles were based on an older work, known as the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa, which must have come down originally to only the arrival of Mahēndra in Ceylon (in the time of Aśōka), but was afterwards continued to the reign of Mahāsēna (first half of the fourth century A.D.).

In the second place, Professor Geiger, defending the two chronicles against what he has justly described (p. 14) as "undeserved distrust and exaggerated scepticism", has shown that they are to be accepted safely as reliable historical records, with a framework of well-established dates. We have, indeed, to clear away from them a certain amount of miraculous matter. But they do not stand alone among ancient histories in presenting such And when we have made matter. the elimination, which is not difficult, there remains, easily recognizable, a residue of matter-of-fact statements, in respect of which the chronicles have already been found to be supported by external evidence to such an extent that we need not hesitate about accepting others of their assertions, which, though perhaps we cannot as yet confirm them in the same way, present nothing which is at all startling and naturally incredible.

In dealing with the chronology, Professor Geiger has accepted B.C. 483 as "the probable year" of the death of Buddha (p. 24). That particular year is undoubtedly the best result that we have attained, and that we are likely to attain unless we can make some new discovery giving us the absolute certainty which we do not possess. For a brief statement of the manner in which it is fixed, see p. 239 above: Professor Geiger has added observations of

his own (pp. 26, 28-30), based on something pointed out by Mr. Wickremasinghe, endorsing it. As regards one item in the process by which it is fixed, the interval of 218 years from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśōka "is supported", as Professor Geiger has said (p. 25), "by the best testimony and has nothing in it to call for suspicion." As regards another item, we need not hesitate about accepting 28 years according to the two Ceylonese chronicles, against the 25 years of the Purānas, as the true length (in round numbers) of the reign of Bindusāra. This last consideration, we may add, entails placing the anointment of Aśōka in B.C. 265 or 264 (p. 27): if that should still remain unwelcome to anyone who, taking one item from one source and the other from another source, would place both the death and the anointment four or five years earlier, - well; it can be shown on some other occasion that there is nothing opposed to B.C. 265 or 264, for the anointment of Aśōka, in the mention of certain foreign kings in the thirteenth rock-edict. So, also, though the matter does not affect that point, we may safely follow the 37 years of the two chronicles, against the 36 years of the Puranas, as the length (in round numbers) of the reign of Aśōka.

Professor Geiger hesitates (p. 28) to accept the "bold and seductive combination" by which I explain the mention of 256 nights in the record of Aśōka at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, Brahmagiri, and other places. In what way, then, is it to be explained? As regards the other two explanations which have been advanced, there is nothing in the calendar to account for the selection of that particular number of nights or days; and a tour of such a length by Aśōka, while reigning, —whether made by him actually as king or in the character of a wandering mendicant monk,— is out of the question. On the other hand, my explanation, —that the 256 nights mark 256 years elapsed since the death of Buddha,— is suggested exactly by the

number of years established by the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa from that event to the end of Aśōka's reign, and by the well-established practice of ancient Indian kings, of abdicating in order to pass into religious retirement: see this Journal, 1911. 1091 ff. My explanation may be set aside: but it has not been shown to be open to adverse criticism as the others are.

In respect of the later Buddhist reckoning, the erroneous one, now current, which would place the death of Buddha in B.C. 544, Professor Geiger, putting Mr. Wickremasinghe's remarks in a clearer light, has shown (p. 29) that it existed in Ceylon in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. This carries it back there to more than a century before the time at which I arrived in this Journal, 1909, 333.

In § 8 of the introduction, Professor Geiger has given (p. 36) a tabulated list of the ancient kings of Ceylon, down to Mahāsēna, on the lines of the list given by me in this Journal, 1909. 350, but with some improvements. His table has the advantage of giving the references by chapter and verse to his text of the Mahāvamsa; a detail which, for reasons stated at the time, I was not able to fill in. It increases the total period according to the Mahāvamsa by 1 year, 4 months, 15 days, by alterations under Nos. 10 and 11 (plus 2 years) and No. 17 (minus 7 months, 15 days): these are due to improved readings. And it includes two additional columns, which give the chronology in terms of the Buddhist era of B.C. 483 and of the Christian reckonings B.C. and A.D.

As regards a remark on p. 39-40, there is no need to accept the assumption that Samudragupta began to reign in A.D. 326: a more reasonable date is A.D. 335 or 340: see this Journal, 1909. 342.

The last section of the introduction (pp. 51-63) deals with the first, second, and third Buddhist Councils, all of which are shown to be historical events, and clears away the confusion in the Indian tradition between two

distinct persons, Kālāsōka and Dharmāsōka son of Bindusāra, —the Asōka who issued the edicts.¹

Appendix D gives a list of Pāli terms used in the translation without being turned into English. Under No. 34 there is quoted a statement that, according to the details given in a table of the end of the twelfth century, the yojana works out, for Ceylon, to between 12 and 12½ miles, but that in actual practice it must have been reckoned at from 7 to 8 miles. This latter value, however, is quite an imaginary one: see this Journal, 1907. 655. And as regards early times there is no reason for discriminating between India and Ceylon in this matter; and for India we have (1) the vague day's-march yōjana, averaging 12 miles, but liable to vary according to the circumstances of the particular march, and, in the way of yōjanas of fixed unvarying lengths, (2) the long yōjana of 32,000 hasta = 9 miles, and (3) the short $y\bar{o}jana$ of $16,000 hasta = 4\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the last being specially favoured by the Buddhists: see p. 236 above, and this Journal, 1906, 1011.

Limitation of space prevents any further remarks. I conclude by expressing the hope that some Pāli scholar will give us shortly the technical review of Professor Geiger's translation which it merits.

J. F. FLEET.

CHAU JU-KUA: HIS WORK ON THE CHINESE AND ARAB
TRADE IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES, entitled CHU FAN CHI. Translated from
the Chinese and Annotated by FRIEDRICH HIRTH
and W. W. ROCKHILL. St. Petersburg: Printing
Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1912.

If somewhere in the chill nether regions Chau Ju-kua has knowledge of what passes in the sunlit orb above, he

¹ There is an accidental slip on p. 60, last line but one, where Dharmāšoka is spoken of as the son of Chandragupta; read 'grandson'.

should be a proud man, or shade, this year. For after more than six centuries of neglect by his own countrymen his meritorious work has been rescued from oblivion and given to the world in translation by the exceptionally qualified writers whose names appear in the title. Ten cycles of Cathay are, perhaps, in Chau's eyes too long a pause between the cup of composition and the lip of celebrity, however select. It may also strike him as an irony of history that effective recognition of his labours should come, not from his compatriots, but from two of those fan jên or barbarians, whose countries, customs, and traffic it was his pleasure to describe with a tolerant and careful pen.

Little is known of our author but that he held an appointment under the Sung dynasty as Inspector of Foreign Trade at the port of Ts'uan chou in Fukien Province, and composed his book, the Chu Fan Chü, or "Description of Foreign Peoples", apparently about 1250.

In Ts'uan chou or Zayton, to give it its mediaeval name, it was Chau's office to collect import duties for the Imperial Government, and his hobby to extract information about foreigners, their countries, and their wares for himself and a rather unappreciative generation of readers. We learn from the masterly introduction of the joint editors and translators (who merge all distinction of views in one penetrating but indiscriminate "I" throughout the notes), that Chau's complete text was not published till it was included in the immense and very rare collection of works known as the "Yung Lo Ta Tien" early in the fifteenth century. From this colossal literary tomb it was disinterred, and again included in a much smaller collection by a private individual in 1783, and once more, in 1805, republished in a collection—always in a collection—by another Chinese editor. It is thus a book difficult to procure in the original, and Messrs. Hirth and Rockhill have therefore accumulated even more merit in making the Chu Fan Chi accessible to us in English than if the Chinese text itself were to be bought in any good native bookseller's.

Chau has divided his work into two parts. In the first he assembled a number of "miscellaneous notes on foreign countries and their products", to quote his Chinese editor, some of which notes he transferred in an absent-minded way from earlier native works without acknowledgment, being himself similarly treated by certain later authors. In part ii he epitomizes what he had gathered regarding these various products under separate headings, beginning with camphor, and bringing the list of forty-seven articles to a close with beeswax.

Chau's description of foreign countries can hardly fail to interest Indianists and students of Arab history, for we find sections on Malabar, Guzerat, Malwa, the Coromandel coast, India, the Arabs, Mecca, Baghdad, besides regions so far apart as the southern coast of Spain, Asia Minor, Japan, Egypt, and many others. The value of these thirteenth century jottings has been immensely added to by the profuse and scholarly notes drawn from the stores of accumulated knowledge possessed by the two editors, whose combined qualifications for elucidating the many difficult and little-known points arising from the text are such as to make the reading of this book a deep satisfaction, and the task of serious criticism an unattainable aspiration.

In the Introduction of thirty-nine pages the editors put before us in a convenient form all that can be ascertained, whether from Chinese, Arab, or other sources, of the early mercantile relations between the Western world and the Far East, or, as they put it, "trace briefly the rise and development of the maritime intercourse between China and Southern and South-Western Asia down to the latter part of the twelfth century," when Chau Ju-kua takes up the tale. A very full General Index of twenty-three

pages, and a Chinese Index of unusual foreign names and terms, follow, and the volume, which is beautifully printed, is closed with a large and clear map to illustrate the text of an author who is fortunate indeed to have fallen at long last into the hands of two such ripe and sound scholars as the collaborating editors.

L. C. HOPKINS.

Maleische Taal, overzicht van de Grammatica door C. Spat. 2nd edition. Breda De Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 1911.

The number of Malay grammars that have been written by Dutch scholars is very great, but this work in 270 pages by Mr. Spat fulfils a need. Taking the chief works of the modern school, we have the classical Spraakleer der Maleische Taal of Gerth van Wijk, printed in Batavia and now in its third edition, a book crowded with examples and indispensable for reference, but somewhat formless, and with the advance of comparative study already somewhat out of date in its theories; we have Dr. Tendeloo's Maleische Grammatica in two volumes. the most scientific and exhaustive treatise yet written, containing an especially valuable feature in its review and criticism of the work of previous scholars in the same field, and expressing views of its own so clearly and with such marshalled evidence that even if one sometimes disagrees with the result one can have nothing but the highest praise for the method; and finally we have Maleische Spraakkunst, by Ch. A. van Ophuijsen (Leiden, 1910), a short work very strong in the idiom of the language, but defaced (if I may say so) by a few startling theories such as the view that the di form of the verb, which had hitherto been regarded as built up from the locative preposition di, is a contraction (unparalleled and involving a redundant use of nya at the end of the

derivative, e.g. di-makan-nya = dia makan dia!) of the 3rd person pronoun dia and denotes conjugation in that 3rd person! On the whole, therefore, there was room for a concise work, at once practical and scientific, not burdened with too many examples or too much theory, but based on the results of modern scholarship. This want the grammar under review supplies. It is hardly too long or too scientific for the beginner, and it contains all that any scholar except the advanced expert can require.

Since a review to be helpful either to author or to reader must be critical, I will venture to refer to a few points which to me seem worthy of remark.

In the first place, I doubt if Mr. Spat has used the results of comparative students like Professors Kern, Brandes, Schmidt, and especially Brandstetter quite so much as he might have done. He starts by saying Malay belongs to the Austric family of languages, a family split into the two sub-families Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian. This, I believe, is now accepted, but it has not been accepted so long that one would not have been glad to have two or three pages of evidence instead, say, of the interesting but rather useless detail on pp. 23–7 under Grammatische figuren. And one would like to have had more on the Indonesian element, especially its system of affixation which helps to throw so much light on that very vexed problem the Malay derivative verb.

The chapter on Phonetics contains a long quotation from Dr. Fokker on the vowels, a quotation justified in Holland by the fact that Fokker's treatise is in English, but of rather doubtful value in a general grammar, as Dr. Fokker wrote of Malay of the west coast of Borneo, and, moreover, has, I believe, come to modify many of his views. Page 37 contains the usual Dutch view of accent in derivative words, a view which finds no sanction in the speech of the modern Peninsular Malay. The rules given

for spelling in the Arabic character are neither more nor less useful than such views can be at a time when the Malay has abandoned Arabic principles and not yet quite made up his mind to substitute for them Roman principles.

The portion of the grammar dealing with the parts of speech, simple and derivative both together under the conventional heads of noun, adjective, verb, and so on, is arranged on the usual lines. It is not an ideal arrangement. One would prefer to have the simple word dealt with by itself and followed by a chapter on affixation, showing how the same prefixes often attach to and form several different parts of speech-how, in short, the language probably failed to make that strict divorce between parts of speech which our grammar makes. But the problem is very difficult. The table on p. 150 is useful; the pages on the suffixes kan and i good. I confess I am not yet satisfied that the so-called conjugated forms on pp. 164-7 are really conjugation or anything but a device to throw the emphasis off the agent on to the act; the order, viz. that no word may intervene between pronoun and verb, it seems to me possible to explain on the ordinary rules of Malay syntax. No fresh light is thrown on the me forms. I can see no sufficient reason to speak of be and te forms instead of the more usual ber and ter; certainly r is an infix in Indonesian languages, and its omission in certain Malay dialects may be merely phonetic. Spat's treatment of the verbal derivatives may be summarized as sane and clear, but not very illuminating.

The chapter on pronouns might have contained rather fuller treatment of the improper personal pronouns considering what great importance attaches to their nice distinctive nuances; but, of course, this would trespass on the province of lexicography.

Under conjunctions one would like it to be shown how

Malay can dispense with that part of speech altogether, supplying its place by balance and antithesis in construction. It is a defect of Dutch grammars that while most of them contain chapters on ellipsis, few or none bring out those two other great principles of Malay construction—(a) emphasis, (b) balance or antithesis. Mr. Spat just alludes to it, e.g. p. 267, but they are such far-reaching principles that they deserve handling at length.

One word on the romanized spelling of the Malay. Mr. Spat's use of the hamza doedoe : (where we should write dudok) seems an attempt to make the best of two worlds—the Roman and the Arabic! I can see no objection to the use of k final to represent the glottal check. In the first place, it appears to be historically correct and to represent a final k which was sounded, as Mr. Blagden points out, by the Malay race when the Sakai of the Peninsula learnt the language; and the final k is still sounded in parts of the Archipelago. Moreover, k to indicate the glottal check need cause no confusion if it is remembered that final k is now never sounded in Malay (except in dialect) and always represents just the glottal check. It speaks little for English research in Malay that our best grammar is still that of Marsden, printed a century ago, and that for such a work as Spat's, dealing with his matter in a way only possible when there is already a literature upon the subject, the ground in England is still unprepared.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ABÛ'L MAHÂSIN IBN TAGHRÎ BIRDÎ'S ANNALS. Edited by WILLIAM POPPER. University of California's publications in Semitic Philology. Vol. II, Part II. pp. 539 + 1.

This is a continuation of the edition of the well-known Arabic history entitled En Nujûm ez Zûhirah. The

whole work consists of six volumes. Juynboll brought out the first volume and the first half of the second volume (Leyden, 1852–7), being aided in the first volume by Matthes. Mr. Popper now completes the second volume in three fascicles.

Particulars with regard to Abû el Mahâsin's life and his other books will be found in Juynboll's introduction and the Encyclopædia of Islam, and it will be sufficient to mention here that he lived in Egypt in the fifteenth century of our era. His aim in En Nujûm, as stated by himself, is to afford a comprehensive history of the rulers of Egypt in Muhammadan times up to his own day, to deal with certain special points of Egyptian history, and to include also obituary notices of men of mark in Islam, and some account of events in other countries. arrangement is chronological. A section is allotted to each ruler, or to each term of office where the same person governed for separate terms. The ruler is first treated of in a general way; the events and the notices of deceased persons are then given under their years. The special sections, which relate to matters like the conquest of Egypt, the virtues of Egypt, the lineage of the Fatimites, are introduced in convenient places. The result of this plan, as it is worked out, is to produce a mixture between a history and a biographical dictionary.

The portion edited by Mr. Popper extends from 365 to 524 A.H. (975 to 1130 A.D.). During this period the power of the Abbasid Khalifs was little more than nominal, and the dynasties of the Buwaihids, Ghaznavids, and Saljûqs in turn were in the ascendant in the eastern part of the Muhammadan world. In the western regions the Fatimid Khalifs had the foremost place. Egypt was throughout under their rule, and they had made Cairo the capital of their dominions. It was from the Fatimids that the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099 A.D. The first crusade, which was thus brought to a successful JRAS. 1912.

termination, may be singled out as the most important event of the time, but Muhammadan history is concerned also with several other movements and developments of consequence. Some of the men who are most distinguished in the various departments of Islamic literature and science belong to the epoch.

The record furnished by the native writers is far from being as complete as could be wished. Abû el Mahâsin's account hardly rises above the level of a compilation consisting of passages transferred bodily from the books The biographical matter may be of older historians. spoken of first. The obituary notices, by which most of it is supplied, rarely extend beyond ten or twelve lines, and not infrequently they do no more than indicate the date of the death of their subjects. Usually, they afford a few general facts, with the addition perhaps of an anecdote or two or a few verses of poetry. The number of the notices may average five or six to the year, so that altogether they make up a large collection. The principles on which names are selected for inclusion is not obvious, but those connected with theological sciences predominate. The history relating to countries outside Egypt is necessarily disjointed in consequence of the plan adopted, and the substance, moreover, does not seem to be of much value; for most of it appears to be covered by well-known books, such as the histories of Ibn Khaldûn and Ibn el Athîr. The history particular to Egypt, which was the compiler's main object, amounts to about one-third part of the text. It includes some very interesting passages with regard to the Fatimid Khalifs, summing up their reigns; and also some interesting accounts of Egyptian events occur under the years in a few places. At the same time, it must be said that Abû el Mahâsin has not succeeded in bringing together sufficient to enable the leading events in Egypt during the Fatimid time to be followed up consecutively, and he omits a good deal that one might expect to find

in his pages. He gives a regular annual record of the height of the Nile at low river and at flood, and this useful feature seems to be unique. In this part of the book there are no sections relating to special points of Egyptian history, similar to the articles on Cairo, the lineage of the Fatimites, etc., which are found in the earlier portion.

Abû el Mahâsin usually indicates his sources. writers are drawn on regularly for each of the Fatimid Khalifs, and thus seem to be entitled to be counted as his main authorities. These are Sibt Ibn el Jauzî (d. 654 A.H. = 1257 A.D.), Ibn Khallikân (d. 681 A.H. = 1282 A.D.), and Ed Dahabî (d. 748 A.H. = 1348 A.D.). The last-named is only occasionally cited as the source of the biographies, but on examination it appears that many for which no authority is given come from his Tarikh el Islâm. Among other historians quoted, one finds El Musabbihî (d. 420 A.H. = 1029 A.D.), Ibn es Sâbi' (d. 448 A.H. = 1056 a.D.), El Qudâ'i (d. 454 a.H. = 1062 a.D.), Ibn el Qalânisî (d. 555 A.H. = 1160 A.D.), Ibn el Jauzî (d. 597 A.H. = 1200 A.D.), Ibn el Athîr (d. 630 A.H. = 1233 A.D.), El Qiftî (d. 646 A.H. = 1249 A.D.); the list includes several others, but none of them contributes anything of much importance.

It would have been useful if Mr. Popper's notes could have indicated in all cases the passages that are taken from books which have been printed. So far as appears from a comparison of a fair number of passages, it is likely that all the quotations from Ibn Khallikân are taken from El Wafayât, and are covered by the printed edition. Likewise, the quotations from Ibn el Athîr and Ibn el Qalânisî will probably all be found in the printed histories of these writers. As to the authors whose works exist only in manuscript and those whose works have been lost, Mr. Amedroz has kindly undertaken a comparison of a number of passages from Abû el Mahâsin with the British Museum MSS. of Sibt Ibn el Jauzî's Mir'ât ez

Zaman and Dahabi's Ta'rikh el Islam, and the result, which is included in the observations with regard to the text at the end of this paper, is instructive. All that is ascribed to El Quda'í seems to have been taken from the first-named book, and Dahabî's Ta'rîkh el Islâm is evidently the origin of the most important of the four passages taken from Ibn el Jauzî and of the single passage which comes from El Qiftî. With regard to Ibn es Sabi', the extracts from whose history amount altogether to some fifteen or sixteen pages and possess much interest and value, the case is not so clear. The passages for the most part have been traced in the Mir'at ez Zaman, but one long quotation given by Abû el Maḥâsin (77, 11-79, 9) has not been hunted down, and in two other cases Abû el Mahâsin's quotations are fuller than the text of the Mir'at in the British Museum MS. It may be that this version is defective, for, taking the passages from Ibn es Sâbi' as a whole, one can hardly doubt that, except in the cases referred to, this writer is not cited direct, but through the Mir'at as an intermediary. All that is ascribed to El Musabbihî, save perhaps a line or two, will be found in the printed edition of Ibn Khallikan's Wafayat. One can say for certain that Mr. Popper's volume does not preserve much relating to the history of Egypt that cannot be found elsewhere, either in the original or in versions older than those of Abû el Mahâsin, and a more exhaustive search than that which has been made for this review would probably reduce the quantity to a very small amount and perhaps leave no residuum. The volume is valuable from two points of view: first as a biographical epitome, and then because it brings together and makes accessible material that otherwise must have remained out of the ordinary reach for a long while, since there is no prospect of editions of such histories as those of Ed Dahabî or Sibt Ibn el Jauzî being brought out at any near date in the future.

Mr. Popper's edition is based on five MSS., and the text is provided with the usual critical notes at the foot of the pages. Among those who have read the proofs is the renowned Professor Nöldeke; and the mention of this name leads one to look for a high standard of accuracy in the text, an expectation which is not disappointed. printing and general turn-out of the book is excellent, and nearly all the few misprints that occur have been corrected in the erratum. Mr. Popper has thoughtfully provided a paging continuous with that of Juynboll, so that the second volume of Abû el Mahâsin may be cited without the need for specifying the edition. He also furnishes separate indexes of names, authorities, titles of books, and of places, which give the line as well as the page, and by their fulness and careful planning much facilitate the use of the book. From a reader's point of view it would have been more convenient for proper names to have been vocalized in the text than in the indexes; the vocalization given there appears, moreover, to be somewhat insufficient, and the authority for it is as a rule not stated. The glossary at the end of the book is perhaps a little overelaborated. It would be out of place, however, to dwell upon minor points of criticism. Altogether, Mr. Popper presents a good edition of a book which will be indispensable to the student of the history of Egypt in the Fatimid period and valuable to many others.

A. R. G.

OBSERVATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE TEXT In the following Dahabî = Br. Mus. Or. 48, 49, and Sibt Ibn el Jauzî = Br. Mus. Or. 4619

1, 14. This quotation from Musabbihî occurs in Dahabî, 198a. 2, 5. This quotation from Eth Tha'âlabî occurs also in Dahabî.—15. Dahabî reads يعنى انه دعيّ لا تعرف, and his narrative continues, quoting Ibn el Jauzî as in text 4, 11. 3, 9. This quotation from El Qiftî

occurs in Dahabî. 4, 11. See above.—15. Dahabî adds and then continues with the , واستناب بالشام منشا اليهودي quotation from Ibn Khallikan. 5, 14. Dahabî ends. 12, 4. For فشربه read يشربه, as in Ibn Khallikân, ii, 153.— 5. Read فياط , and omit تاريخ .—10. Ibn Khallikân, instead of قدماء, has قدماء, which seems better. 13, 2. For read يلتهي, with Ibn <u>Kh</u>allikân.—3. It is surprising to find here انتهى كلام المستحى, seeing that Ibn Khallikân gives on El Musabbihî's authority the completion of the anecdote. Apparently Abû el Mahâsin must be quoting Ibn Khallikân at second hand. 26, 13. For لم يل read بنصور as in other passages. لميل. 45, 1. For منصور 62, 13. This quotation is the same as the text of Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 206a. 63, 8. Read يُؤكِّدها, as in the MSS., i.e. the stars.—18. After Los Sibt Ibn el Jauzi 20. The words وهدم القمامة و بني مكانها مسجدًا in the text of Sibt Ibn el Jauzî stand ثم رجع عن ذلك between المكاتبات and وجعل of the previous line. 64, 1. This passage occurs in Dahabî, 75b.—6. After and وفقتلت عامّة الكلاب في مملكته Dahabî has مملكته after الذي لا قشر له , السمك. —13. Dahabî here contains a short allusion not copied in the text.—14. Read المناهات نفى المتجمين من البلاد Dahabî has نفى المتجمين 66, 8. This passage from Ibn es Sâbi' occurs in Sibt -12. This and the remainder of the page are not given by Sibt Ibn el Jauzî. 68, 1-7. Occurs in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî.—7-17. This does not appear in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî. -18. Sibt Ibn el Jauzi resumes and ends at 70, 10. 11-18. Occurs in Dahabî. — 19. This quotation from Ibn es Ṣâbi' is found in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 207a. 71, 14. [551] seems out of place. The narrative is

uninterrupted in the older text.—16. Sibt Ibn el Jauzî read فاما ان تنكرت. 72, 15. Sibt Ibn el Jauzî reads ; واركبته **75,** 11. Read [غير] القرافي وصبى وربما ربّ القرافي Sibt Ibn el Jauzì has instead .--17. This passage from El Qudâ'î follows also in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 209a. 76, 18. This passage from El Qudâ'î is also included in Sibt Ibn el Jauzi, 209b. 79, 10. This passage from El Qudâ'î is included in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 209b.— 22. This passage from Ibn es Sâbi' is included in Sibt اطیب read طیب read طیب read طیب . اطیب read اطیب الم 81, 2. Here the narration of Ibn es Sâbi' ends in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 210b. **84**, 15. For الغنة read الغنة; see Islam, 1910, p. 138. 111, 14. The part of the life after is also given by Dahabî, 32b. 112, 3. The whole of this paragraph occurs in Dahabî, 2a.—6. Read والمعرفة اليهودية 18. For الحرميّ for الحُرّمي 7. Read - بنسب read الكُشْفِلْتِ read الكشفلتِ. 113, 6. For الكشفلتِ read الثنويّة probably read المغافريّ probably read حمركان . 131, 10. في فته Dahabî reads في وقته 111. For المعاوريّ This quotation from Ibn es Şâbi' occurs less fully in Sibt Ibn el Jauzî, 211b.—12. For البصريّة read البصريّة. Sibt. Ibn el Jauzî has مكر 8. After مكر Sibt. لانه من طائمة يدعوا (يُدْعَون) بالنصيرية يدعوا (يَدْعُون) في عليّ ما يدعوا (يدعو) النصاري في المسيح وحمله لَمَمَّ في عقله على قصد المحاجر الاسود المخة. 168, 11. This quotation from Dahabî occurs 208a. 320, 12. For عشر read عشرين, cf. text 304, 20, where the date of the capture of Jerusalem is given correctly. 329, 19. Read, as in Ibn Khallikân, . تُنفَرَش read يُغْرَث read . قام ا مرّ بهم , 332, 8. For 451, 8. Delete 203, 10: this mention under 437 A.H. of

יוים ביט העטוויס cannot refer to صالح بن مرטוויס, who (135, 10) was slain in 420 A.H. Presumably the person intended is ... ביא ביש ביש ביש האבל. 521, 3. For ביא read ...

A. R. G.

THE TAJÂRIB AL-UMAM, OR HISTORY OF IBN MISKAWAIH, reproduced in facsimile from the MS. at Constantinople, with a Preface and Summary by Leone Caetani, Principe di Teano. Printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial". Vol. I, to A.H. 37. Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co.: 1909.

De la comparaison du texte de l'histoire des quatre dynasties antéislamiques de la Perse dans Miskawaih et dans Tabari, il résulte que Miskawaih s'est borné à abréger le texte de l'histoire de Tabari, en en faisant disparaître tous les isnads, et en raccourcissant le récit, absolument comme l'a fait Ibn al-Athîr. Il y a ajouté de loin en loin quelques détails relatifs aux habitudes des rois dont il parle, et aux particularités de leur caractère, sans que ces additions aient une grande importance. Ce qui est certain, c'est que Miskawaih n'a pas utilisé de source historique inconnue à Tabari, par exemple, des livres des Guèbres, qui existaient encore à son époque, et dans lesquels il aurait pu puiser des renseignements, sinon importants, du moins différents de ce qui se trouve dans Tabari. On peut dire, sans aucune exagération, que toute la partie historique qui s'étend jusqu'à l'époque musulmane, n'a coûté, à part quelques additions, à Miskawaih, que la peine de rayer dans une copie de Tabari les phrases qu'il jugeait inutiles; c'est ainsi du reste que se sont faites toutes les chroniques musulmanes, qui n'ont de valeur que pour la partie contemporaine de leur auteur et pour les années qui l'ont immédiatement précédé. La comparaison des deux passages suivants de Tabari et de

Miskawaih montrera suffisamment le procédé employé par cet historien.

Miskawaih, I, pp. 127-9 ثم انتهى الملكث الى سابور بسن اردشير فمن وجود المكائد الغريبة

ما تم له على رجل من الجرامقة يقال له الساطرون و هو الذي

تسمّیه العرب الضیزن و کان ینزل بجبال تکریت بین بجال والفرات فی مدینة یقال لها العضر وزعم هشام بن الکلبی انه من العرب من قضاعة

وانه ملک ارض الجزیرة وکان معه من قبائل قضاعة ما لا بحصى وبلغ ملکه الشام ثم انه تطرف بعض السواد فی غیبته لسابور الی ناحیة خراسان فلمّا قدم من غیبته

Tabari, I, pp. 823 et sqq.

étymologies de Sapour et différents autres détails

(p. 827, 1. 6) وكان بجبال تكريت بين دجلة والفرات مدينة يقال لها المحضر وكان بها رجل من الجرامقة يقال له الساطرون وهو الذي يقال فيه ابو دؤاد الايادي

un vers

والعرب تسمّيه الضيان وقيل ان الضيان من اهل باجرمى وزعم هشام بن الكلبى انه من العرب من قضاعة وانه الضيان بن معاوية بن العسد . . .

و زعم انه كان ملك ارض الجزيرة وكان معه من بنى عبيد بن الاجرام وقبائل قضاعة ما لا يحصى وان ملكه بعض السواد فى غيبة كان غابها الى ناحية خراسان سابور بن اردشير فلما قدم من غيبته الحبر بما كان منه فقال فى ذلك من فعل الخيرن عمروبن الة

¹ Toute cette phrase a été déplacée par Miskavaih; le texte s'en retrouve un peu plus haut, identique dans Tabari.

3 vers

فلما اخبر سابور بما كان منه شخص الصيرن في الحصن فزعم أبن الكلبي الصيرن انه اقام سابورعلى حصنه اربع سنين لا يقدر على هدمه ولاعلى الوصول السي الضيزن واما الاعشى سيمون بن قيس فانه ذكر في شعره انه انما اقام عليه حولين فقال الم تر للحضران اهله بنعمى وهل خالد من نعم اقام به شاهبور المجنو ن حولين يضرب فيه القدم

4 autres vers

ثم أن أبنة للصيرن يقال لها النصيرة وكان للضيرن هذا بنت يقال لها عركت فاخرجت الى ربض المدينة النصيرة عركت فاخرجت الى ربض وكانت من أجمل نسا إمانها المدينة هن عركس وكان سابور من اجمل عركن وكانت من اجمل نسآء زمانها اهمل زمانمه فیما قبل فرای کمل و کان سابور ایضا من اجمل رجال واحد منهما صاحب فعشقت وعشقها فارسلت اليه ما تجعل لي ان دللتک علی ما تهدم به سور هذه المدينة وتقتل أبي فقال حكمك وارفعك على نسائى وخصك بنفسى دونهن قالت عليك بحمامة ورقا مطوّقة فاكتب في رجلها بحيض جارية بكر زرقا ثم ارسلها فانها تبقع

شغص اليه حتى اناخ على حصنه وتحصّ اليه حتى اناخ على حصنه وتحصن

كما قال الاعشى ميمون بن قيس سنتين لا يقدر سابور على الوصول اليه وهو قوله الم تر للحضر أن أهله بنعمى وهل خالد من نعم اقـام به شاهبور البجنو د حولين يضرب فيه القدم

وكذلك كان يفعل بالنسا اذا وكذلك كان يفعل بالنسآء اذا زمانيه فاطّلعت عليه يوما فسرأته فعشقته وارسلت اليه ما تجعل لي ان دللتک علی ما تهدم به سور هذه المدينة و تقتل ابعى قال حكمك وارفعک علی نسائے واخصک بنفسى دونهن

فاحتالت للحرس حتى سقتهم الحمر وصرعتهم واظهرت علامة فالك لسابور فنصب للسور حتى تسور وفتحها عنوة وقت الحرس والضيزن و ابا قضاعة الذين كانوا مع الضيزن فلم يبق منهم باتي يعرف الى اليوم

على حائط المدينة فتداعى المدينة وكان فلك طلسم المدينة لا يهدمها الاهذا ففعل وتاهب لهم وقالت انا اسقى المحرس المحمر فافا صرعوا فاقتلهم والاخسال المدينة ففعل وتداعت المدينة ففتحها عنوة وقتل الضيزن يومئذ وابيدت افنا قضاعة الذين كانوا مع الضيزن فلم يبق منهم باق يعرف الى اليوم واصيبت قبائل مدن بنى حلوان فانقرضوا ودرجوا فقال عمرو بن اللة وكان مع الضيزن

واخرب سابور المدينة وفي ذلك يقول عمروبن الله

les 4 vers de Tabari

واحتمل سابور النضيرة بنت الصيزن فاعرس بها بعين التمر فذكر انها لم تتم وتضورت ليلتها مس حشونة فرشها وهي من حرير محشوة بالقرّ فالتمس ما كان يوذيها فاذا ورقة آس ملتزقة بعكنة من عكنها قد اثرت فيها

4 vers

واخسرب سابور المدينة واحتمل النصيرة ابنة الصيرن فاعرس بها بعين التمر فذكر انها لم تزل ليلتها تضوّر من خشونة فرشها وهي من حرير محشوّة بالقرّ فالتمس ما كان يوديها فدا ورقة آس ملتزقة بعكنة من عكنها قد اثرت فيها

C'est ce même procédé de travail facile et rapide que l'on retrouve chez la plus part des chroniqueurs musulmans, de toutes les époques, et qui rend inutile toute une partie de la littérature islamique qui ne se compose que de copies ou d'abrégés des ouvrages anciens.

E. BLOCHET.

ASPECTS OF ISLAM. By DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD, M.A., D.D. pp. 13, 375. New York: Macmillan, 1911.

Islam, HER MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUE. A rational and psychological study. By Major Arthur Glyn Leonard; with a Foreword by Syed Ameer Ali, M.A., C.I.E. pp. 160. London: Luzac & Co., 1909.

MYSTICS AND SAINTS OF ISLAM. By CLAUD FIELD. pp. viii, 215. London: Griffiths, 1910.

The first in the list is an interesting and instructive book, consisting of ten Hartford-Lamson lectures for 1909. As may be gathered from the title, the author does not endeavour to lay before the reader a complete outline of the tenets of Islam, nor any description, in systematic form, of its religious life and thought. It is this freedom from the trammels of a methodical structure which enables him to discuss in ten lectures the highways and byways of Islam, and its conception by, and effects on, the sundry classes of believers. There are few subjects on which opinions differ so much as the first steps and growth of Islam. The author gives in fluent style and conversational tone the results of his studies, which are chiefly meant to serve as a guide to missionaries. He had the advantage of observing Moslim life at various of its chief centres, and of discussing theological and social problems with enlightened Mohammedans, and, as a result, draws a living picture of the religious life of the Moslim East as it presents itself to-day. Books with a religious tendency must necessarily be lacking in that freedom of criticism which would bring out its scientific results regardless of consequences, and therefore a few grains of theological zeal are unavoidably scattered here and there in our book. Nevertheless, the author proves himself a keen observer of men and facts, and much of the information he conveys is really valuable.

No book on Islam can entirely dispense with a brief

survey of the activity of its founder. The chapter on the person and life of Mohammed contains several statements which cannot be accepted offhand. I quite agree with the author that Mohammed was not, in the beginning of his prophetic career, a self-seeking, insincere impostor, but I do not believe that his revelations came to him in a trance. The igra'-verse (Qor. xcvi, 1) is bodily taken from the Pentateuch. The traditions on the event of the first proclamation are altogether fictitious. Mohammed's enthusiasm for monotheism, pent up for years in his mind, burst eventually forth in words which he had carefully rehearsed in solitude. This, however, does not impair the loftiness of his motives, and at this period he was anything but a "schemer", a "politician", etc. To say, further, that the Qoran is simply a collection of fragments gathered up from the trance utterances of Mohammed is, in my opinion, quite untenable. Large portions of the book are the result of deliberate, though imperfect and unmethodical, study. The narrative and legislative revelations were uttered in full consciousness of their purpose. The term "book" in the Qoranic sense does not refer to bulk, and it would be better not to translate kitab by "book" at all, but by "writ", because any written document may aspire to the same title. The unsystematic arrangement of the Qoran has led to much misconception. That no adequate translation exists is quite correct. To show how the book grew it would be best to discard the official arrangement of the chapters, and to attempt a translation in chronological order of the speeches, provided the task of establishing such order can ever be achieved. But even approximate results of such labours would shed light on many obscurities.

Likewise hard to believe is another of Professor Macdonald's theories, viz. that the mysticism which subsequently permeated Islām had its seeds in the mind of Mohammed. I fail to notice any mysticism in

Mohammed's preachings. Mysticism entered Islām in spite of him, just as it entered Judaism in spite of the teachings of the Rabbis. However interesting Professor Macdonald's remarks on the "Face of Allāh" are, I can see in it no mystic element, except what is due to later Mohammedan doctors. Neither can the opinion be upheld that Mohammed was an ascetic. The ascetic exercises with which tradition credits him are just as unreliable as those on his first prophetic utterance, and they do not offer the least guidance as to his ascetic practices. There is, however, plenty of evidence to the contrary.

Of great interest is the chapter on the attitude of Islām, and Mohammed's in particular, to the Scriptures. He had, in all probability, never scanned a copy of either the Old or the New Testament, but whatever particle of Jewish or Christian legendary lore came to his knowledge was described by him as coming from the Tōrā, or from the Gospel. The authenticity of Qor. lxi, 6, is very doubtful to me, and all the conclusions drawn from this verse as to the announcement of Mohammed as περικλυτός or παράκλητος are unjustified. Really valuable are Professor Macdonald's remarks on Moslim ideas about education, and his extracts from Ibn Khaldun very useful. An interesting parallel to this chapter is offered by the history of the Jewish ideas on education, and here the author might be recommended to peruse the corresponding pages in Mr. Israel Abraham's Jewish Life in the Middle Ages. For many of his theories on the earlier stages of Islām Professor Macdonald might have gained much lucidity if he had given some attention to the Rabbinic sources of the Qoran and Moslim tradition. Perhaps he considered them a negligible quantity.

Major Leonard's little book is a sympathetic apologia of Islām. He impartially discards any previous contribution to the subject, but confines himself to his own study of the Qorān and the results of his personal touch with

Moslims. This would, indeed, be an ideal way of getting at the heart of Islam, if the Qoran were an open book, containing nothing but Mohammed's own thoughts and a religious system absolutely original, and if the modern Moslim were a true mirror of Mohammed's Islām. unaffected by foreign influences which through thirteen centuries brought believers in contact with heterogeneous elements. Yet through Major Leonard's remark (p. 24) that Mohammed had a powerfully receptive mind and a specially retentive memory, that he was well versed in all the tenets and traditions of his own people and of the Jews, there peeps the desirability of ascertaining the sources at his disposal. This should enable us to establish in what measure Mohammed was creative and where he borrowed. The words Qor. ii, 256 (a very late passage) are not the expression of "awe and veneration", but the adaptation of a very popular Jewish phrase coined on the base of Ps. cxxi, 3. Historically incorrect is the assertion that Mohammed was a son of the desert (p. 51), since he was the son of a Meccan citizen. One of the foremost results of modern research is to discredit many of the reports of the traditionists. Yet the author accepts the legend that in his youth Mohammed was called al-Amin. Whilst in one passage (p. 27) Mohammed is described as a thinker, we read in another (p. 89) that he was not of vigorous intellectuality nor in any sense an original thinker. In opposition to Professor Macdonald's view, our author points out that Mohammed was "diplomatic, that on occasions he displayed artfulness, and guile-duplicity, in fact". The author's sympathy with his subject, in combination with a warm and racy style, will, no doubt, be pleasing to many readers, and might stimulate them to further inquiry, but a little more historical criticism would have made his book more valuable scientifically.

Narrower in scope than the two preceding works is

Mr. Claud Field's little volume. It does not claim to be based on original research, but in the main consists of translations from the books of foreign scholars. Only the essays on al-Ghazāli and Jalāleddīn Rūmi are the results of his own studies. In the preface the author, like Professor Macdonald, expresses the opinion that the roots of mysticism are to be found in the Qoran, and this opinion is based on the passage Qor. xxiv, 35. This verse, however, contains the reminiscence of a "perpetual" lamp, seen alight somewhere in a Jewish or Christian place of worship, the flame of which Mohammed mistook for a symbol of the deity. If this be mysticism, every emotion aroused in a person by an impressive sight of known meaning, which lingers in his mind, may be so This, however, is scarcely strong enough to influence such person's Weltauschauung and to regulate his mode of life, as was the case with the Sūfīs. Mohammedan mysticism takes its beginning from the time when the faith was blended with Neo-Platonian ideas, and without them Sūfiism would never have assumed its pantheistic character. Mr. Field places at the head of his book a translation of the chapter on pantheistic Süfiism of Kremer's Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islām. Then follow short biographies, history mixed with legends, of leading Sūfīs, with expositions of their theories. He also includes in their number Ibn Sīnā, translating his little "mystical allegory" known as Hayy ibn Joqzan, but he makes no mention whatever of Ibn Tofeil's really mystical treatise of the same title, the object of which is to show how man, relying on his innate spiritual faculties, can rise up to the highest pitch of mystical intuition. The book reads well, and can be recommended to such readers who are satisfied with a general and second-hand knowledge of the subject.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DIE KEILINSCHRIFTEN AM GRABE DES DARIUS HYSTASPIS, von F. H. WEISSBACH. 11 by 7 inches. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911.

This work, which is from the 29th volume of the Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, is one of the neat and most scientific little monographs for which Dr. Weissbach is renowned. Beginning with the history of the place, he quotes from Ktesias the story of Darius' command, that a grave should be constructed for him "in the twofold mountain". Wishing later on to inspect it, he was restrained by the Chaldeans and by his parents. The latter, however, desiring to see the place, got the priests to hoist them up. This was done, but the priests, terrified by the appearance of serpents, let the ropes go from their hands, and Darius' parents, precipitated to the ground, were killed. Darius greatly lamented his parents' loss, and had the careless people who were the cause of the misfortune executed.

Dr. Weissbach then goes on to describe how this accident was possible, and the first of the eight plates at the end gives a view of the place. There, in the rocky wall of Nagsh-i-Rustem, is the tomb in question. The entrance is high up, a tall rectangular door in the middle of four columns supporting an entablature, upon which rests a double platform supported by two rows of captives of various nationalities. Upon this platform stands the great king, holding his bow, faced by the divine figure arising out of the winged disc. This sculptured rock-tomb was described by the Venetian Geosapa Barbaro (end of the fifteenth century), Pietro della Valle (1622), H. v. Poser u. Gross-Nedlitz (1624), Sir Thomas Herbert (1627), and many others of less note, until the visit of Sir W. Ouseley (1811), Buckingham, and Ker Porter. Sir Henry Rawlinson obtained copies of the inscription from the Kazanian Professor, W. F. Dittel, whom he met at Bagdad in 73 JRAS. 1912.

1843-4. Rawlinson, however, did not publish it. More complete copies were made by Mr. Tasker in 1848, and were received by Rawlinson in 1850 and 1851, after this new explorer's death by fever (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII). The Elamite text was published by Norris in 1855 (Vol. XIV, Pt. I).

The upper inscription, Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, is fairly perfect, but the lower one (all three versions) is considerably mutilated. In the former Darius gives praise to Ahuramazda (Hormuzd); recounts his conquests, emphasizes his greatness and the power of the Persian arms, and announces all that had happened according to the will of Ahuramazda. The last paragraph reads as follows:—

"Man, the will of Ahuramazda, let not this seem contrary to thee. Leave not the right way. Do no harm."

The figures are thirty in number, and are indicated by short inscriptions, from which we learn that they represent Gaubarwa, Darius's lancebearer; Aspakana, his mace(?)-bearer; and the representatives of the various nations who are shown supporting his throne—a Persian, a Median, a Parthian, a Sakian, a Babylonian, a Makian, etc.

Such a working-up of old material as this is always welcome.

T. G. PINCHES.

ARAMÄISCHE PAPYRUS AUS ELEPHANTINE: KLEINE AUSGABE UNTER ZUGRUNDELEGUNG von Eduard Sachau's Erstausgabe bearbeitet von Arthur Ungnad. 8vo. (Hilfsbücher zur Kunde des alten Orients, 4. Band.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.

For all who cannot afford the great edition of these papyri from the pen of Sachau (noticed by Prof. Hirschfeld in the Journal of this Society for July last, pp. 817 ff.),

this publication will be most welcome. It is a modest volume of 119 pages, containing the text of the papyri in square Hebrew (with an introductory paragraph in each case), a commentary in the form of numerous footnotes, and a glossary of about 160 words at the end.

From the Assyriological point of view certain of the names in these inscriptions are noteworthy. Thus we have not only Dinuballit, the correct form of the Biblical Sanballat, but also such names as Iddin-Nabû, "Nebo has given"; Nabû-kudurri, "Nebo (protect) my landmark," or the like (if for Nabū-kudurri-usur, this would be the same name as Nebuchadrezzar); Shin-iddina, "Sin (the moon-god) has given"; Nabû-ushalliw (for-ushallim), "Nebo has accepted," etc.

Egypt being under Persian rule, Iranian words occur, as well as some Semitic Babylonian expressions—arad ékal, "servant of the palace," an official whose duties are uncertain; and Ungnad quotes also **KD2**, the Babylonian mâtu, "country," and alluk, which he compares with âllūkā (palace?).

Especially gratifying to the writer of this short notice is the opinion of Prof. Ungnad (likewise of Prof. Eduard Meyer), that the divine name in ought to be read Yahwa (the in supporting the vocalic ending being omitted), and compared with the termination -ya-a-wa or -ya-wa of several Hebrew names occurring in contracts and similar documents of the later Babylonian period found at Sippar, Babylon, and Nippur. Attention was called to these in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology for November, 1892. It remains to be seen whether the Babylonian full form presupposes the pronunciation Yahawa, the rarer and more defective Yawa standing for Yahwa, with omission of the second vowel.

MESOPOTAMIAN ARCHÆOLOGY. An Introduction to the Archæology of Babylonia and Assyria. By Percy S. P. Handcock, M.A. With numerous illustrations and two maps. London: Macmillan, 1912.

For such an important subject as Assyriology, some such book as that now before us was needed, so that the author has supplied what most would regard as a real want. It may be doubted whether the title is not a little too wide for the subject, but that is a mere detail, except from the point of view of attractiveness.

The book is a successful monograph dealing with the land of the Assyrians and Babylonians. It treats of the excavations and their results, the people, the literature, art, architecture, manners, customs, dress, etc. Mr. Handcock is of opinion that the originators of Babylonian civilization, the Sumerians, migrated from the Elamite plateau on the east of the Tigris to the low-lying plain of Shinar; and he finds a convincing argument in favour of this view in certain of the primitive seal-cylinders which they have left, which show trees and animals whose home is in the mountains—the cypress and the cedar; the mountain bull, Bison bonasus, and the gazelle. As Haves Ward points out, the composite creature generally identified (probably wrongly) with Êa-bani (Enki-du), the companion of the hero Gilgameš, always has the lower part of his body like that of a bison, never that of a buffalo. With regard to the ethnic position of the Sumerians, much might be said. The Rev. C. J. Ball has seen in the Sumerian language and writing old forms of the Chinese idiom and script, thus developing what had been foreshadowed by the late Terrien de la Couperie, and this is somewhat supported by the sporadic Mongolian types found in a small number of early Sumerian sculptures. It is naturally an open question, however, whether these peculiarities be accidental. or intentional—in the majority of the more carefully sculptured heads, the type shown is similar to that of the

Christians of Bagdad to-day. Relationship between the early Sumerians and the Chinese, on the other hand, may be correct, notwithstanding many indications to the contrary. It is not every Mongolian who has oblique eyes—there are many exceptions, and the scantiness of their beards is not a strong argument against the theory.

The sketch of Babylonian and Assyrian history given by Mr. Handcock is short, but very serviceable. Referring to the reign of Me-si-lim of Kish (Oheimer, about 18 miles north of Babylon), he speaks of his restoration of the temples, but for the modern world his principal claim to fame will lie (if Thureau-Dangin's rendering of the inscription be correct) in the fact that he is the earliest known arbitrator in history. Whether this ruler was a Semite or a Sumerian is regarded as uncertain, but concerning Sargon of Agadé—he who was placed in a kind of ark of reeds on the Euphrates by his motherthere would seem to be no doubt—he was a Semite. The empire of this king, and of Narâm-Sin, his son, was destined, as Mr. Handcock says, to entirely eclipse that of their forerunners, for it not only embraced Mesopotamia north and south, but also Syria and Palestine, and was, in fact, the first Babylonian empire worthy of the name. Unfortunately, the information did not come in time for him to make use of it, but Scheil's researches show that Šarru-ukîn or Sargon of Agadé and Šargani-šarri were not one, but two different rulers. It is doubtful how far Semitic influence prevailed in the other states of Babylonia after the reign of the last, but it probably continued to increase, and in the time of Hammurabi the Sumerians had lost all their ancient predominance.

Interesting to the British reader is the account of the explorations and excavations, beginning with the name of Claudius J. Rich, born 127 years ago at Dijon, and ending with that of Capt. Gaston Cros, de Sarzec's successor at Tel-loh. It is a brilliant assemblage of names, and includes

Botta, Place, Layard, Rassam, Rawlinson, Oppert, Loftus, G. Smith, de Sarzec, Peters, Hilprecht, Koldewey, and Andrae. Scheil, the first translator of Hammurabi's laws, can hardly be dissociated from de Morgan, the director of the excavations at Susa. The history of the decipherment is also noteworthy, though its very special nature will possibly cause the less serious reader to pass it over rather lightly.

The author has tried to give a comprehensive account of the flora and fauna of the two countries treated of, and has filled with information the chapters on architecture, sculpture, and metals. The section on the temple-towers is good, Fisher's restoration of that at Nippur being given, as well as a half-tone reproduction of this structure as it exists at present. Fisher's picture of the excavations in the temple-court is probably one of the most picturesque things in bricks and mortar possible.

Other points worthy of notice are the references to cremation on p. 62, the use of the bow and arrow on pp. 340, 341, the curved mace or throwing-stick (pp. 341, 342), and the leaden gate-socket (p. 267). It is impossible to touch on every section of the work, but it may be regarded as one of the best monographs of its kind. The illustrations consist of 33 half-tone blocks and 116 line-blocks (some of them containing several figures) in the text. Text and pictures give a large amount of information in a small space.

T. G. PINCHES.

L'Astrologie Chaldéenne. Le livre intitulé "enuma (Anu)^{il} Bêl", publié, transcrit, traduit, et commenté par Ch. Virolleaud. Letterpress, 12×8 inches; plates, $11\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Paris: Geuthner, 1912.

The publication of this useful book continues, the sections treated of being Sin, Šamaš, Ištar (planets and

stars), and Adad (the atmosphere), with supplements, to the number of fourteen parts. Four more parts are in preparation, and will be looked for with considerable interest, their titles being "Commentaire épigraphique", "Traduction et commentaire philologique" (two parts), "Introduction et Index."

Though we have not yet M. Virolleaud's translation, the transcription enables us to see, to a certain extent, how far he has been able to make out the sense of these difficult texts, and we have to admit that, notwithstanding the progress which he has undoubtedly made, there is still much to be found out concerning these inscriptions. The publication of such a large number of fragments, however, cannot but aid largely in the decipherment of the more or less ideographically written texts in general, and enable their interpretation to become more sure.

It is this, in all probability, which forms their great value. Whether they will ever furnish us with trustworthy historical facts seems doubtful, but they will at least give a clue to the many forecasts they contain—some of them doubtless based upon historical events—as well as the system adopted. One or two examples of these will indicate the nature of the work, and will probably be not without interest:—

"[If at a certain period of the moon] the star Anunitum is dim, it is a decision of the Tigris and of Agadé, and a decision of the land of the sea, the land of . . .

"[If at a certain period of the moon] the Labourer (= the Ram) is dim, it is a decision of Erech and of Kullaba."

"If the moon at its appearance is constantly surrounded by a crown, the harvest of the land will be prosperous, the land will remain in content, the king it will honour.

"If the moon at its appearance is surrounded by a crown, in that month the kings of all the lands will be embroiled and hostile."

"If Delebat (Venus) in the month Nisan show a beard,

the people of the land will bring forth males. Within that year tariff will be low," etc.

"To show a beard," literally, "to beard a beard," ziqua zaqānu, is an expression used also of the moon, and in this case is, perhaps, an additional proof that the phases of Venus were not merely known to the Babylonians, but that they were likewise in the habit of observing them.

The omens from the blowing of the wind are of special interest, as they were probably based upon atmospheric phenomena which the Babylonians had themselves observed.

Criticism of an incomplete book is naturally impossible, especially as, in this case, the author is certain to know more than the critic. All scholars interested in Babylonian astrology or astronomy will be glad to have the text of the work entitled *Enuma Anu-Bél*, now made available in as complete a form as is possible.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July, August, September, 1912.)

General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society June~18,~1912

PRESENTATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL TO H. F. A. KEATING, OF ETON COLLEGE, BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD HARRIS, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

LORD REAY, who presided, said: The presentation of the Public School Medal for the study of Indian History is always a pleasant event. Lord Harris will be able to tell us presently what was the attention paid to Indian history and to English history when he was at Eton. Certainly in the curriculum of schools, both elementary and secondary schools, we have not assigned to history—I am thinking specially both of British history and of Indian history—the place which it should occupy. I have always wondered that should be so; because it seemed to me that the study of history would provide a very pleasant alternative to the more serious studies of the classics and mathematics. I may mention that we in Scotland have recently laid much greater stress on the history of Scotland.

Now we have given this medal since the year 1904. In 1904 it went to Merchant Taylors, and the subject was Akbar; in 1905 it went to Eton, the subject being the Sikhs; in 1906 to Rugby, the subject being Hyder Ali; in 1907 to Westminster, the subject being Warren Hastings; in 1908 to Harrow, the subject being Clive; in 1909 it went for the second time to Eton, subject Wellesley; in 1910 to Merchant Taylors for the second time, subject Alexander the Great; in 1911 to Marlborough, with

Dalhousie for the subject; and now Eton for the third time stands first; and I think we may congratulate Eton on that fact. I may mention that the school which came next to that which gains the gold medal was Harrow; therefore, to a certain extent, Harrow may also be congratulated. The other schools which sent essays were Marlborough, Perse, and Rugby. I wish that more schools had competed, but otherwise the number of essays sent in, and the merits of those essays, are very satisfactory. I admit that no subject could have been selected which would have been more fascinating to anybody to deal with than that of Lord Lawrence. Lord Lawrence certainly occupies in the annals of India an entirely exceptional position. know what we owe to Lord Lawrence for the way in which he dealt with the first stages of the great uprising in India, the way in which he undertook the full responsibility of those measures which had to be taken immediately, and the fruit he reaped on that occasion from his judicious government of the Punjab, because, as you remember, the Punjab remained perfectly loyal, and that was due to the fact that Lord Lawrence had made friends specially with the Chiefs in the Province.

There is a curious coincidence to which I might refer. You will remember that after Lord Lawrence left India they elected him first Chairman of the London School Board; and here I am as the last Chairman of that extinct body; and I am also very pleased to-day to speak in the presence of the very distinguished daughter of Lord Lawrence, the Hon. Maud Lawrence, who was my colleague, a most distinguished and efficient colleague, on the London School Board, and who has still got a link with the cause of education, being the Head of the Women Inspectors at the Board of Education.

Now we have been fortunate enough on this occasion to have been able to secure my noble friend Lord Harris, himself a most distinguished Etonian, in order to give the medal to the boy who has obtained it, and deservedly obtained it, and whom I congratulate on his essay. If he intends to join the Civil Service in India I hope that he will continue his studies in Indian history; for I think he will find that those studies will add to the interest of his career if he pursues it in India. With these few words, I now call upon Lord Harris.

LORD HARRIS: This is a most pleasant honour to have paid me, to be asked to present this medal to H. F. A. Keating to-day, because as an old Etonian I am naturally very proud of any distinction that my old College wins.

It seems to us who are old Etonians, only right that Eton should distinguish itself in this particular competition, because Etonians have had so much to do with the administration of India, going back to the days of the Marquess Wellesley and of his still more distinguished Coming down to the Eton of later days, in my time two Presidencies and the Government of India and the administration of the Army were all administered at the same time by four Etonians, so that we have some right to hope that the present generation at Eton will regard it as one of their many duties to fit themselves for high posts in connexion with the administration of India. As regards precedence in competition, I may earnestly express the hope that the same precedence that has happened in this competition, Eton being first and Harrow second, will repeat itself a month hence in another part of London.

Well, my Lord President, you ask me whether the study of, or opportunity for the study of, Indian subjects or of Indian history was given or undertaken at Eton in my time. I cannot say that it was, and I must confess that it would be more interesting to read of the progress of Secunda Beg than to read the productions of Xenophon. But, passing to later times, I confess that I do not think that anything much earlier than Akbar

would be of very great interest to the young student. It has always seemed to me that there was such a mélange of contest going on in India preceding that time that it is very difficult to grasp any particular incidents that are even important, much less interesting. But certainly the history of the British conquest of India, of its administration gradually extending from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, or rather the other way. from Cape Comorin toward Peshawar, would have been, I should think, as of great interest to young students as any other of the historical subjects that are given them to get up; and I must say I regret that more attention is not paid to these subjects in our Public Schools. dealing with a subject of this kind I think it is legitimate to look at the object and at the subject and at the treatment of the subject. We are all most appreciative of the object which those distinguished gentlemen, some of them princes of ancient lineage, had in view in founding the fund with which you are able to present this medal, for young England should study the salient points in the history of India in order that, if fate threw them into that part of the world, they might be able the better to grasp the extraordinary difficulties which face the administrator in India, the necessity for great sympathy, but at the same time of an overpowering sense of justice. It was a noble idea that these princes and gentlemen had in view when they founded this Fund; and I hope they are well repaid by the amount of interest taken in the donation of this medal. Five schools competed for it this year; and I think there was something like seven papers presented by the winning College. That shows that in each of these schools, even if it is only a beginning, there is a decided inclination to study the history of the great men who have been taken as the subjects for these competitive essays.

Passing to the subject of this year's essay, I think I agree with you it would be difficult to find in all the history of what we have done in India a more notable or a more admirable figure than Lord Lawrence. One can pick out in Lord Lawrence's career many incidents that were striking. Of course, you may say he had the opportunity. The occasion of the Mutiny was unprecedented. Still, he rose to those opportunities, and therefore one finds in his career more incidents of a remarkably striking character than in the careers of most other great men whose lives in India are full of such profound interest to us who are devoted to that country. I agree with your Lordship that probably in all the history of what we have done in India, of what great men have done in India, there is perhaps nothing so striking as the dominant courage of the man when he was almost isolated up there in the Punjab, his dominant courage and confidence that England must win through.

Men in the Punjab came out in such a remarkable way in the days of the Mutiny. Unquestionably they were men of great merit; unquestionably they had on the frontier opportunities which induced those elements of courage and determination and of speedy resolution which they so eminently showed; but I think too those distinguishing features in their character were brought out to a great extent by the example of Lord Lawrence; and it is attempting to refine silver to dwell at any length upon such a career as his was during those troublous days. One rises from the study of the history of the Mutiny with the most profound admiration for the man, and one feels that one can realize what his subordinates felt towards him and the confidence they had in him, not only his own countrymen, but the natives of the country—the confidence they had in him that he would pull England through that most serious crisis.

To pass to his great career as Viceroy, I fancy it is

generally thought that Lord Lawrence's official career as Governor-General was not so successful as might have been expected. Personally I disagree with that. It seems to me that after the serious crisis of the Mutiny India was in a state of collapse; to a great extent it had been exhausted; and there may not have been the opportunities during his Viceroyalty, not the same opportunities for those heroic actions and movements which had been possible for him in his earlier days. But it seems to me unquestionable that in those years of his Viceroyalty he effected reforms innumerable of the most important character, laid the foundation for reforms that have since taken place, which practically have made India another country, a new country according to the ideas which its rulers entertained of what India might by degrees become, reforms of a kind which were extremely beneficial to the health and the prosperity of his own countrymen there, both military and civil, and also of the natives: the extension of railways, the extension of canals, the better housing of the soldier, the better draining of the cities, many things which do not show up as great movements, which attract little public attention at the time, but nevertheless are of the most profound importance to the inhabitants of the country. And if you consider Sir John Strachey's story of what he considers Lord Lawrence did during his Governor-Generalship you have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the years of Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty were of immense importance to the whole of India, and that it is ludicrous to suggest that he was not in any way as successful during his Vicerovalty as he had been in his command of the Punjab, or in his promptitude at the great crisis of the Mutiny, promptitude which is specially marked in the case of the advice which he gave that the utmost trust should be put in the three Phaltan Chiefs, which resulted in our communications with the Punjab being kept up.

I congratulate Mr. Keating heartily on the compendious and sympathetic way he has treated his subject, and I should hope that he feels himself repaid for the amount of time and study that he has given to the subject, because I am sure of this, that when in later days if he has the opportunity of giving service to India—and I do not know of any more honourable or desirable aim for any man than to hope he may some day do some service there—if he does he will find himself all the better able to undertake that service; or if he goes there merely as a traveller he will find himself all the better able to enjoy and to understand India in consequence of the study he has given to the various books that have been written on the deeds of Lord Lawrence. I happened to have the opportunity of visiting India recently after sixteen years, and I was more delighted than I can express at the progress that I was able to notice there, progress in important directions for the greater comfort of everyone resident there, for the greater convenience of those masses of the people, for the greater tendency towards friendship between various races resident there. I found that there was far greater opportunity given for the interchange of social relations between Europeans and Asiatics than in my time. I found those opportunities taken advantage of; and I could tell from conversation with distinguished Indian gentlemen that they recognized that great progress has been made, they were confident that progress was going on, and that by degrees the relations between the two races were going to improve. That is a most interesting thing to have seen; and it is a most satisfactory thing for those who live in India to know; because the protection of India from disturbances either from abroad or internally is almost entirely dependent upon the greater confidence that ought to exist between the two races.

In conclusion, Mr. Keating, I congratulate you most heartily on the success of your studies, and I sincerely hope you may have opportunities at some time or other of doing some service to India. I have great pleasure in

presenting you with this medal.

Mr. Conybeare, of Eton College: I will not detain you more than a very few minutes; but I must at the outset convey to you and to this distinguished assembly the deep regret of the Head Master of Eton that he has not been able to be present. The date for the conferring of degrees at Cambridge was fixed before the date of this meeting was arranged; and it was quite impossible for him to be at Cambridge at three o'clock this afternoon and here again at five. Nothing else, however, would have prevented him from appearing. But I can say this, that at Eton we are all of us very appreciative and very proud of the honour that has fallen upon us. We are, I need hardly assure you, delighted to find that we still retain our supremacy in the list of those who have won this prize in the years gone by; and I very much hope that in the future that superiority will grow to be even more marked than it is at present.

The study of history at Eton, of course, has been entirely changed in the last comparatively few years. Even when I was a boy there myself there were no special arrangements made for the study, and now there is a large and flourishing school where history is taught as one of the principal, I might almost say as the principal, subject of their study. At the same time, lest any should go away with the impression that an undue amount of time is being devoted to history studies, I think it is only fair to Eton, and even more so to Mr. Keating. to say that he does not devote his main work to the study of history. He combines, perhaps a rare combination, the labours of mathematician and historian; and certainly the more exacting portion of his work is devoted to the study of mathematics. In fact, I think he really does carry out the ideal which has been already referred to, of

history being regarded as a recreation; and there is no reason why the recreation should not be a serious subject of study. I can only say that a great deal of interest is taken in this competition at Eton.

Of course, the connexion between Eton and India has been and is a very close one; and if we have any regrets at the present moment that the Viceroy happens to be an Harrovian, I hope in the course of time that will be reversed.

LORD REAY: I would now move a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Harris. It is to me personally a great pleasure that we have been able to secure Lord Harris on this occasion, for, as will be gathered from what has been said, we have many recollections of the same kind. I entirely agree with what Lord Harris has said in his very interesting remarks on the influence exercised by Lord Lawrence as Governor-General. If, as some critics would say, what I would call the decorative and histrionic element was absent, far from making that a grievance against him, I would admit-perhaps you will call it paradoxical—that I rather admire that defect which proceeded from the strong sense of duty and earnestness with which he undertook the duties he had to undertake. That, after all, is the dominant note of Lord Lawrence's career throughout—duty—duty to his God, to his King, and to his country.

Now the most remarkable feature to my mind in the career of Lord Lawrence is the attitude he took after the Mutiny in repudiating everything which could look like a spirit of revenge. There his Christian character to my mind comes out as finely as did that of Canning. That always will remain in the history of the British Empire, to my mind, the most glorious page in our history there, the attitude we immediately assumed after the Mutiny.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to Lord Harris.

JRAS. 1912.

SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E.

We regret to announce the death of Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Hon. Vice-President and late Director of the Society, which took place on September 8 in his 80th year.

A full obituary notice will appear in the next number of the Journal.

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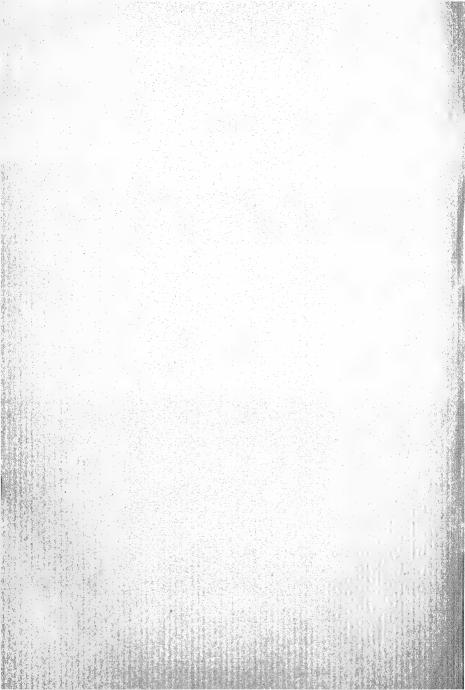
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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC,

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

The system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International Oriental Congress of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

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× (Jihvāmūlīya) . h	Anudātta \
♀ (Upadhmānīva) h	

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ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

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STOCKHOLM. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

STRASBURG, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

SYDNEY. PUBLIC LIBRARY.

TOKYO. IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF LITERATURE.

Токуо. Shūkyo-daigaku Library, Omotecho, Koishikawa.

TÜBINGEN. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

VARARIDDHI, H.R.H. Prince Nares, Bangkok.

120 VIZAGAPATAM. Mrs. A. V. NARASINGA RAO COLLEGE.
WASHINGTON. CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

WÜRZBURG. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

123 ZURICH. STADT BIBLIOTHEK.

Note. There are many other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending him their names to be added to the above list.

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